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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

AND

SICILY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

FREDERIC LEOPOLD COUNT STOLBERG,

BY THOMAS HOLCROFT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. PLATO.

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TRAVELS

OF

COUNT STOLBERG.

LETTER LXIV.

Naples, 21ſt February 1792.

THE royal palace of *Capo di Monte* is built on a height, very near to the city, and on the north ſide. The architect did not diſcover that the foundation on which it ſtood was hollow, till it was finiſhed; and this foundation, which was rectified after it was built, coſt more than the grand building itſelf. It was intended as the reſidence of the King; and it is viſited for the ſake of the gallery.

This gallery contains many pictures: but, were thoſe only preſerved which are really beautiful, the very numerous collection, conſiſting of fifteen hundred, would be reduced to one hundred. Heſiod ſays, Νηπιοι ὐκ ἰσασιν ὁσῳ πλεον ἡμισυ παντος: "Too few know how much more the "half is than the whole."

Were this maxim applied to moſt galleries, we ſhould frequently diſcover that the tenth, inſtead of the half, nay the twentieth part, is more than the whole: particularly in many of the galleries of Germany.

I thought the following pictures remarkably beautiful.

A Holy Family; by Raphael. There is one which much reſembles it in the Vatican gallery, and which is affirmed to be the original. I ſuppoſe it is ſo: but they are ſo very like each other that, if the picture here be a copy, Raphael himſelf muſt have had ſome concern in it.

A Magdalen; by Guercino.

The portrait of a Monk; by Leonardo da Vinci.

Sketches; by Michael Angelo: for his great picture of the Laſt Judgment, in the chapel of Pope Sixtus in Rome. Theſe fine ſketches are in excellent preſervation.

A portrait of Pope Paul the Third; by Titian.

The ſame Pope, between two of his nephews, and one of his natural ſons, whom he made Duke of Parma, at a little diſtance. He is painted as inſtructing them in the ſecrets of the politics of Rome. The picture is excellent, and was painted by Titian; not without ſome ſatirical ideas.

The famous *Danaë* of Titian is, beyond compariſon, the moſt beautiful picture that I have ſeen of this maſter. The point of time choſen is the deſcent of the ſhower of gold. Cupid ſtands apart, teſtifying amazement and anger; and he appears as much ſurpriſed by this new diſcovery as he is diſpleaſed.

There are ſeveral excellent pictures here, by Schidone: among others, a young woman diſtributing bread to beggars, with a beautiful boy ſtanding by her ſide.

There is likewiſe a lovely little girl, ſitting at ſchool with a book in her hand, by the ſame painter.

In one apartment there are numerous vaſes, which are called Etruſcan, but ſhould be called Greek; for they were found in tombs that were in the ſouth of Italy, and Sicily. Thoſe of Sicily are frequently the moſt beautiful *.

* Many were found at Nola; for which reaſon it has been diſputed whether Nola was of Greek or Etruſcan origin. This town lies at the diſtance of ſome leagues from Naples. My friend, the *Marcheſe Rangoni*, from Modena, has ſent me drawings taken from vaſes, the inſcriptions under which are not in the Greek but the Etruſcan language. The Etruſcans had ſuch vaſes; but no figures drawn upon them, as on the Greek vaſes: they had only inſcriptions. Should any man of learning wiſh to examine theſe drawings, I will gladly afford every communication in my power.

I remember

I remember ſomewhere to have read that ſimilar vaſes were found by the ſoldiers of Cæſar, and ſold in Rome at a high price. Sir William Hamilton, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Naples, poſſeſſes a large collection of ſuch vaſes. The figures with which they are ornamented have been drawn by *Mr. Tiſchbein*; a painter, who lives in Naples: engravings from which will ſoon be publiſhed. The firſt part is already engraved: but the explanations which are neceſſary to the work are not yet completed.

All the figures on theſe vaſes relate either to the gods or heroes. Moſt of them are merely outlines: but they are drawn with great freedom. It appears to me exceedingly probable that they are imitations after great pictures. The publication of them, and the comparing them with baſſi relievi on ſarcophagi and marble vaſes, with coins, cameos, and intaglios, as well as with ſtatues, may throw not only much light on antient art but on many paſſages in the antient poets. They will probably ſpeak for the ſpeechleſs marble. The forms of theſe Greek vaſes are very various, lovely, and noble.

The collection of antient gems, both cameos and intaglios, is conſiderable. Among the firſt, I ſaw one which proves that cock fighting was an amuſement of the antients as well as the moderns. By the ſide of a cock, which evidently is ſwelling with conqueſt, a Genius ſtands, holding the palm of victory. A diſſatisfied Genius ſtands beſide the conquered animal.

A cup of oriental onyx is very beautiful. Within, the onyx is wrought in cameo; and, without, it repreſents the apotheoſis of Alexander. It is round, is eight inches in diameter, and more than an inch thick; and, on the bottom part, there is the head of Meduſa.

The ſmall gems are kept and ſhewed in glaſs caſes: no juſt eſtimate can therefore be formed of them; particularly of the intaglios, to diſcover the beauties of which they muſt be held againſt the light.

Two large baſſi relievi are remarkable, becauſe of the ſubject that they repreſent.

One of them is a Venus, perſuading Helen to elope with Paris. The beautiful wife of Menelaus ſits beſide the Goddeſs, under an image of *Peitho*, or *Suada*, the Goddeſs of perſuaſion; and oppoſite to her Paris ſtands, Cupid taking him by the hand.

On the other baſſo relievo, we ſee Orpheus and Eurydice, at the unfortunate moment when he forgot his promiſe to Proſerpine, and looked round at his beloved wife. Mercury, whoſe office it is to conduct departed ſpirits, inſtantly is ſeizing her by the hand.

This collection is very rich in antient coins, of braſs, ſilver, and gold. Among the Greek coins, as well thoſe of the mother countries as of the Greek towns, in Italy and Sicily, there are many of great beauty. The collection of Roman coins is likewiſe great.

Sir William Hamilton has preſented this gallery with many of the arms, dreſſes, houſehold implements, and a flute, that were brought from the inhabitants of Otaheite, and New Zealand.

With reſpect to its churches, Naples can bear no competition with moſt of the great cities of Italy. Thoſe of this city are neither of noble architecture nor are they rich in paintings.

In the church called *San Domenico Maggiore* is a fine picture, by an antient painter; Fra Bartolomeo, a monk. The child Jeſus is on the lap of the Virgin; he careſſes the little John, and Elizabeth is ſtanding behind the Baptiſt. This picture poſſeſſes much dignity and tenderneſs, though it has ſuffered by time: but perhaps nothing is wanting, except a coating of varniſh, to produce all the beauties of which it is ſuſceptible.

In the ſame church there is an Annunciation; by Titian. Although the picture has been injured by a modern hand, you nevertheleſs diſcover the great painter.

The church of the Theatines, dedicated to St. Paul, ſtands now where formerly

formerly a temple of Caſtor and Pollux ſtood. Two great Corinthian pillars of white marble, which are ſplit, ſtill ſtand before the portico of the temple; and the trunks of the ſtatues of the two heroes are walled, horizontally, in niches.

The principal church is dedicated to St. Januarius, and may more properly be called magnificent than beautiful: or rather it has no pretenſions to beauty. The treaſury is well ſtored with church effects, and relics. Here, in a glaſs bottle, a red maſs is preſerved that is affirmed to be the blood of the Saint, but which I have not ſeen. People aſſert that this maſs twice a year, the bottle being handled by the Archbiſhop, by the aid of a miracle becomes fluid. Perhaps, it is ſo compoſed as to become fluid by the natural warmth of the hand. I muſt therefore ſuppoſe that the Archbiſhops themſelves believe in the miracle. So long a ſucceſſion of Archbiſhops, among whom there have frequently been very worthy men, cannot, with wiſdom and juſtice, be ſuppoſed to be all impoſtors.

On thoſe days when the vial is exhibited the people are in eager expectation of the miracle; and, if it be not as fluid as uſual, or but partially fluid, their anger is vented againſt the Saint.

The cupola of this church is painted by Lanfranc; and the four angles by the great Dominichino. In this church, there is a beautiful picture by Ribera, a Spaniſh painter, whom I have often mentioned to you under his more common name of Spagnuolo. The ſubject is the body of Chriſt, ſurrounded by the holy women.

Formerly there ſtood the coloſſal ſtatue of a horſe in bronze before this dome, which it was ſuppoſed was capable of working miracles; and round which the Neapolitans uſed to lead their horſes, when they were diſeaſed. I do not know whether this horſe, and the abſurd belief concerning it, were or were not of Pagan times: but the horſe was removed by an Archbiſhop; and a bell was made of the metal, which now hangs in the dome. The miraculous power, however, was not demoliſhed with the horſe. The zealous prelate beſtowed it on ſome

monks of the order of St. Anthony, who acquired the gift of healing ſick cattle; and now to them, as formerly to the ſtatue, diſeaſed horſes, cows, mules, aſſes, and other animals are brought; and the people believe that their benediction is as efficacious now as hollow braſs uſed to be in days of yore. The head of the horſe is in the palace of the Prince Colubrano.

The univerſity, if I do not miſtake, was built by order of Philip the Fourth. It contains the antique coloſſal ſtatue of Hercules; which is ſo celebrated, under the name of the Farneſe Hercules. It is the work of Glycon, the Athenian. May it ever continue, as it is, the aſtoniſhment of art! Well may all who ſee it wonder at the juſtneſs of the ſymmetry, and the powerful ſwell of the muſcles.

In this ſtatue, I perfectly perceive the ſtrongeſt expreſſion of bodily power; but not of that bodily alertneſs, which always accompanies true agility: and, without agility, I cannot figure to myſelf a Hercules. Fable relates of Glycon that, looking at a ſtatue of the effeminate unmanly Adonis, he had exclaimed, I can here ſee nothing godlike. This ſtatue appears to me to have fallen into the oppoſite error. The ſon of Alcmene would not have recognized himſelf in it, though he muſt have diſcovered ſomething of the God. Fable gives him Hebe, the Goddeſs of Youth, as a bride: meaning by it that this was the union of heroic power with youthful charms, and the law is juſt which makes ſtrength the bridegroom of beauty.

Haller tells us that a beautiful body is the habitation of a beautiful ſoul; and ſuch would have been the ideal Hercules of the beſt times of Greek ſculpture. Exceſs is the ſign of the decline of art.

Here is likewiſe a beautiful coloſſal ſtatue of Flora; which, as I hear, is ſuppoſed to be the work of the great ſculptor Policletus of Sicyon: but I am unacquainted with any Goddeſs, among the Greeks, that was the ſame as that which the Romans worſhipped by the name of Flora.

Pan, inſtructing the youthful Apollo to play on the flute, is a fine antique group.

The

The King intends to make this building his muſeum; and here all the beauties of nature and art, which are at preſent ſcattered, though the greateſt part of them are in Capo di Monte and in Portici, are to be collected.

Many beautiful antiques are at preſent in the manufacture of porcelain: among others, the following.

Two Slaves, the heads and hands of which are of black baſaltes, and their draperies and Phrygian bonnets are of variegated African marble. They are both of the ſame ſize, both are in the act of riſing, kneeling on one knee, and both bear ſomething on the head, which ſeems intended to aſſiſt them in carrying burthens.

Probably, theſe two ſtatues were intended to ſupport the lintel of a door. Male ſtatues of this kind were called, by the antients, *Telamones;* and the female, which were deſtined to the ſame uſes, *Caryatides.*

An Agrippina, ſitting. The chair is ſupported by a ſtrong pillar; and probably the antients had chairs which were placed upon ſimilar pillars. Such indeed are ſtill occaſionally found in Italy.

A beautiful head, which is called a *Mithridates*, but which I rather ſuppoſe to be an Indian Bacchus.

A Venus, of that kind which the antients called καλλιπυγος, and which is very excellent. The head and breaſt are by a modern artiſt: but the additions however are better than we generally find.

A bronze ſtatue, of Mercury, of extraordinary beauty. Thus muſt the meſſenger of the Gods have been formed. Thus handſome, thus artful, muſt the ſly knave have been, of whom Homer has given us a deſcription, in his hymn.

A coloſſal head of Vitellius, which is a maſterpiece of phyſiognomy. His voluptuous, little, laughing, bald head inclines forward, upon his fat neck, with a kind of ſmile, that neither could denote good to himſelf nor others. His mouth, though it grins, is half cloſed. Impotent ſuſpicion peeps out of hollow laughing eyes. So muſt the man himſelf have

have looked, and ſo muſt he have looked at others, when, by his courtly arts, he knew how to preſerve himſelf in the days of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Such was the man who perhaps was too weak to refuſe a requeſt, but who was cruel and wicked enough to preſent a cup of poiſon to one whom he called his friend, under the treacherous pretext that it was a cooling draught, to relieve his fever. This head did not hang ſo far forward, when the half naked Vitellius was dragged through the city with a dagger held under his chin, before he was put to death, and the corpulent body hauled by a hook through the Tiber.

Dignity, force, integrity, courage, and benevolence, beam from the head of a Marcus Junius Brutus. Thus tempered, thus harmonious, muſt his countenance have been: ſo that the eyes of men, who knew not how to honour and love his actions, when they beheld it, could not but be charmed. You who can run and write, and you who can run and read, behold with how firm and free a hand nature delineates her favourites!

The great maſter, who out of marble knew to figure to himſelf a Homer, was acquainted with the features, could trace the form, and imagine the ſoul of the poet. I ſpeak of the famous Farneſe head of Homer. Mild benevolence, heroic force, the very inebriety of love and dignified wiſdom, mingle together in the harmoniſed countenance of the immortal Ionic ſongſter.

LETTER LXV.

Naples, 25th February 1792.

NOT ſufficiently ſatisfied with our journey on the 15th to Pozzuoli, Baiæ, Cumæ, and the places before mentioned, in which we had left many objects unnoticed, we determined once more to reviſit them.

We ſet off early, and paſſed through Pozzuoli to Solfatara: which is the name of a plain that lies to the eaſt of the city, is tolerably elevated, and ſurrounded by hills that connect with each other.

There is no doubt but there was formerly a volcano here. The ground is ſtill entirely volcanic: a hot ſmoke aſcends out of numerous cavities, that are to be found both on the plain and the ſurrounding hills. The places where theſe vapours riſe are in part ſulphurous, in part abound in alum, and in part with vitriol: which three materials appear to be engendered where the ſmoke aſcends. The ſulphur predominates, and fills the whole place with its powerful ſtench.

A little building has been erected, which forms a kind of alembic; from which the ſmoke deſcends in water, and which, like our ſulphurous ſprings, is beneficial in many diſeaſes: particularly the rheumatiſm. The ſmoke riſing from many of the cavities is even poſſeſſed of this virtue.

The ground is ſo hollow that a large ſtone, let fall through a hole not more than a foot deep, occaſions a ſound that rumbles along through a conſiderable ſpace. It is probable that the humid ſituation of the hollow earth, conſumed by inward fires, may in time make a lake of this plain; which has formerly been a volcano. Such appears to me to have been the antient hiſtory of the lake of Avernus, the lake of Albanus, the mirror of Diana near Nemi, and of others. I have

frequently, while travelling in Switzerland, and particularly in Italy, regretted my ignorance of natural hiſtory. Nature here may be ſeen in her laboratory. Uninformed as I am, it ſtill was very intereſting to me to remark the cryſtallized flower of ſulphur, alum, and vitriol, which ſhe elſewhere produces in her ſecret chambers, here as it may be ſaid wrought in open day by her own hand.

The earth of the plain chiefly conſiſts of a kind of clay. There are many ſtumps of cheſnut trees here, which the people in theſe environs will not ſuffer to grow, but hew them down from time to time. Whether they fear that their growth will change the nature of the place, and the profits they derive from ſulphur, alum, and vitriol be thereby injured, or whether this fear have any good foundation, is more than I know: but cheſnut trees appear to delight in volcanic diſtricts. Monte Nuovo is covered with them; and prodigious trees of this ſpecies are known to inhabit the lower region of Ætna.

This muſt have been the field of battle, between Hercules and the Giants. The antients called theſe places the *Campi Phlegræi*, or the burning plains; and Solfatara they named the *Forum* of Vulcan.

We ſaw the immenſe ruins of the antient amphitheatre, at Pozzuoli; which, as far as I could meaſure them with my eye, ſcarcely ſeemed leſs than thoſe of Capua. Here likewiſe there are the remains of *thermæ*.

From this, we proceeded to the Lucrine lake, which muſt have ſuffered much by the great revolutions that have happened in the globe. Suetonius expreſſly tells us* that a haven was conſtructed here, under Auguſtus, by admitting the ſea into the Lucrine lake, and through this into the lake of Avernus. The ſmall dam, which ſeparates the Lucrine lake from the ſea, and which was aſcribed to Hercules, is even at preſent cut through: but the ſand of the ſea fills up this canal.

The only remaining mark of the union between theſe lakes is that on

* In Vita Oct. c. 16.

the

the ſide of the Lucrine lake: the high ſhores of Avernus are cut through, to a conſiderable breadth. Auguſtus probably imagined he was labouring for eternity, when he, or rather when Agrippa, cauſed this haven to be built. We might almoſt affirm that Horace had a foreknowledge of the fate of this work. In his epiſtle to the Piſos, ſpeaking of the changes which happen in languages, he ſays,

Debemur morti nos, noſtraque: ſive receptus
Terra Neptunus claſſes Aquilonibus arcet,
Regis opus; ſterilisve diu palus, aptaque remis,
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave ſentit aratrum;
Seu curſum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis,
Doctus iter melius; mortalia facta peribunt:
*Nedum ſermonum ſtet honos et gratia vivax**.

HOR. Ars Poet. 63—69.

We and our nobleſt works to fate muſt yield,
Even Cæſar's mole, which royal pride might build,
Where Neptune far into the land extends,
And from the raging North our fleets defends;
That barren marſh, whoſe cultivated plain
Now gives the neighbouring towns its various grain;
Tiber, who taught a better current yields
To Cæſar's power, nor deluges our fields;
All theſe muſt periſh: and ſhall words preſume
To hold their honours, and immortal bloom?

FRANCIS.

This haven is very poetically deſcribed by Virgil, in his charming praiſe of Italy.

* By the word *palus* the Pontine marſh is meant. Probably, time had ſomething injured the canal, which had been dug by Appius Claudius. I ſay ſomething injured, becauſe, in the time of the third triumvirate, Horace had navigated this canal; and this was previous to the work of Auguſtus, of which the poet here ſpeaks. Auguſtus alſo cleared and widened the bed of the Tiber, which had been filled up with the rubbiſh of decayed buildings. Suet. Vita Oct. cap. 30.

An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor,
Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis?

VIRG. Geo. ii. ver. 161.

Or shall I praise thy ports, or mention make
Of the vast mound that binds the Lucrine lake,
Or the disdainful sea, that, shut from thence,
Roars round the structure, and invades the fence,
There where secure the Julian waters glide,
Or when Avernus' jaws admit the Tyrrhene tide?

DRYDEN, v. 221.

The water of the Lucrine lake is brackish, and full of a species of heart muscle, which is not bad eating. Yet it can scarcely be supposed one of those kind of muscles which the lake formerly bred; and which Horace, in more than one passage, calls the dainty morsel of the Romans *. The name of this first was *peloris*. Whether the lake has any subterranean communication with the sea, whether the decaying canal be at times overflowed by it, or whether this canal be occasionally cleared by the inhabitants, is more than I can say. I conjecture that there is a subterranean intercourse, that the sand is carried off, and that it is occasionally repaired by the hand of man.

Cluverius, who of all the travellers into these countries may best be depended upon, tells us that traces of the Julian haven may be seen in the sea, at the foot of the Monte Nuovo. I have not time to make the enquiry myself.

The Sibyl's grotto, as it is called, is near the lake of Avernus. We entered it with torches, and found a dark small passage at the side of this long cavern, in the middle of which much water was collected. Our conductors were the people of the place, who are accustomed to act as guides; and the cavern no doubt is the same through which Virgil conducts his hero, to the abode of Pluto. The Sibyl inhabited

* Epod. od. ii. 49; and Sorm. II. sat. iv. 32.

a cavern

a cavern near Cumæ; which has given riſe to the falſe opinion, and occaſioned the good people to call this cavern the grotto of the Sibyl: ſo that they can amply deſcribe the manner and the place of her abode; like an old chamberlain, who, in the abſence of his lord, imagines he does him honour by diſplaying the apartments of his caſtles to ſtrangers. Virgil founded his beautiful fiction of the Sibyl partly on tradition, and partly on hiſtory. Perhaps we may here diſcover a natural allegory: it may be ſaid that the decrepid propheteſs lived at Cumæ, that ſhe might reſide amidſt the annals of nature. How intereſting are theſe annals in this country! Who ſhall collect the ſcattered leaves?

We breakfaſted in a round temple, on the eaſt ſide of the lake of Avernus, which was called the temple of Apollo. Had we been received by Lucullus in his celebrated hall of Apollo, we ſcarcely could have eaten with a better appetite. According to ſome, this temple was dedicated to Proſerpine. It was a large rotunda, which appertained to *thermæ*. The orange and the fig tree now grow in the temple.

From this, we returned to the Lucrine lake, and proceeded to the end of the dam which is aſcribed to Hercules. The ſhore of the ſea, here on the eaſtern ſide, is very high; and there are ruins which probably belonged to a palace of Nero. Under the hill there are warm vapour baths; and there is a ſmall paſſage that leads to a hot well, the heat of which, and the hot exhalations we found, deterred us from paying it a viſit. A man ſtripped himſelf to the waiſt, and went in with eggs; which he brought out, in two minutes, ſufficiently boiled: though, over the kitchen fire, they take five minutes to be well done. So much quicker is the ſtrong heat produced by the continually boiling and rarefied waters of Nature.

Here we had a view of the whole bay of Naples, and the iſlands of Capri and Niſida. Nero, from the height on which his villa was built, muſt have had a proſpect to the other ſide of the bay of Gaeta,

and have overlooked the iſlands of Iſchia and Procida, and the Avernian and Lucrine lakes.

The warm baths, which were called the Thermæ of Nero, muſt have been long in uſe; and were found to have a very healing power. There is an old tradition that they were deſtroyed, three or four hundred years ago, by the phyſicians of Salerno; who were angry that the fountains of nature ſhould render their art uſeleſs: and that theſe phyſicians periſhed by ſea, on their return, near Capri.

We again went up and viewed the great ruins of an antient temple at Pozzuoli; which, by ſome, was ſuppoſed to be a temple of Jupiter Serapis: but the opinion of thoſe who maintain it to be a temple built by Domitian, to the Nymphs, appears to me the moſt probable. Three large Corinthian pillars are ſtill entire. Facing theſe, we ſtill find the foundation of a circular building; upon which, after the manner of many antient temples, there was an outward altar under a cupola ſupported by pillars. The three principal pillars ſtand there as a remarkable monument of the great revolutions of nature, to which theſe places have been ſubject. About ten ells above the ground, they are perforated by a kind of ſea inſect; which has the power of perforating ſtone, and which from its form is called *Mitylus lithophagus*, or Seadate.

Behind the temple, there are remains of baths; and canals, through which hot water was conducted from Solfatara. Probably they have been laid in ruins by earthquakes.

Theſe countries were covered with buildings by the Romans, and particularly the Emperors, at an enormous expence; as if in defiance of the terrors of nature. Are we not here reminded of the antient fiction of the giants, who daringly fought, on flaming fields, againſt the potent Hercules?

LET-

LETTER LXVI.

Naples, 29th February 1792.

DURING the 25th and 26th, the ſky being very clear, there was a continual and generally a thick white ſmoke, which aſcended from Veſuvius; but this kind of ſmoke does not conſtantly portend an inflammable eruption. This great and frequently deſolating phenomenon of nature is generally preceded by interrupted, but ſudden exhalations of a black and humid kind, and mixed with aſhes, forming a thick and gloomy cloud. We ſaw ſomething like this on the evening of the 26th. That we might make a circuit and aſcend to the mouth of the volcano, if there ſhould happen to be an eruption, the day before yeſterday we went to Portici.

The ſuburbs of Naples and its large villages, added to Portici, give this city, great as it is without them, a ſtill more conſiderable extent.

At this end of the city the place is ſhewn where the noble young Conradin was beheaded; and near the ſame place is the houſe in which Maſaniello was put to death: the bold young fiſherman, who, in the middle of the 17th century, had nearly delivered Naples from the yoke of Spain. The river of *Magdalena*, or of *Sebetho*, empties itſelf into the ſea near Naples. This ſmall ſtream, or rather this rivulet, is the *Sebethus* of the antients.

Cluverius has very juſtly remarked that the village of *San Giovanni di Tiduccio* muſt be built on the place where, in reality, Virgil's tomb ſtood; of which now no traces are to be found, and which muſt very early have been deſtroyed; for in the time of St. Jerome, the place on the Poſilipo, which is now ſuppoſed to be his tomb, was then ſuppoſed to be the ſame.

Portici is charmingly ſituated between Mount Veſuvius and the ſea; by the waters of which it is bathed. The air is healthy, and the fertility of its ſoil is celebrated.

All

All the way as we went, we ſaw black vapours riſing from the crater of Veſuvius. We hired aſſes at Portici; and the beginning of our ride was among high trees, round which the vine twined itſelf, and afterward through cheſnut groves. We frequently heard the ſubterranean rumbling of the mountain, which reſembled the diſtant diſcharge of artillery; and, as often as we diſtinguiſhed theſe noiſes, we looked toward the top, and remarked that thick black clouds of ſmoke, accompanied with a diſcharge of ſtones, was emitted from the crater.

Tolerably high up the mountain, yet a full league and a half from the ſummit of the pyramid which is properly called Veſuvius, there is a hermit, who lives on a hill, by its ſide, which is called Somma. This Somma is a great ruin of nature; and of the antient Veſuvius. It has crumbled away to the half of its height, and evidently diſcovers itſelf at the top to have been a volcano. In like manner the preſent Veſuvius roſe, above ſeventeen hundred years ago. Like *Monte Nuovo*, which was ſuddenly thrown up in the year 1538 by an earthquake, it has the form of a ſugar loaf, with a broad baſe, the top of which is cut off, and is hollow to a great depth; like the crater of a volcano.

The hermit warned us of approaching danger, and I left my ſon with him: though I did not ſo much fear the ſtones, that were thrown up, as the difficulty of the aſcent. However, I ſaw it was very neceſſary for us to take care how we approached too near to theſe dangerous ſhowers. The ſtones were caſt with ſuch violence, out of the hollow mountain, that the velocity of their fall was not to be compared to the velocity of their aſcent; and our eye preſently became ſo accuſtomed to this velocity that the ſtones, when they at length began to deſcend, appeared to us rather to be ſuſpended than to fall.

The aſcent up Mount Veſuvius is extremely difficult: ſometimes from the cutting droſs of the lava, on which you tread; and at others becauſe, when you mean to aſcend, you ſink deep into the aſhes. The guides leſſened the inconvenience; for they bound linen round their

their bodies, by which we held fast and were aided by their ſtrength: ſtill however the difficulty was very great.

The places you paſs are terrifying. The whole ground is uneven, and ſtrewed over with ſtones, prodigious pieces of *ſcoriæ*, or deep pits of aſhes; which have all been thrown from the mountain. The projecting parts of the mountain frequently conceal the ſmoky ſummit, from thoſe who are aſcending; and you are repeatedly inclined to deſpair of arriving at your journey's end, while at every ſtep when you mean to go forward, you ſink back and imagine you ſhall be ſwallowed up in the aſhes. You are often obliged to ſtand ſtill with wearineſs, or ſit down on the cutting droſs; and the ſenſe of wearineſs is increaſed by the ſurrounding aſpect of deſolation: but you turn your eye backward, and, looking over and beyond theſe deſert places, are revived by the proſpect of the ſea till you forget the difficulty.

The emiſſions from the flaming mountain were ſo violent that it was impoſſible, at that time, to reach the ſummit; and the diſappointment was welcome to us, for it was a ſpectacle which was much more impreſſive than that of looking down into its mouth would have been, had all been calm.

We aſcended the mountain to a huge crag of rock; which, in one of its antient eruptions, had been projected out of the crater. It is at the diſtance of one third of the whole aſcent from the ſummit; and thus great was the ſpace to which this rock had been whirled. Here we ſat, or rather laid ourſelves down. Here we beheld and heard the mountain inceſſantly in labour. Whenever the rumbling din became louder, a thundering ſhower of ſtones continually followed. I cannot compare this ſubterranean uproar to any thing better than to the noiſe of cannon at ſea; and it was as quick in ſucceſſion, as the diſcharge of artillery in ſuch a combat:

Wo ſchiff an ſchiff ſich donnernd legt *;

as Klopſtock ſays.

* When ſhip to ſhip in thunder ſpeaks.

The rock on which we ſat ſhook very ſenſibly, at each diſcharge of the mountain. The ſucceſſive ſhowers of aſhes increaſed in blackneſs, and were always accompanied with ſtones. Theſe, when they fell to the ground, rolled down over the droſs, with a noiſe reſembling hail againſt a glaſs window. At intervals, when the din of the mountain and the ſhowering of ſtones had ceaſed, we heard a fearful gurgling, as of boiling water. Large droſs, that had been thrown into the air, fell rolling down, glowing with heat; and came ſo near us that my ſervant took up a piece between two ſtones, which ſerved him as a pair of tongs. I employed it, as I would have done a chafing diſh, to warm me; for the wind blew cold and ſharp. It was ſo hot that Jacobi kindled his tobacco pipe with it; and it was not quite cold in the evening, when we ſhewed it to my wife: though it was but about as large as a cannon ball, of eight pounds weight.

A yellow ſmoke, inſtead of the black ſhower, occaſionally roſe from the throat of the mountain; and we ſaw the reflection of ſubterranean flames tremble among the riſing pillars of ſmoke; ſtrong guſts of which were likewiſe impelled out of many little mouths, round the crater.

Thus we ſat upon our trembling rock, which is itſelf a prodigious monument of the power of the fire-emitting mountain, and enjoyed one of the grandeſt ſpectacles of nature. The contemplation of its preſent eruption was made the more impreſſive by ſeeing ourſelves ſurrounded with ſtones, prodigious maſſes of droſs, *ſcoriæ*, and deep aſhes; which teſtified the wonders of its former eruptions. Not far from us was a crater which burſt forth laſt year. As annals of nature, theſe marks of deſolation produce their effect: but yet how much more effectual was the preſence of the ſcene we were contemplating!

Whenever for a moment we turned from the terrible proſpect of the ſummit of Veſuvius, we beheld on the oppoſite ſide the delightful bays of Naples and of Gaeta, with their lordly coaſts and iſlands.

We now deſcended the troubled craggy height; which, ſteep as it

is,

is, is leſs difficult to deſcend than to mount: though it would be equally impoſſible either to go up it or down it, were it not for the foot-hold which the aſhes afford. We made a good and agreeable breakfaſt with the hermit, who gave us a very pleaſant taſted red wine; which is the growth of the mountain, and is called *lacrima*, or tears.

The ſmoke became yellow at the approach of night; and, on our return to Portici, we then ſaw it riſe of a flame colour.

At Portici, we took torches, and viſited the theatre of the antient *Heraclea:* or, as the Romans called it, *Herculaneum.*

This Greek town, the foundation of which is aſcribed by ſome authors to Hercules, was entirely buried and deſtroyed by aſhes and lava, during the great eruption of Veſuvius, in the year 79 after the birth of Chriſt, and in the firſt year of the reign of Titus.

A part of the ſeats of the antient theatre were brought up, in the year 1713, by a farmer who was ſinking a well. Emanuel, Prince of Elbeuf, of the houſe of Lorraine, who was building in Portici, purchaſed the right of the farmers of digging farther; and a ſtatue of Hercules was preſently diſcovered, and afterward one of Cleopatra, with others. At length, they came to a circular temple, which contained four-and-twenty alabaſter pillars; and as many ſtatues, that were all ſent to Vienna by Prince Eugene of Savoy.

The proceedings of the Prince of Elbeuf were interrupted by the Spaniſh government. In the year 1736, Don Carlos, King of Naples, the father of the preſent King, undertook to build a palace in Portici; and he purchaſed the houſe and the land of the Prince of Elbeuf, and the antient town was diſcovered at the depth of eighty feet. The bed of the river was found which ran through the town; as likewiſe were the temple of Jupiter, with his ſtatue of gold, the theatre, and two large equeſtrian ſtatues of the two Balbi: father and ſon.

So great was the love of the Greeks for ſpectacles, that the theatre of this town, which belonged to the little ſtates of *Magna Græcia*, was more capacious than the magnificent theatre of *San Carlo* in Naples;

which is one of the largeſt, and grandeſt, in Europe. Yet the ſtage, though it was ſixty feet in length, was only eighteen in breadth. The antients were in leſs need of a capacious ſtage than we are: partly becauſe the ſcene was never changed; and partly becauſe they did not introduce ſo many characters, and perſons, as the modern poets.

The firſt known eruption of Veſuvius, which happened in the year 79, was that in which the great naturaliſt, Pliny, periſhed. Herculaneum and Pompeii were both buried under its aſhes; and the flaming lava took its courſe through both theſe towns.

The people dare not leave the cavities, dug to come at Herculaneum, empty; becauſe Portici, and the village of Reſina, are built immediately over the buried place. It was diſcovered that the ſtreets were ſtraight; and that on each ſide there was a raiſed pavement for foot paſſengers, which are but ſeldom found even in the great and elegant cities of modern Europe.

After having taken out many remarkable articles, of houſehold furniture, arms, coins, and manuſcripts rolled up, which have been preſerved in Portici, the opening was again cloſed. I hope to be able to ſend you ſome account of the things thus diſcovered, which are very intereſting to the lover of antiquity, as ſoon as I have viſited the muſeum of Portici; previous to which I mean to go to Pompeii.

In the evening of the day before yeſterday, I took my wife to a part of the city behind the *Caſtello del Ovo*; where you ſtand by the ſea ſide, and have a full view of Mount Veſuvius. Clear flames roſe out of the mountain; and the red pillars of ſmoke were reflected in the ſea.

Early yeſterday, I accompanied her to Solfatara; for ſhe did not go with us, when we ſaw it on the 25th. And now, inſtead of the many ſmoking mouths of this ſunken volcano, a thin vapour roſe only from three apertures. It is probable that there is a ſubterranean communication between Solfatara and Veſuvius; though they are three German miles from each other. But what are three German miles? It is ſuppoſed

that Ætna, the volcanos of the Lipari Iſlands, and Veſuvius, have all a communication with each other. What is ſtill more, in the year 1783, the very ſame in which the earthquake happened in Calabria, and when a part of Sicily was ſo fearfully ſhaken, did not the earth open in Iceland, and ſtream forth flaming fire, which continued to burn for months? And this dreadful viſitation happened in an iſland ſo near the pole! I cannot indeed ſatisfactorily prove the ſubterranean connection, from theſe appearances, between the *Icelandic Hecla* and the volcanoes of the ſouth. A great, and to us unknown, general cauſe may have acted in both places at once: but I think this cauſe is not yet diſcovered; and the hypotheſis of a ſubterranean connection ought not to be treated as abſurd, till it is proved that there is ſome other which is more probable.

The hypotheſes of our naturaliſts, and metaphyſicians, too often reſemble the hollow and undermined earth: with a kind of volcanic ſpirit they riſe and are as quickly buried. Many a *Monte Nuovo* is lifted up, but to ſink and be no more remembered. Under the ſtatue of the Egyptian Iſis, the Goddeſs of Nature, was the following inſcription: "I am what I was: let no man raiſe the veil that covers "me."

Yeſterday evening, we beheld the flaming cataracts of lava burſt forth. The reflection produced by the heat glowed in the waves of the ſea: the moon appeared to grow paler in preſence of the ſtreaming fire. How fortunate were we to be here at this time! I pity thoſe ſtrangers who only left this city a few days ago, which now every night enjoys ſo grand a ſpectacle of nature.

I am juſt returned from the ſea ſide, where the proſpect this evening was more than ever beautiful. The mountain has opened another mouth, on the ſouth weſt ſide; not far from the great crater on the ſummit. At one moment, we beheld the fiery ſtream as you behold a diſtant waterfall, without being able to diſcover if it have any motion; and, at another, we had a full view of the flaming lava. From time

time to time the fire very clearly roſe out of the ſummit; and was followed by flames, burſting from the new aperture.

Although hiſtory gives no information of any eruption of Mount Veſuvius more early than the year 79, yet the antients formed ſome conjectures concerning its volcanic qualities. Diodorus tells us that "Hercules came likewiſe to the country of Cumæ; where, according "to many ſtories, the people were called giants: becauſe of their ex- "traordinary ſtrength, and ſavage manners. Theſe countries have "been called *Phlegræan*, or inflamed, from the hill which formerly "emitted a great quantity of fire, like Ætna. The place is now called "Veſuvius; and, from many traces, we may gather that it muſt have "burnt in antient times *."

National pride induced the Sicilian to call Mount Veſuvius a hill; and indeed, conſiderable as it is, yet compared with Ætna, it is properly a hill.

Strabo likewiſe tells us, in his fifth book, that Veſuvius muſt have been a mountain that threw out fire; which it had then only ceaſed to do from the want of inflammatory matter.

A paſſage in Lucretius, who lived toward the end of the republic, does not prove what many, who have written concerning Mount Veſuvius, have ſuppoſed it proved. The poet ſpoke of hot ſprings; and what he has called Veſuvius was only an epithet, to point out their place.

Diodorus and Strabo, the contemporaries of Auguſtus, wrote only a few years later than Lucretius; and Virgil, like himſelf, mentions Veſuvius only to denote the country of which he was ſpeaking.

We cannot but be ſurpriſed that the elder Pliny, who wrote his immortal natural hiſtory in the time of Veſpaſian, gives us no account of Veſuvius. The evident tokens of qualities ſimilar to thoſe of Mount Ætna, which qualities had been remarked by preceding authors, could not have eſcaped his enquiring mind.

* Diod. l. iv. vol. i. p. 267. ed. Weſſel.

His

His firſt obſervations on Mount Veſuvius were thoſe that coſt him his life.

The two letters, which the younger Pliny wrote, one-and-twenty years after this accident, to his friend Tacitus the hiſtorian, are exceedingly intereſting. They give a circumſtantial account of the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny: who, with a noble courage and a truly philoſophic freedom of mind, ſailed from Miſenum, where he was the commander of the fleet, to Pompeii, that he might remark the terrible phenomenon, and was ſuffocated by the ſmoke on his aſcent.

The younger Pliny remained behind, with his mother; who was a ſiſter of the naturaliſt, and who firſt ſhewed her brother the aſcending ſmoke, which he ſuppoſed to be a cloud. The ſmoke aroſe in the form of the pine tree *: becauſe, as the younger Pliny remarks, it had firſt aſcended through the clear atmoſphere of the mountain, and then ſunk under its own weight, and extended itſelf.

From this relation, as well as from that of Dion Caſſius, we learn how dreadfully fearful the progreſſive appearances of nature were: ſo that the terrified people waited, in expectation of the end of the world.

This eruption began with ſo violent a diſcharge of aſhes that three towns, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia, were overwhelmed by the tempeſt. So unexpected was the univerſal death that the people of Pompeii were at the theatre.

This guſt of aſhes was occaſioned by the falling in of that part of Veſuvius which is now called *Monte Somma*. The falling in is denoted by the figure of *Monte Somma*; which was the Veſuvius of the antients, but which was more frequently called *Veſevus* by the Romans. The proper Veſuvius of the preſent day, which about half way up joins Mount Somma, formed itſelf into a pyramid there where it riſes above

* Of that ſpecies which we call the Italian pine, and which they name *Pino*; a tree, the beauty of which greatly exceeds that of our pine. It has the form of an umbrella; in which form the ſmoke riſes, when the air is calm: and, in order to underſtand the relation of Pliny, we muſt figure to ourſelves the form of this tree.

Somma,

Somma, and roſe in proportion as the antient *Veſevus* fell in. In the ſame manner *Monte Nuovo*, in the year 1538, roſe in a ſingle night.

Ever ſince the year 79, Veſuvius has continued to ſmoke; and, from time to time, to ſend forth eruptions. About thirty of theſe eruptions have been diſtinguſhed from the reſt, either by the length of their duration or their violence. The mountain ſends forth flames almoſt every year, generally about the beginning of Autumn; and ſometimes, twice a-year.

In the year 1631, a great part of the mountain fell in.

The phenomena of the year 1767 were terrific: the whole country was long kept in dread, by the ſubterranean thunder of the mountain; and at laſt it broke out, emitting thick ſmoke and ſhowers of fire, mingled with ſtones and aſhes. The lava firſt flowed ſlowly toward *Reſina;* and a part of heaven was benighted, on the 19th of October, by the black clouds of ſmoke and aſhes that were poured forth. On the 20th, a broad ſtream of lava haſtily burſt forth; and, in an hour's time, made a progreſs of ſeven Italian miles. Its depth was eſtimated at ſixty fathoms. At midnight, the mountain burned horribly; and it thundered at intervals like the diſcharge of cannon. It poured out a new river of fire; which ruſhed toward the valley, that lies between Veſuvius Proper and the height of *San Salvadore*, on which the hermitage ſtands. A part of the inhabitants of Portici accompanied the flight of the King to Naples. On the 23d, the mountain again began to bellow; and, after a ſhort pauſe, the lava broke out more dreadful than before, and the mountain during three hours diſcharged fire and aſhes. The aſhes were blown as far as Gaeta; which lies five German miles diſtant over the ſea. The exploſion ended on the 26th; but the earth long afterward continued to be occaſionally ſhaken.

After the eruption of lava in the year 1779, which began on the 27th of Auguſt, the fruit trees a ſecond time put forth their buds, and a ſecond time actually produced ſmall but well taſted fruit, in the beginning of the winter.

The

The countries in the neighbourhood of volcanoes are always found to be fertile; which is either occaſioned by the heat of the earth, or by the fiery exhalations that are emitted. In the gardens near Pozzuoli, the ſoil of which is extraordinarily warm becauſe of the vicinity of Solfatara and its hot ſprings, vegetables are produced and the fruits ripen a fortnight ſooner than at Naples: but the fruits, on account of this heat, are leſs delicious; and the vegetables leſs excellent.

With reſpect to the ſecond fruits that were produced in the year 1779, I remember that, in the latter part of the autumn of the ſame year, as I was travelling from Germany to Denmark, I ſaw the wild cheſnut tree a ſecond time in bloom in both countries: nay, in Denmark, toward the middle of November, at a ſeaſon when in general the oak had ſhed its leaves, in theſe countries.

This whole year was remarkable, in the North. On the 13th of March, in the *Charlottenburg*, now the botanic, garden at Copenhagen, I ſaw an apricot tree in the open air in full bloom. Thoſe ſecret cauſes, which produced a new bloom in autumn as well even in Denmark as in Germany, acting in milder climates with no leſs effect, muſt have repeated the gifts of ſummer and of autumn in the winter of the ſouth of Italy. Both in theſe countries and in the north, people were fearful that nature would have recruited her powers by extreme frugality, in the following year: but the kind and ſmiling mother, in 1780, ſcattered her bleſſings from her horn of plenty, over her anxious, fearful, and agitated children.

LETTER LXVII.

Naples, 3d March 1792.

YESTERDAY evening, I and Erneſt, with Nicolovius and Jacobi, took a boat; and once more proceeded to viſit Mount Veſuvius.

The wiſhed-for night approached, and we beheld the river of fire at a diſtance; and likewiſe its reflection in the ſea. We again took aſſes at Portici, and rode as before to the two hermits, as they are called, who live in the hermitage of *San Salvadore*, ſituated on a conſiderable height of the mountain, and lying between the Somma and the proper Veſuvius. The employment of theſe people is to afford lodging and aid to ſtrangers.

As we travelled, we ſaw the whole ſtream of burning lava at a diſtance; and heard the noiſe of the mountain louder than when in the boat. We likewiſe beheld melancholy marks of the deſolation of the year 1779, teſtified by prodigious pieces of lava and *ſcoria*, and giving a terrific aſpect to the flouriſhing plants and vine bowers, among which they lay ſcattered.

Before we left the hermitage to continue our road, I put my ſon to bed; after which, we rode to a croſs, where the way began to be impaſſable for the animals.

I do not believe that the ſtones, which were thrown from the crater of the mountain, and the many rivulets of fire which flowed on all ſides from the principal ſtream, would have permitted us to have aſcended and examined the new mouth, that vomited forth theſe terrors. It was not far below the crater on the ſummit, which evidently had a connection with the chief gulph. Theſe pathleſs ſteep ways, which are dreadful even by day, were more dreadful by night. The now dim,

dim, now flaring light of our torches, more frequently ſhewed us the ſtone, or the huge cinder, over which we had ſtumbled, than thoſe over which we might ſtumble: like our feeble reaſon; which, Pope, in his Eſſay on Man, has ſo beautifully deſcribed:—

"What can ſhe more than tell us we are fools?"

Neither have I the ſame pliancy of limb, nor ſtrength of lungs, which ſeventeen years ago, when I was a youth, enabled me to climb the ſteepeſt paths of the Alps.

We contented ourſelves, though unwillingly, with taking a lateral direction; by which we approached the lower part of the ſtream of burning lava.

Though the way we took was leſs laborious to the lungs and the limbs than the aſcent to the ſummit would have been, yet it was very difficult; and particularly painful to the feet. Soon after we had paſſed the croſs, we found vegetation, which before had appeared ſickly, entirely dead. Stepping among the deep aſhes, you tread upon prodigious lumps of angular *ſcoria*; the ſharp points of which pain the more ſenſibly becauſe the preſſure of the foot frequently makes leſſer bits roll down, and wound with their deſcent. Such pieces are piled roughly over one another; having been collected by different eruptions of lava, flowing through the unequal ground, and leaving mementos of more early devaſtation.

The heat that proceeded from an aperture, which burſt forth in the month of Auguſt 1790, was inſufferable; and, though when we were there it was a year and a half ſince this eruption happened, the hot ſurface would not permit us to touch it with our hands.

We continued for about a quarter of an hour to paſs with haſty ſteps over hollow lumps of droſs, that ſtill were glowing; ſurrounded on all ſides by gulphs of fire. To have made a falſe ſtep, or to have ſtepped ſlowly, would have been equally dangerous. Should the droſs give way, the foot muſt ſink or the body be thrown off its centre, and all

our precaution would have been vain. The lava that had ruſhed headlong from the ſteep declivity, arriving at a place where there was no deſcent, collected itſelf among the cinders, and flowed but ſlowly: though ſtill the flood was flaming red. The ſtones and *ſcoria* that it had paſſed over were red hot; and one of our guides lighted the extinguiſhed torch, which he held in his hand, by a cinder of this kind.

The nature of the lavas is various, according to the materials contained in the mountain; either as they ſhall mingle with each other, or be thrown up unmingled. They are as hard as ſtone, are capable of the poliſh of marble, and of different colours. Either I miſtake or the pavement of the Roman roads moſtly conſiſts of the lava of antient volcanos, which had become extinguiſhed before the time of the Roman hiſtory, and therefore were not known as ſuch. The ſame may be ſaid of all Naples, and of the highway to Portici.

The pure melted lava does not form itſelf into waves as it flows; but, as ſoon as it is diſcharged from the throat of the mountain, the maſs which it forms is impelled downwards by ſucceſſive emiſſions. You may remember to have ſeen the Rhine flow in the ſame manner at Mentz. It forms no waves, but is apparently ſtill: yet the broad ſtream flows with more reſiſtleſs power from this circumſtance. Metal, melted till liquefied in a forge, may give you a tolerable idea of the lava; as well of that which flows purely, as of that which is mingled with droſs.

Whenever the mountain throws out its palpitating flames and hurls its ſtones into the air, the melted ſtream is enlivened by a new poliſh. Red hot ſtones at the ſame time roll down on every ſide. Many were rolled along by the lava, as flints are by the ſtream of the mountain. From the principal cataracts of fire inferior ones take their courſe. The mountain ceaſed to repeat its quick ſucceſſive claps of thunder, and continued to roll it durably, while the hiſſing roars of a tempeſt were heard. The clouds of ſmoke that roſe were ſo red that you would have ſuppoſed them to have been flames, had not real flames been emitted;

emitted; and had they not been obſcured by the bright red of the lava.

The ſtillneſs of night reigned over theſe deſert places, and was only interrupted by ſubterranean uproar. The atmoſphere was dark: you ſcarcely could ſee the ſhady part of the mountain, that lay behind that which was illuminated by the fire. Like as poliſhed bodies, when the light is little, ſeem to collect it all to themſelves, and caſt ſurrounding objects in deeper darkneſs.

LETTER LXVIII.

Naples, 7th March 1792.

THE pleaſant lake of *Agnano* lies not far from Solfatara, and ſomething nearer than that to Naples. It is chiefly ſurrounded by high ſhores, on which the poplar and the cheſnut tree grow.

Near a part of the ſhore, at the foot of a hill, there is a cavern; which was called by the antients the cavern of Charon. It is better known at preſent by the name of *La Grotta del Cane:* the cavern of dogs; becauſe it is a common cuſtom to put a dog into the cavern, in order to convince ſtrangers of the mephitic qualities of the air. The dog preſently loſes his ſenſes, and muſt die were he not dragged out, and, to recover him, dipped in the water of the lake.

We did not think proper to tolerate the cruelty of this experiment, and we therefore entered the cavern one after another. That we might be convinced of the effects of the air, it was neceſſary we ſhould bend: but theſe effects were not ſo ſtrong as we expected. There is a ſimilar opening in the earth near Pyrmont, which appeared to me to exhale ſtronger vapours. I muſt remark however that I viſited the German

German cavern in a hot ſummer's day, and this during the humid ſeaſon of ſpring; and it is probable that the effects are more ſudden and forcible in ſummer.

It is impoſſible to fire a piſtol in the grotto; for the air prevents the powder in the pan from taking fire. We had neglected to bring fire arms to make the experiment: but we ſaw the torches were extinguiſhed, when they were held in the cavern.

The hot ſulphur baths of the lake appeared to me ſtronger than the vapour of the cavern. Theſe baths are called *Stufe*, or ſtoves, *di San Germano*. They are much eſteemed for their effects; and emit a hot vapour, the ſmoke of which is ſo fine that means muſt be taken to render it viſible. A bit of tinder is kindled, and ſuffered to ſmoke; and round this the aſcending ſulphureous vapour will become perceptible. I can only account for this effect by ſuppoſing that a part of the more groſs ſmoke of the tinder mixes with the fine vapour, and thickens it ſufficiently to render it viſible.

A rough path leads to the boiling ſprings, which are called *gli Piſciarelli*. They riſe out of the *Monte Secco*, or dry hill, and have probably ſome connection with Solfatara: for, as in that, a ſmoke exhales here, out of little apertures, which ſhews the exiſtence of ſulphur and vitriol.

Thoſe, who endeavour to find the hell of Homer and Virgil, with all its ſtreams, on earth, diſcover in the pleaſant lake of *Agnano* the river of *Cocytus*; in the *Grotta del Cane* the cavern of *Cerberus*, who was charmed to ſleep by a ſop which the Sibyl had prepared; the Styx in the hot ſprings; and, finally, that the hypotheſis may be in all things complete, in the *Stufe di San Germano*, which are viſited by the ſick, the entrance to the ſhades of death: where, as the Roman poet ſings,

Veſtibulum ante ipſum primiſque in faucibus Orci
Luctus et ultrices poſuere cubilia Curæ:
Pallenteſque habitant Morbi, triſtiſque Senectus,
Et Metus et male ſuada Fames, ac turpis Egeſtas,
Terribiles viſu formæ! Lethumque, Laboſque;

Tum

Tum conſanguineus Lethi Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia; mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Diſcordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

VIRG. Æn. vi. 273.

Juſt in the gate, and in the jaws of hell,
Revengeful Cares, and ſullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Diſeaſes, and repining Age;
Want, Fear, and Famine, unreſiſted rage;
Here Toils, and Death, and Death's half-brother, Sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their ſentry keep:
With anxious Pleaſures of a guilty mind,
Deep Frauds before, and open Force behind:
The Furies' iron beds, and Strife that ſhakes
Her hiſſing treſſes, and unfolds her ſnakes.

DRYDEN, v. 384.

This beautiful paſſage of the poet has been applied to the vapour baths with much acuteneſs, but with little judgment.

I need not repeat what I have already ſaid, concerning the abſurdity of that opinion that ſuppoſes the whole empire of Death, with the Elyſian fields, which another ſun and other ſtars illumine—

——*Solemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt*——

are to be found on earth; in the lake Avernus, the vineyards of the dead ſea, and where the dead of all Baiæ were buried. I would only adviſe you to turn to the map of theſe countries, and follow the poet through all his labyrinths: I mean follow him if you can.

The lake of Avernus is very near Cumæ: but the *veſtibulum* of *Orcus* is more than a German mile diſtant.

The noble Mantuan bard, when he lived in Naples, certainly had often praiſed the lake of Agnano in fabulous ſong; and had viſited its bowers. But why compare this lovely lake to the hateful Cocytus? Why did they not diſcover, ſince they were bent on diſcovery, that which the ſagacious poet had concealed deep in earth and darkneſs?

——*Alta terra et caligine*——

Why, I ſay, did they not, among the groves of this lake, diſcover the fields where the ſouls of lovers ſtray; and meet in them the wandering ſhade of Dido, with her freſh bleeding wounds? But they were determined to find that of which nothing but blind curioſity would have gone in ſearch.

A tolerably ſteep hill ſeparates the banks of the Agnano from the deep valley of *Aſtruni*. The proſpect from the top of this hill, as well toward the lake as the valley, is very pleaſant. It is ſurrounded by leſſer heights, and ſhaded by the oak, the prickly oak, and the cheſnut tree.

Here the wild boars, many of which we ſaw, meet with excellent paſture. The King frequently diverts himſelf with hunting in this valley; in the middle of which there is a charming lake, and a little pool that has probably been ſeparated from the lake by an earthquake.

A gentle heart enlivening calm is felt, as well on the banks of the lake of Agnano as in the whole of theſe friendly regions. No object here reminds you of the vicinity of a great city, which is inhabited by nearly half a million of people. All breathes that ſoft repoſe which many conſider as an empty ſound; but without which the few, who feel it, conſider the pleaſures that the crowd endeavour to diſcover in ſtrife and ambition as empty indeed, and frantic. Happy are they who hear the warning voice of peace and repoſe! They behold ever youthful Joy eſcaping from clamour and tears, and flying to the arms of Wiſdom; as to a tender mother, whoſe charms are concealed from the prophane. They ſhun the din and tumult of the world: but they welcome their ſympathetic friends, and lead them to their bowers of delight.

LETTER LXIX.

Naples, 10th March 1792.

ALTHOUGH on our voyage we had ſeveral times paſſed very near to the promontory of Miſenum, yet we had left it without paying it a viſit; becauſe we intended to dedicate a day to this purpoſe, having promiſed ourſelves very delightful views from its charming ſituation. Accordingly, we yeſterday took boat, to fulfill our intentions.

The waves ran high, the wind was againſt us, and our boatmen coaſted along the Poſilipo: the high and projecting cape of which divides the bay of Naples, that extends from the promontory of Maſſa, formerly the promontory of Minerva, to that of Miſenum.

The appearance of the Poſilipo is various and delightful; and we continued our route through the ſmall ſtrait, by which it is ſeparated from the iſland of Niſida. We then ſteered along the winding coaſt of Pozzuoli and Baiæ, and navigated the paſſage cut in the rock through the leſſer cape; which, with the long promontory of Miſenum, had formed the haven where, in the time of Auguſtus, a great part of the Roman fleet lay. Probably, Agrippa cut through theſe rocks, when he built the haven, to afford ſmall veſſels a quick paſſage from Baiæ to Miſenum; and probably the paſſage was cut by the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus. I am inclined to aſcribe the work to Lucullus, who delighted in undertakings of this kind, and who had a country houſe in Baiæ as well as in Miſenum. The rocky holes here are called, both by the country people and the mariners, the *grotta degli ſpirti:* the grotto of ghoſts.

This haven has been miſtakenly confounded, by ſome Italian authors,

with the Julian haven. They are near to each other, and both were the work of Auguſtus; or more properly of Agrippa.

The frequently projecting now high now level cape, which, with its ſmall and low neck, forms a part of the round and every where ſteep hill of Miſenum, runs farther into the ſea than the Poſilipo, is waſhed by the roaring and foaming waves, and ſeparates the bay of Naples from the bay of Gaeta. The coaſts and iſlands ſeem carved and interſected with ſo playful a hand that they every where communicate, even to Italy itſelf, a peculiar and enchanting grandeur.

Some remains may ſtill be ſeen of the antient town of Miſenum. The hill in moſt parts is dug in hollows, and you proceed from one rocky vault to another. It is ſuppoſed that the Romans had a water ciſtern here: perhaps they likewiſe had their baths. The wind being againſt us, we were later than we expected; and therefore forbore to viſit the cavern by the light of torches. This cavern is ſometimes called *La Grotta Dragonara*: at others *Traconnaria*.

We went up the hill, and found parts of it planted with vine bowers and fig trees. Toward the top, we met with many aromatic plants, growing wild; and, oftener than the reſt, the *cactus opuntia*; or the Indian fig and the aloe. Theſe exotics of our green houſes were here growing wild. Here too we ſaw, on their tall ſtems, the gilded aloe flowers of the foregoing ſummer, higher than thoſe whoſe periodical blowing is advertiſed in our newſpapers; and which the lovers of Botany, allured from all parts, will make long journeys to ſee. We met with the ſame plant on the Poſilipo; and likewiſe with a kind of tree which none of us knew, the great beauty and peculiar form of which attracted our attention.

From the top of the hill, which is almoſt an iſland, we overlooked the cape; and beheld Baiæ, Bauli, the Dead Sea, the lake of Fuſaro, the Monte Nuovo, the hill of Gaurus, Pozzuoli, Solfatara, the caſtle of *Sant' Elmo*, which lies beyond Naples, the high monaſtery of *Camaldoli*, the

the iſland of Niſida, the promontory of Poſilipo, Mount Veſuvius, the whole coaſt of Sorento, the iſland of Capri, and, in the bay of Gaeta, the iſlands of Procida, Iſchia, and Ventotiene. Add, to all theſe, the charms of the ſea, and the delights of a climate in which, at this ſeaſon of the year, the fig and the vine are unfolding their beauties. On the 7th, I had ſeen the tops of the poplar, beſide the lake of Agnano, covered with young foliage. The graſs of the meadows has long been green. The *medicago arborea** and the *ſpartium*, with its beautiful yellow papilionaceous flower, whoſe form delights the ſight and its odour the ſmell, are in full bloom.

This hill was called the promontory of Miſenum às early as Livy. According to ſome, Miſenus was one of the companions of Ulyſſes: according to Virgil, who has an antient tradition in ſupport of his opinion,

——— *Quo non præſtantior alter*
Ære ciere viros martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
Et lituo pugnas inſignis obibat et haſta.

VIRG. Æn. vi. 164.

——— none ſo renown'd,
The warrior trumpet in the field to ſound:
With breathing braſs to kindle fierce alarms;
And rouſe to dare their fate, in honourable arms.
He ſerv'd great Hector; and was ever near,
Not with his trumpet only, but his ſpear.

DRYDEN, Æn. v. 243.

While Æneas was viſiting the Sibyl of Cumæ, Miſenus was miſſing.

Sed tum forte cava dum perſonat æquora concha,
Demens et cantu vocat in certamina Divos;

* The *cytiſus* of Virgil. It is likewiſe called *cytiſus maranthæ*; and muſt not be confounded with our *cytiſus labernum* of the gardens, which alſo grows wild in the ſouth of Italy. The *medicago* has a reſemblance to our garden ſhrub *colutea*. I ſaw ſingle flowers the whole winter through, in the country round Rome. The leaves of this plant were held by the antients to be the beſt of fodder. See Voſs's Virgil, Geo. ii. 431.

Æmulus exceptum Triton, ſi credere dignum eſt,
Inter ſaxa virum ſpumoſa immerſerat unda.

VIRG. Æn. vi. 171.

Swoln with applauſe, and aiming ſtill at more,
He now provokes the ſea-gods from the ſhore;
With envy Triton heard the martial ſound,
And the bold champion for his challenge drown'd,
Then caſt his mangled carcaſe on the ſtrand.

DRYDEN, v. 251.

The Sibyl announced to Æneas the death of one of his companions; and, while he and the faithful *Achates*, who had accompanied him on his viſit to the propheteſs, were bewailing the loſs of a comrade, and wondering who it could be that the Sibyl meant, they diſcovered Miſenus.

He was ſolemnly buried by Æneas under this mountain, as the poet thus relates:

At pius Æneas ingenti mole ſepulchrum
Imponit, ſuaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque,
Monte ſub aërio, qui nunc Miſenus ab illo
Dicitur, æternumque tenet per ſæcula nomen.

VIRG. Æn. vi. 232.

But good Æneas order'd on the ſhore
A ſtately tomb; whoſe top a trumpet bore:
A ſoldier's fauchion, and a ſeaman's oar.
Thus was his friend interr'd: and deathleſs fame
Still to the lofty cape conſigns his name.

DRYDEN, v. 331.

And ſtill it continues to be called *Il Capo Miſeno*: or *Monte Miſeno*. We neglected to viſit the freſh ſpring, which riſes before the hill out of the ſea.

We ſailed back with a pleaſant wind, and merrily compared the black woollen ſail of our boat to the black ſail with which Theſeus, forgetting the promiſe he had made to his father, ſailed back from Crete to Athens, after he had ſlain the Minotaur.

One

One of our boatmen, who no doubt had drunk too much at Miſeno, ſuddenly let a rope go, belonging to the ſail, which he held in his hand; and the motion of the boat, from the high wave, was ſo quick that we ſhipped a quantity of water: in ſo much that, had it but dipped an inch deeper, it ſeemed as if we ſhould all have periſhed.

LETTER LXX.

Naples, 15th March 1792.

"TRIBUNES of the people and Quirites, this is the anni-
" verſary of the day on which, in the open field, I fortunately fought in
" Africa, againſt Hannibal and the Carthaginians. It is but juſt that diſ-
" putes and calumny ſhould ceaſe, on ſuch a day. I ſhall therefore go from
" this to the Capitol, there to worſhip the great Jupiter, Juno, Minerva,
" and the other gods; and pay them my thanks, for that they, on this
" day, and on other ſimilar occaſions, have given me the power and
" the underſtanding to guard the ſafety of the republic. Quirites, who-
" ever among you ſhall think proper, follow me; and entreat the gods
" to give you leaders like me, who, from my ſeventeenth year to the
" preſent hour, if my deeds have been rewarded by the honours you
" have conferred, have made my deeds more than deſerve thoſe ho-
" nours and thoſe rewards."

Thus ſpoke Publius Scipio Africanus: diſdaining to anſwer the vile ſlanders, brought againſt him by mean demagogues. He roſe from the tribune, and aſcended the Capitol; and the whole aſſembly followed. The tribunes were deſerted by their very clerks, and public ſervants; and remained behind, with ſlaves, and malcontents, and the public accuſer. Scipio proceeded, attended by the people, not only to the

Capitol but through the city; viſiting all the temples of the gods. There was more ſolemnity in the protection afforded him by his fellow citizens on this day, and in that grandeur of character by which it had been deſerved, than on that in which, after his victories over the Carthaginians and Syphax, he entered Rome in triumph.

The tribunes appointed a new day to hear the accuſers of the hero, who was fully determined not to appear a ſecond time. They expected much from the conſideration in which their fellow tribune, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, was held: he who was the father of the Gracchi, who were both but too famous for the repoſe of Rome. But Sempronius, though the enemy of Scipio, honouring his great qualities, heroically became his admirer.

"I will not," ſaid he, "ſuffer Publius Scipio to be accuſed before "he returns to Rome: and even then, ſhould he demand it, I will "be his defender. Scipio has attained ſo high a degree of glory, "by the deeds he has achieved and the dignities he has acquired, "favoured as he is by Gods and men, that greater diſgrace would alight "upon the Roman people than upon Scipio, were he to ſtand in the "*Forum* as a man accuſed, liſtening to the inſults and calumnies of "boys*." After this honourable incident, Scipio continued to live at Liternum.

We yeſterday viſited this place, which is denoted by a large ſtone tower, called *Torre di Patria*. The word *Patria*, it ſhould ſeem, was found written on this tower, as the remainder of an antient inſcription: *Ingrata patria, ne quidem oſſa mea habes*:—Ungrateful country, thou ſhalt not have my bones! No trace of this inſcription is now to be found. If it ever really were there, it muſt, like the tower, have been of later ages; and this building cannot have been more early than the Saracens. I conſider it as of much later date: for it is known that the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, cauſed thoſe towers to be built, which are

* Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 51, 52, 53.

frequently

frequently ſeen along the ſea coaſt, as watch towers, to guard againſt the corſairs.

It was even conteſted, in the time of Livy, whether Scipio died at and was buried in Rome, or Liternum: but, as hiſtory makes no mention of his return, and as the veil of ſilence is caſt over the laſt years of this great man, except that it was ſaid he gave orders when dying to be buried at his country ſeat, and to have a tomb erected there, becauſe he would not be interred in his ungrateful country, it appears probable that he actually was buried at Liternum *.

The grave of Scipio was diſcovered ſome years ago, but not his aſhes; and there was a fable in the time of Pliny † that a dragon guarded his manes, in a cavern at Liternum. The tradition, which has deſcended from age to age, that this was his burial place, does not appear to me to be fabulous. Be that as it will, if this were the place which Scipio choſe for his reſidence, it would be more intereſting to me than if it were the place of his interment.

The place is now called *Patria;* and the lake, which was antiently the marſh of Liternum, *Lago di Patria.* The lake is ſmall at its entrance; and there is a ferry that muſt be paſſed to go to the tower, which ſtands on a ſandy ſhore that is overgrown with low laurel buſhes, myrtles, roſemary, the maſtic, the juniper tree, and an uncommon ſpecies of honeyſuckle. On each ſide of the lake, remains may be ſeen of antient Liternum; and, on the ſide next Naples, the land is very fruitful. Excellent water melons are produced here, in ſummer; and

* *Silentium deinde de Africano fuit. Vitam Literni egit ſine deſiderio urbis. Morientem rure eo ipſo loco ſepeliri ſe juſſiſſe ferunt, monumentumque ibi ædificari, ne funus ſibi in ingrata patria fieret.*

There was no more mention made of Scipio Africanus. He lived at Liternum, without viſiting Rome; and it was ſaid that, dying at his country ſeat, it was his command that he ſhould be buried at this place; and that a monument ſhould be erected there, that his body might no more be brought to his ungrateful country. Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 53.

† Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

we found the *tacet*, the *ranunculus*, and a late, but very high coloured and ſtrong ſcented, kind of violet. The ſweet pea is now in bloom. The water of the lake is troubled, and has a brackiſh taſte: but there is a clear and freſh ſpring, that bubbles up under a wild fig tree, out of the bed of the lake.

On this ſide of the lake, we likewiſe find ſome antient tombs; out of one of which a pillar of white marble has lately been dug, and ſent to Averſa. One of them had an arched entrance; and this may probably be the ſepulchre of the great Scipio: the cavern in which the fabulous dragon was ſuppoſed to have been ſeen, ſtationed there to watch his manes.

Patria is a long German mile beyond Cumæ. The road from thence leads through Pozzuoli; and through the antient gate of Cumæ, which is called *Arco Felice*. From Patria there is a view over the whole bay of Gaeta; and the neighbouring iſland of Iſchia heightens the uncommon charms of the proſpect.

To the north there is a foreſt; which was notorious, in the time of the antients, becauſe of the robbers by which it was infeſted. The chiefs of theſe robbers frequently paſſed this way, that they might look at the great Scipio *.

The air of Patria in ſummer is very noxious; and moſt of the country people live at a diſtance from theſe fields. The country houſe of Scipio, if immediately on the ſea ſhore, might be leſs expoſed to the bad qualities of the air: or it might have become injurious in later times, when the overflowing of the *Clanius*, or *Lagno*, had mingled its waters with the ſea. However, we find that, at leaſt in Virgil's time, the river often overflowed its banks.

———*Vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerris* †.

VIRG. Geor. ii. 225.

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* Val. Max. ii. Nr. 2.

† The lake was called *Clanius*, and *Clanis*.

And

And ſuch a country could *Acerra* boaſt,
Till *Clanius* overflow'd th' unhappy coaſt.

DRYDEN, 307.

Various antient tombs are ſeen between Patria and Cumæ. We moſtly paſſed through very fertile fields of wheat, or of the ſweet pea. High elms were planted in rows over all of them; and theſe trees were the ſupport of the vine. The vineyards impart the greateſt charm to the country of which a country can be capable. Among them we likewiſe ſaw fig trees, that are now in leaf; and the peach and apricot in bloom. High ladders were reared againſt the elms, and the people were employed in trimming the vine.

The cattle of this country are of a light grey colour; as in the States of the Church, and in Tuſcany: but they are diſtinguiſhed from the cattle of theſe countries by their long legs. Neither have the oxen ſuch prodigious horns as in the *Campagna di Roma*. The goats and ſheep are handſome; and I have ſince ſeen other ſheep ſtill more handſome, in Lombardy and Modena.

When I ſee the goats browſing among the leafy rocks, how frequently do I remember the beautiful complaint of the countryman of Virgil, who was obliged to give up his houſe and field to a ſoldier!

Ite meæ, felix quondam pecus! ite capellæ!
Non ego vos poſthac, viridi projectus in antro,
Dumoſa pendere procul de rupe videbo!

VIRG. Ecl. i. 75.

Farewell, my paſtures, my paternal ſtock:
My fruitful fields, and my more fruitful flock!
No more, my goats, ſhall I behold you climb
The ſteepy cliffs, or crop the flow'ry thyme!

DRYDEN, 102.

LETTER LXXI.

Naples, 18th March 1792.

No country can well be richer than this, in antiquities of different kinds. We every where diſcover remains of the Greeks, which were even honoured and admired by their conquerors, thoſe ravagers of mankind, the Romans. A knowledge of Grecian hiſtory will often point out traces of times in which Rome, that gulph of nations, was unknown to the inhabitants of the ſouth of Italy: conſequently to the Greeks—of times in which Rome, if we date its foundation from the era of Romulus, was not in exiſtence.

Legends more early have been adopted by poets, and received the embelliſhments of poetry. Here the grand annals of nature are always open, but ſeldom read; and more ſeldom underſtood, by the friend of natural hiſtory. Subterranean fires, at different periods, have ſhaken this wonderful theatre, which has been ſubject to ſo many changes. The lofty cape of Poſilipo, projecting far into the ſea, conſiſts of volcanic matter. Here we find mountains that have ſunk; and there mountains that have ariſen. Herculaneum, one of the moſt antient Greek towns of Italy, was firſt diſcovered in the preſent century. Portici and Reſina ſtand built over the roofs of its houſes; which lay obſcured, ingulphed, and undiſcovered, more than ſeventeen centuries: and each of theſe places is daily in danger of being ſhaken and ingulphed like Herculaneum. Children of a future generation perhaps will riſe up, and build over their ruins, and aſcend to the third ſtory, over thoſe who now live in the ſecond: like as Herculaneum, the ground floor, was inhabited till the firſt year of the reign of Titus.

In the ſame year, the 79th after the birth of Chriſt, the antient town of Pompeii was in like manner deſtroyed. Pompeii was not ſituated

immediately where the diſcharge from Mount Veſuvius was the greateſt; ſo that it was overwhelmed with an equally deſtructive, but not an equally high, hill of aſhes: though high enough to fill up, and cover, the ſtreets and houſes; and to ſuffer the town to remain ſeventeen hundred years unnoticed beneath the heap.

The founding of Pompeii, like that of Herculaneum, was aſcribed to Hercules. It ſeems to have received its name from his triumphant return with the cattle, which he brought out of Spain to Greece: ἀπο πομπης των βοων. That account however is the moſt probable, which tells us that Pompeii, as well as Herculaneum, was firſt inhabited by the *Oſci*, then by the *Tyrrheni* and *Pelaſgi*, and afterward by the *Samnites*; who, like other conquerors, probably were expelled by the inhabitants of one of the neighbouring Greek towns *.

Like as this town had been ſubject to political revolutions, ſo did it afford manifeſt tokens of the revolutions of nature previous to that deſtructive eruption of the year 79, which concealed it from the ſight of man. It appears, however, that the antients did not underſtand thoſe tokens, which are ſo indubitable. The houſes were for the moſt part built on a hill; which hill conſiſts of volcanic matter; and the ſtreets, like the Appian way, were paved with lava.

The ſituation of Pompeii is pleaſant. It lies a full quarter of a league from the ſea, and half a league from *Caſtell a Mare*; the antient *Stabiæ*, which was built under the hills at the ſouth angle of the bay of Naples.

The fertility of the land, aided by the mildneſs of the climate, affords the productions of earth in ſuperior beauty and rich profuſion. I yeſterday ſaw roſe-buds, beginning to bloſſom, in the court of an antient villa near Pompeii; and, in the garden of the villa, the double gilly-flower and the variegated pea, *lathyrus*, are in bloom. Here and there, I ſaw fields of wheat, beginning to ear; and moſt of the trees, which ſhed their leaves in autumn, have not yet ſhed them here. After

* Cluv. Ital. Ant.

the manner of the country, the fields are planted with trees and vines in regular rows.

We met with a broad bed of lava, between Portici and Pompeii; which, in the year 1767, ſuddenly guſhed from two hills, ſtanding at the foot of Mount Veſuvius, and ran into the ſea. Similar eruptions may have contributed to give new limits to the ſea. In fact, it appears that Pompeii once lay immediately on the ſea ſhore. Livy relates that, in the year 440 after the building of Rome, and 330 before the birth of Chriſt, a Romiſh ſquadron landed at Pompeii. I grant that we can form no eſtimate of the antient extent of this town, while only ſo ſmall a part of it ſhall be uncovered: but, as we do not find in antient authors Pompeii deſcribed as a very great place, I therefore conjecture that the preſſing forward of the lava, and the farther embanking of the aſhes, may have contracted the boundaries of the water.

All Poſilipo took birth, in early ages, from the eruptions of this fiery mountain; although there is no hiſtory of the country that mentions any ſuch event: but its whole ſubſtance is volcanic matter.

This volcanic matter is of very different kinds; which muſt be moſt accurately examined, before any true judgment can be formed, from vegetation and its progreſs, of the time when the entrails of the mountain were here diſgorged. Pure lava remains ſo very long unfruitful that hundreds, or probably thouſands of years may have paſſed away; but the droſs may much ſooner moulder to earth, or be mixed with the ſoil. Whoever would eſtimate the different relations, between the lava and the *ſcoria*, muſt take into the account the different ſubſtances of different lavas; and likewiſe the different *ſcoria*, droſs, and aſhes. A novice myſelf in natural hiſtory, I know not whether the ſcience of the greateſt adepts will be ſufficient to ſolve ſo perplexed a problem. Of the reality of the many kinds of lava, and *ſcoria*, my own eyes have convinced me.

The eruption of the year 1767 appears to have emitted much more *ſcoria* than lava; and more aſhes than *ſcoria*. The broad bed, which it produced, already begins here and there to be ſcattered with vegetation.

tion. It is known how much the growth and decay of graſs contributes to the growth of greater plants. The tender ramifications of the roots bind together the materials round which they entwine; and the putreſcence of little plants promotes the vegetation of greater.

We alighted from our carriage at that part of the town which was firſt diſcovered; and here we ſaw a large ſquare place, the interior of which contained pillars of maſſy grandeur, and the outer part conſiſted of buildings. A deep tiled gutter deſcended from the flat roofs of the houſes, which were higher than the pillars, and contributed to form a covered way: but theſe pent-houſes, as well as the roofs themſelves, are overloaded with the aſhes of Veſuvius. The guttered pent-houſes that have been diſcovered are large, ſtrong, and handſomely conſtrúcted. The pillars are of ſlate-ſtone; the decorations are of the Doric order, and covered below with a deep red, and above with a white, plaiſter. This plaiſter, both in colour and poliſh, is aſtoniſhingly well preſerved: but it increaſes that impreſſion of inſignificance which theſe pillars produce; and which, beyond doubt, were the work of the Romans.

This place, and the houſes that encloſe it, are generally ſuppoſed to have been the quarters of the Roman ſoldiers. Others maintain that the place was the *Forum;* and that the ſurrounding places were built for ſhops.

Near this place are the ruins of a large theatre; which is likewiſe ſuppoſed by ſome to have been intended for the Roman ſoldiers. An amphitheatre would have rendered this opinion more probable: though the amphitheatres, which were built by the Romans in the provinces, were not ſolely deſtined to the recreation of the ſoldiers.

There is a Roman inſcription on a projecting wall connected with the theatre; which wall was likewiſe part of a theatre of another kind, that is concealed under the hill of the preſent unremoved rubbiſh. It was called an *Odeum.* I know not whether any antiquarian have accurately defined the idea that the antients annexed to the word *Odeum,* which

which is evidently derived from the Greek word ὠδὴ: an ode, ballad, or ſong. The *Odea* were no doubt appropriated to muſic: but who can ſay that this *Theatrum tectum*, or roofed theatre, was an *Odeum?* It is probable; but it is not proved: and only probable becauſe the dramatic repreſentations of the antients were exhibited in open theatres.

The Roman magiſtrates, according to the cuſtom of this people, bargained with a contractor, a claſs of men whom they called *redemptores*, for the building of this theatre: as the inſcription teſtifies.

C. QVINCTIVS. C. F. VALG.
M. PORCIVS. M. F.
DVO. VIR. DEC. DECR.
THEATRVM. TECTVM.
FAC. LOC. EIDEMQ. PROB.

(Cajus Quinctius, Caji filius Valgius, Marcus Porcius, Marci filius, Duoviri decuriones (or decurionum) decreverunt Theatrum tectum, facere locârunt, eidemque probârunt.

There ſtill are conſiderable remains of a temple of Iſis. It is known that the Egyptian idolatries, and particularly the myſteries of Iſis, were frequently mingled with thoſe of the Romans, frequently perſecuted, and frequently endured. Wine coagulated, bread, and prepared fleſh, were found in a ſuppoſed chamber of the prieſts.

Beyond all other buildings, for its high antiquity, which have been diſcovered under the rubbiſh of Pompeii, are the ruins of a temple: the large Doric pillars of which, and their chapiters, denote the very early time of Greek art; when, in half rude ſimplicity and yet unformed, it was full of grandeur and ſtrength; and, in the true Doric ſpirit, diſdained all ornament, as offenſive. This ſame ſpirit breathes in the Doric dialect of Pindar and Theocritus; and, if we may believe the teſtimony of the antients, it likewiſe breathed in the Doric muſic.

This part of the town was terraced on unequal ground; for which reaſon, in ſome houſes, you go from the ground floor on one ſide, without deſcending a ſtair caſe, into the third ſtory of the oppoſite ſide.

The

The hill, againſt which the buildings of the town leaned, is of volcanic matter, and contains *ſcoria;* among which ſmall ſtones, of the ſize of a pea, are found, but which are not all ſmooth and ſpherical, ſome of them ſeeming to have been cut, by art, into four-and-twenty equal faces. Time, and the matter of which they are compoſed, have produced this cryſtallization. I own I ſuſpected this to be a deception; till, by ſearching among the droſs, which lies on the little hill, I diſcovered ſimilar ſtones.

All the houſes have a ſmall court, round which the chambers are built; and all theſe chambers are ſmall, and low. Some muſt have been rather dark; others have many windows. We found no chimney place in any one of them: the ſmoke of the kitchen aſcended through a ſmall aperture, and the kitchens were narrow and dark. The vapour bath was generally next to the kitchen. The rooms for the ſlaves were below, near the kitchen, ſmall, and dark; as might well have been ſuppoſed, from the ſevere manner in which the ſlaves were treated. The doors likewiſe, in the upper apartments, were generally ſo low that you muſt bend to paſs under them.

The inhabitants here muſt have had time to ſave themſelves and their furniture, though not in Herculaneum; becauſe this town was overwhelmed by the deſtruction of the mountain, at the foot of which it ſtood, before it was buried under the lava. The few bones and ſkulls, that have been found in Pompeii, may be thoſe of perſons who were too reluctant in their flight: the bodies of priſoners, chained to one another, have likewiſe been diſcovered. Time has thickened the aſhes, and condenſed them to a ſolid body; and in ſome of theſe conſolidated aſhes we were ſhewn deep footſteps.

The chamber, intended for the cold bath, had four niches: the roof was in the form of a cone, and had an opening in the centre; which probably was intended, as ſtill may be ſeen in baths for the ſick, to ſcatter water in ſtreams over diſeaſed limbs.

In

In another bath, a great number of little pitchers of ſalve were found, hanging to nails.

In a vapour bath, we ſaw an ornamental half-round niche, vaulted in the form of an open ſhell. Sufficient room was left, between the niche and the wall, to ſuffer the warm ſurrounding air to come to the back of the niche, and perform its office.

We went from this part of the town to another, which was at ſome diſtance; paſſing among vineyards and over ſtreets, the rubbiſh of which had not yet been cleared away. The King only ſuffers that part of the ground that belongs to him to be cleared. The expence of purchaſing the lands, under which the antient town is buried, and of the fields, upon which the rubbiſh that is carried away muſt be heaped, deterred him from purſuing the undertaking with greater ardour becauſe of the extravagant demands of their owners. Seventy-five labourers are daily employed by him at this work.

We came to two ſtreets the houſes of which, the roofs excepted, were for the greateſt part preſerved. The ſtreets were only ſix paces wide; and, in the hard pavement of lava, you perceive the deep ruts of wheels. A large houſe, that was open in the front, and before the centre of which there was a high pedeſtal, where probably the ſtatue of an Emperor ſtood, was, as it is conjectured, a cuſtom houſe. Another houſe appears as if it had been a ſoap manufactory. This conjecture is made from the large deep kind of vats, which were cut in ſtone; and from the chalk, which we ſaw lying in heaps.

The floors of ſeveral houſes were inlaid with Moſaic work: the walls were painted, and generally with vivid colours; with high red, ſeldom with green, frequently with a dark yellow, but moſt often with a kind of blue that reſembles the Pruſſian blue.

On theſe floors ſmall paintings are ſeen; which, as ſoon as they are ſprinkled with water, recover their original vivacity, as if juſt traced by the pencil: but this continues only a few minutes. Without the aid

aid of water, they are of a dead colour. Some of the landſcapes are excellently touched; and garlands of flowers ſerpentine with a free and tender air. Architectural ſketches demonſtrate that the rules of perſpective were not ſo entirely unknown, to the antients, as is generally believed. Figures of men and cattle are, in part, very beautiful; and others, ſuſpended in the air, are lovely and full of grace.

Thoſe, who ſhould judge of the ſtate of the arts, among the antients, from the pictures found on theſe walls, would draw very wrong concluſions. How falſe would that eſtimate be, of the modern art of painting, which ſhould be made from the pictures found in the houſes of a country town! What would follow, were ſuch an eſtimate to be formed from the paintings in freſco; which we meet with in the houſes, chapels, and churches of all the towns of Italy; inſtead of examining the dignity and worth of the immortal maſters, whoſe works are in Genoa, Parma, Bologna, Florence, and Rome?

The works of Zeuxis, Apelles, and Protogenes, are entirely loſt. Theſe and others would be no leſs ineſtimable than the works of the great ſculptors, Phidias, Praxiteles, and Lyſippus: though it is probable that no work of theirs is now to be found. The labours of ſculptors of an inferior order, among the antients, have never yet been equalled by our moſt famous artiſts.

The truth is that the honour of the modern chiſſel has never equalled the fame of the modern pencil; but has remained at a mortifying diſtance.

Theſe trifling pictures however are ſome proof, in favour of the art of painting among the antients. It is not unjuſt to judge of great things by ſmall. If the works of the daubers of a country town, which had long been rather Roman than Grecian, could attain ſo much expreſſion, and ſo many graces, what was the exalted degree of beauty, which had been attained by the early maſters of a favourite art; whoſe works were the admiration of Corinth, Sicyon, Athens, Tarentum, Syracuſe, and Agrigentum!

That theſe paintings were really of the Roman times the frequent repreſentations of gladiators ſufficiently prove. Who is ignorant that the iron genius of Rome rather terrified than invited the tender Muſes, and their favourite productions? Thus fled the affrighted Galatea, from the rude careſſes of the ſavage Polyphemus.

People here aſſert that an amphitheatre was diſcoverd at this place in the laſt King's reign, and again covered up; which was larger than the Flavian amphitheatre, or Coloſſeum, of Rome. The Flavian amphitheatre was the greateſt public building which, till that time, had ever been erected by Rome. It was begun by Veſpaſian, continued by Titus, and completed by Domitian. Yet this town of Pompeii, which was deſtroyed in the firſt year of the reign of Titus, was poſſeſſed of a larger amphitheatre than Flavian! An abſurdity like this is undeſerving of farther remark.

I liſten with aſtoniſhment, when I am told that an antient inſcription, which was diſcovered in the amphitheatre of Capua, proves that this amphitheatre was built in the time of Veſpaſian: however the amphitheatre at Capua was not ſo large as the Coloſſeum; nor was Pompeii ſo conſiderable a city as Capua.

All the inſcriptions that I have ſeen in Pompeii are Latin: in Naples, the manners and the language of Greece long after this continued to prevail.

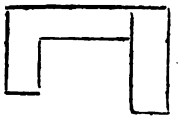
He muſt have been a good man who cauſed the word *Salve*, You are welcome, to be inſcribed in moſaic work over his door. We found it at the entrances of two houſes.

Swinburne read an inſcription, in which a woman offers her houſe to hire for ſhameful purpoſes; who refers for her character to the Ædile, a principal officer among the magiſtrates of Rome.

An object is here very frequently met with, which decency does not permit me to name. Thoſe, who blindly defend the antients, may affirm that theſe repreſentations were mingled with the religious ideas of the people: of this I am not ignorant.

The

The inhuman ſpectacle of the gladiators was likewiſe intended to ſhew their reſpect for the dead, and to honour their gods. Falſe religion is deviſed in conformity to the paſſions of men: it therefore flatters theſe paſſions. Citing the example of their Gods and Goddeſſes, what was the ſpecies of cruelty which the Greeks and Romans might not palliate? Purity of heart, benevolence, and love, were the conſequences of that true religion by which they were taught. We found a *triclinium*, in a houſe, which was cut out of ſtone. *Triclinium* was the name that the antients gave to their three-ſided couches; on which three perſons might recline and eat at a low table. They were covered with cuſhions. The *triclinium* we ſaw had ſomething like the following figure.



At one end of the town, we ſaw tombs; before ſome of which *exedræ*, of ſtone, ſtood: which was the name of half circular ſeats, that would contain eight, ten, or more people. The antients were very fond of them: they likewiſe called them *ſcholæ*, when they were intended for philoſophical diſputes, or rhetorical exerciſes. In fact, they are exceedingly convenient for the free converſation of a company of people; becauſe, from their circular form, they might each ſee the countenances of the whole. Who is not delighted with the animation that enlivens the phyſiognomy of the perſon ſpeaking, the playful changes which the features aſſume, and the full and feeling expreſſion of the eye: eſpecially among the ſouthern nations, the countenances and eyes of whom are ſo full of life? And how much is loſt, when theſe are not ſeen!

The following inſcription was on the arm of an *exedra* of this kind.

MAMMIAE P. F. SACERDOTI. PVPLICAE LOCVS SEPVLTVR.
DATVS DECVRIONVM. DECRETO.

"This ſepulchre is erected, by the decree of the *Decuriones*, to the memory of Mammia, daughter of Publius, who was a prieſteſs."

The tomb of this prieſteſs was ſeparated from the *exedra* by a little court; and, facing the ſepulchre, hollow terrific maſks of baked earth were placed; which were intended to ſerve as lamps, and the flaming mouths and eyes of which, by night, muſt have had a fearful look.

Might not their probable intention have been to avert by terror the intruſion of curioſity, or the avarice of the robber?

At a little diſtance from the town, there is a country houſe, the whole plan of which is not viſible. It appears to have belonged to ſome man of note: we flattered ourſelves with the pleaſing idea that this was the villa which Cicero had at Pompeii: his *Pompeianum*.

This country ſeat, like the houſes of the town, incloſed a court; the portico of which had an angular roof, that connected it with the flat roofs of the whole building; by which they together formed a covered way. Theſe pillars were likewiſe covered with white plaiſter above, and with red below. We met with lovely little pictures in the chambers, in the taſte of thoſe that I have deſcribed. There was a very pleaſant figure, in a private chamber, of a woman with the prow of a ſhip in her right hand, and a *cornucopia* in her left. The *cornucopia* no doubt ſignified the prolific power of the country: but what the meaning of the prow of the ſhip was is not ſo eaſy to diſcover. The image of *Stercutius**, the God of manure, for even manure had its God, could certainly not have been ſo lovely.

Some of the apartments were conſiderably large; at leaſt when compared to the ſmall chambers of the houſes in the town. The habitation of the *Villicus*, or ſteward, was near the houſe of the maſter. In this houſe Swinburne, a traveller of credibility and obſervation, found ſome glaſs in a window†.

* Likewiſe called *Sterculius* and *Stercutus*.

† Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. iii. p. 155. The words of Swinburne are—"In the window of a bedchamber, ſome panes of glaſs are ſtill remaining." T.

The long conteſted queſtion, whether the uſe of glaſs windows were or were not known to the antients, has been decided in their favour.

This houſe is ſituated on the ſide of a hill, and has three ſtories, on the ſide toward the garden, built over the kitchen, and the appertaining apartments: you ſtep into the court from the ſecond ſtory.

The garden is not large; and in this ſmall place there was a little ſquare pond, in the middle of which a fountain roſe. There was likewiſe a garden houſe, the pillars of which are ſtill ſtanding. After a lapſe of ſeventeen hundred years, this garden once again is cultivated. We found many double gilliflowers in it, and peach trees in bloom.

There is a perſon that lives in the houſe of the *Villicus*, who is probably an overſeer of the workmen.

Under three ſides of the garden wall, a handſome broad cellar runs; in which are ſeveral large *amphoræ*, or earthen veſſels. Nine bodies were found in this cellar.

It is probable that men, in the confuſion and anguiſh of their minds, ran here to protect themſelves when the ſhower of hot aſhes began.

The body of a man was found in the houſe, who had a purſe of money in his hand.

Were we but acquainted with the condition of the owner of this villa, we might then better compare the manner of living among the antients, with our own, than we poſſibly can as it is. Moſt of the houſes, in the two ſtreets of the town, that have been uncovered, appear to have belonged to artiſans: as ſuch, they are not bad. In one houſe, ſeveral books and ſurgical inſtruments were found. It belonged no doubt to a phyſician, and is better built than the others. Still however it appears that the houſes of the antients poſſeſſed fewer conveniences than thoſe of the moderns. I aſcribe this difference to the mildneſs of the climate of the ſouth; and to the manner of living among the Greeks and Romans, who never ſaw company except at their meals.

The mind is impreſſed with very peculiar feelings, on wandering through

through theſe dwellings of times of yore. The recollection of their antiquity, and of the fearful accidents of nature by which three towns were deſtroyed, aſſociates itſelf with the ſhades of ſeventeen centuries: ſhades which, over the buried habitations of their forefathers, wander for a moment and then vaniſh.

Ἐφαμεροι τι δε τις; τι δ' ου τις;
Σκιας ὀναρ ἀνθρωποι· ἀλλ' ὁταν αἰγλα
Διοσδοτος ἐλθῃ,
Λαμπρον ἐπεστι φεγγος ανδρῶν,
Και μειλιχος αἰων.

PIND. Pyth. viii. ep. 5.

Child of a day! What art thou, man?
A dream of ſhadows; nothing more:
Unleſs the Gods impart a ray
That gives thee light, and gives thee life.

LETTER LXXII.

Naples, 19th March 1792.

NOT only nature but the works of men, in theſe countries, preſent us with enigmas; which neither the knowledge of antiquity can ſolve, nor penetration diſcover, to the ſatisfaction of the underſtanding. We do not only aſk, When did the Poſilipo riſe up? From what eruption? And out of what volcano? Where is the burning mountain, the entrails of which produced this lofty cape? We likewiſe demand what hand of man was it that cut through theſe materials, after they had become as hard as ſtone, for the ſpace of nine hundred and ſixty paces? To what end? In what age?

Through the hill of tufa ſtone, which lies on the north of Naples, was this prodigious paſſage cut! A paſſage which, under the name of the

the catacombs, was indeed leſs celebrated than the catacombs of Rome: though, I am well aſſured, for I have not ſeen the latter, that, by their height and their relative labour, for they are not walled but cut in the ſtone, they are more remarkable than thoſe of Rome, notwithſtanding that they are not ſo great in their circumference. The enigma concerning theſe catacombs would not have been equally difficult, had thoſe who made the inquiry been pleaſed to prefer the probable to the miraculous: or reaſonable conjecture to abſurd hypotheſis.

One fable clings to another; like the bats of Homer, that, in long rows, hang one by the other from the rocks, and, as ſoon as one quits his hold, the reſt all fly, hiſſing, into their holes.

A miſconception of a paſſage of this great poet, and the paſſage which perhaps would leaſt lead to miſconception, gave riſe to the fable of the caverns inhabited by the Cimmerii. Homer tells us that the empire of Death, and the cells of the Cimmerii, were at the utmoſt bounds of the deep ſtreaming ocean.

Ἡ (i.e. ναυς) δ' ἐς πειραθ ἱκανε βαθυῤῥοον ωκεανοῖο·
Ἐνθα δε Κιμμεριων ανδρῶν δημος τε, πολις τε,
Ἠερι και νε φελῃ κεκαλυμμενοι· οὐδε ποτ αὐτους
Ἠελιος φαεθων ἐπιδερκεται ακτινεσσιν,
Οὐδ' ὁποτ' ἀν τειχῃσι προς ουρανον ἀστεροεντα,
Οὐδ' ὁταν ἀψ ἐπι γαιαν ἀπ' ουρανοθεν προτραπηται·
Ἀλλ' ἐπι νυξ ὀλοη τεταται δειλοισι βροτοισι.

Odyſſ. b. xi. 13.

When lo! we reached old ocean's utmoſt bounds,
Where rocks controul his waves with ever during mounds.
There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The duſky nation of *Cimmeria* dwells;
The ſun ne'er views th' uncomfortable ſeats,
When radiant he advances, or retreats:
Unhappy race! whom endleſs night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in ſhades.

Pope, Od. b. xi. v. 13.

Well,

Well, the end of this deep ſtreaming ocean was diſcovered! And where? In the little Lucrine lake! And becauſe the ſun was ſeen to riſe and ſet over its inſignificant waters, like as it did over thoſe of the ſea, the Cimmerians lived concealed in gloomy cells, where

> The ſun ne'er views th' uncomfortable ſeats,
> When radiant he advances or retreats!

A perſon of the name of *Ephorus* either invented the tale, maintained it, or related it ſuch as it had been told to him; and after him, it was repeated by Strabo; and thenceforward we hear of nothing but the ſubterranean Cimmerii: ſo that wherever a cave was diſcovered, there traces of the groping Cimmerii were ſought. All this happened becauſe it was not perceived with what ſagacity Homer concealed the dread horrors of his ſcene, in the clouded fables of midnight darkneſs. Oh! how long have the ſpectacled commentators of the dignified blind poet ingeniouſly groped after his meaning!

Fooliſh however as this tale is, according to which the Cimmerii inhabited the catacombs of Naples, that opinion is ſtill more abſurd which aſcribes theſe catacombs, as well as thoſe at Rome, to the primitive Chriſtians. That they ſhould aſſemble in ſubterranean places like theſe to worſhip their God, during the times of perſecution under the Heathen Emperors, is ſufficiently probable. Some altars and pictures appear to prove this opinion. But that, in the very times of perſecution, they ſhould be able, ſecretly, to aſſemble and perform labours ſo prodigious as theſe is of all abſurd conjectures the moſt abſurd.

It is likewiſe probable that many martyrs were buried here: for your eye convinces you that the catacombs were public burial places. To this we may add it is poſſible that, when, at length, the Chriſtians ceaſed from being perſecuted, they occaſionally aſſembled here to perform their rites, in memory of theſe Martyrs; and that the altars and pictures are of later ages than thoſe of the Pagan perſecution.

The

The catacombs of this place conſiſt of three ſubterranean vaultings, one over the other: the undermoſt is falling to decay. The two uppermoſt have likewiſe, in ſome and perhaps in many places, been injured by time. It is maintained that theſe paſſages, which branch themſelves out in many directions, lead to ſeveral places; to Capua, Benevento, Pozzuoli, and Poſilipo. On both ſides of the vaults there are cavities, cut over one another, each of which might contain a body. Skulls and bones have been found in great numbers. Many of them are of very late times; nay ſome are the conſequence of the laſt plague, with which the city of Naples was viſited thirty years ago. The body of a man, who was a keeper of the catacombs at that time, has been entirely preſerved; and this gave occaſion to a modern traveller, who, with the love of truth and information, viſited theſe places, to imagine, at the ſight of this body, that travellers have frequently been plundered and murdered in the catacombs: a ſuppoſition which was entirely groundleſs.

The opinion that this work was firſt undertaken in order to procure ſtones, for the building of the city, appears to me probable. It may very well have happened that, in later times, the bodies of the people, or perhaps of their ſlaves, were interred here. After the paſſages had once been cut, it coſt but little trouble to cut graves, on both ſides, in the ſtone. The catacombs of Rome are not cut in the rock; but ſand has been dug from them, mixed with volcanic aſhes; which are found at Rome in great quantities. Theſe the Romans mixed with their lime; and by this means produced an excellent mortar. The mixture of volcanic aſhes with ſand is at preſent called *pozzolana;* becauſe ſuch mixtures are found in great quantities at Pozzuoli, and theſe of all others are the beſt.

The darkneſs of the catacombs, the cloſeneſs of the humid air, and the dead men's bones, which the ſpectator diſcovers by the glimmering light of the torch, add terror to terror.

The road to death has always a terrifying aſpect; and the ruins of theſe ſepulchral holes, for the bodies of men, are additionally terrific.

Whenever the poets of the antients, even in their moſt jocund moments, recollect the darkneſs of the grave, they ſhudder at the thought. The roſy goblet, and the melody of the harmonious lyre, are no guard againſt this evil. In vain did the Epicurean endeavour to baniſh the thoughts of death! Nature was true to her own emotions. You cannot, like Alexander, with Bucephalus, ſo place her that her ſhadow may not be perceptible. More audacious and proud than the ſcholars of Epicurus, the Stoics ſpurned at and baniſhed nature; but could not eſcape being trampled on and ſpurned in return.

"But the people which ſat in darkneſs ſaw great light; and to them "that dwell in the region and ſhadow of Death light is ſprung up*."

The lamp of godlike hope, though under a cloud, burnt from generation to generation; fed with the oil of Heaven.

"But the kingdom of Heaven was at hand." The wiſdom and the love of God, concealed, in the form of man, appeared viſibly on earth; it then deſcended to the grave, and afterward roſe victorious, and enlightened and cheered the nations! Before this light, the ſhadows of the valley of Death, and all its phantoms, vaniſhed!

Tender virgins, dauntleſs, met the terrors of death, in its moſt tremendous forms, with ſmiles and ſongs of thankſgiving! And, ſeventeen centuries having paſſed away, the ſacred poet thus ſang:

Schweig denn du o thräne die in wehmuth troſt weinet,
Mach das herz nicht weich! tröſte nicht mehr!
Iſt am ziel denn nicht vollendung?
Nicht im thale des todes wonnegeſang?

KLOPST. Meſſ. xx. geſ.

* Matt. iv. 16.

Ceaſe

Ceaſe then the tears that comfort, yet afflict!
Enfeeble not thy heart! complain no more!
Will not thy mortal ſorrows quickly ceaſe,
And ſongs immortal cheer the vale of death?

LETTER LXXIII.

Naples, 22d March 1792.

I HAVE viſited the Royal Muſeum, which is at Portici: but do not expect from me an account of all its curioſities; much leſs an accurate deſcription of ſo many objects that are worthy the notice of a lover of antiquity. To ſuch a perſon, no muſeum in Europe is more intereſting than this. The Muſeum-Clementinum-Pium contains works of art that are much more perfect: but ſimilar rarities are to be found in the individual collections of the principal Romans.

It may be remarked that the love of the arts is not inimical to the love of antiquity. From the writings of the Greeks and the Romans we become acquainted with their manner of thinking, and of feeling; with their morals, and cuſtoms; yet we frequently find a want of the viſible inſpection of theſe cuſtoms. And, as there is nothing among men which is not related to the things around them, there can be no doubt but that manners and cuſtoms alternately elucidate each other; and that a view of the houſehold furniture of the antients will render many paſſages in their writers intelligible. Thus the great collection of lamps, which were diſcovered after being buried in rubbiſh ſeventeen centuries, will ſhew the manner in which the antients lighted their houſes.

Thoſe, who accuſe obſervations, which they do not find intereſting to themſelves, of being barren, do but prove the barrenneſs of their

own underſtanding; which cannot diſcover the connection, and aſſociation, of objects with each other.

This great Muſeum contains nothing but the articles that have been found in the three towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia.

In the court of the caſtle of Portici there are two equeſtrian ſtatues: one of Marcus Balbus, the Roman Proconſul and Procurator in Herculaneum; and the other of his ſon. The ſtatues are beautiful; and the horſes, like moſt of the horſes of antient art, though not blameleſs, are full of life. They are of white marble, and I believe are unique in their kind: at leaſt, all the antient ſtatues of horſes before them, that I have ſeen, were of bronze. It is ſaid that the ſentinels uſed to require every man, as he paſſed theſe horſes, to take off his hat. Theſe ſtatues were a decoration to the theatre in Herculaneum.

In the court of the Muſeum there is a horſe of bronze, which appears to me to be more beautiful than thoſe of marble. It is of the ſize of life; and is the only one preſerved of a chariot and four, that ſtood over the theatre.

Two large pillars, written over with the names of Greek places, ſtood in the town of Herculaneum: their purpoſe was to tell the diſtance to each place.

A ſmall handmill, diſcovered in Stabia, has ſerved as a model for mills which the preſent Pope has ordered to be made; which it is aſſerted produce better oil and in greater quantities than the oil-preſſes in common uſe: becauſe they do not cruſh the ſtone of the berry*.

We ſaw ſome earthen veſſels; which ſeem to have been intended

* Giovanni Preſta, a ſcientific man in Gallipoli, maintains, on the contrary, that the modern oil-preſs has much the advantage of the antient; and that Cato and Columella are miſtaken, when they maintain that the cruſhing of the ſtone, which likewiſe affords oil, is injurious. He has made many experiments, and appears to underſtand the ſubject. His well written tract is entitled—*Memoria intorno a i ſeſſanta due ſaggi diverſi di olio preſentati a la Maeſta di Ferdinando IV. ed eſame critico del antico frantoio trovato a Stabia.* "An "account of ſixty-two experiments, made on oil, and preſented to his Majeſty Ferdinand "IV. with a critical enquiry concerning the antient oil-preſs diſcovered at Stabia."

for the cages of little animals, that probably were to be fattened. They had a lattice door, at top; and, within, ſmall places for food, and water. I ſuſpect that the antients, like the Italians, fed on the little animal which we Germans call ſea pigs *: becauſe they are brought over ſea. It is a kind of medium between the rabbit and the rat; and has the form and the grunt of the pig. Was this the *glis* of the Romans?

Furniture of every kind is found in the apartments. It were to be wiſhed that their forms were more publicly known. You have ſeen the beautiful work, in which engravings are given of the paintings of Herculaneum. The whole Muſeum ought thus to be engraved: yet how great would be the labour, and the length of time it would require! But how few are capable of undertaking ſuch a work! Single figures, accompanied by different quotations from the antient writers, would make many paſſages intelligible; which, through the confuſion of former commentaries, are continually dark.

The bronze veſſels of ſacrifice are of great beauty. How noble and how ſimple are their forms! How elegant the embelliſhments, and frequently how full of meaning! A *lectiſternium* of bronze, on which cuſhions for recumbent deities were placed, which were publicly expoſed in times of misfortune, and on which food was put, is wrought and ornamented with truly antique ſimplicity.

The balance with one ſcale, and the balance with two, were equally known to the antients. The weights were ſome of them in the form of the heads of the Emperors. This probably was to denote, in a viſible manner, that they had been examined and proved by the magiſtracy.

A ſlender tripod, of bronze, denotes by its elegance the high value which the Greeks, as early as the time of Homer, ſet upon tripods.

They made their lamps in a thouſand different forms: ſome are very elegant, ſome are obſcene, and many are both. It is natural to give a form that is flattering to the eye, to a piece of furniture which is to

* Guinea pigs, I ſuppoſe. T.

afford

afford light. The unfortunate propenſity to the obſcene was equally common among the Greeks and Romans. They had high lights for many of their lamps.

A large collection of ſurgical inſtruments reminded me of thoſe which were diſcovered ſome years ago, in a camp, in the North:—A prince, who had a lively imagination, endeavoured to make his ſubjects believe, though in vain, that they had been brought by the enemy againſt them as inſtruments of torture.

The faſtenings of the doors appeared to me awkward, and their keys clumſy. The Italian lockſmiths to this day are unſkilful.

The dice, like thoſe of the moderns, were marked with points. Like the dice of gamblers at preſent, ſome of them were heavier on one ſide than on the other.

The tickets of admiſſion to places in the theatre were of ivory, and of various forms. Theſe tickets were called by the Romans *teſſeræ*; and, on one of theſe, there was the name of the tragic poet Æſchylus, in the Greek character: others of them were numbered.

They had various vaſes of glaſs, many cut drinking glaſſes, and little vials of blue glaſs. This is a proof that they were acquainted with different compoſitions of glaſs. Some, of a dark colour, is ſo hard that glaſs may be cut with it, as with a diamond. A glaſs urn, for preſerving the aſhes of a dead perſon, was included in another of *terra-cotta*; and this again was caſed in a third vaſe of lead. Here we ſee likewiſe paintings on glaſs, the colours of which are tranſparent. The panes of glaſs that were found in the villa at Pompeii are exhibited in the Muſeum: they are of very thick glaſs.

The writing deſks of the antients, which we ſaw, reſembled ours. They uſed pens of wood; which, as it appears to me, had no ſlit. That they had been preſerved in glaſs drawers was what I could not ſufficiently examine. We likewiſe ſaw wafers, and wafer-ſeals.

How glad ſhould I have been to have taken the forms of antient agricultural inſtruments, for the information of our Voſs!

The collection of the furniture of the baths is very conſiderable.

Here

Here you find a quantity of wetting and drying utenſils, and cloths.

We ſaw a vaſe, which greatly reſembled our tea-pot: its pleaſing form has already been imitated by the Engliſh.

Another vaſe has the advantage of this, becauſe it cannot eaſily be thrown down: it is of bronze. Round a ſmall ſquare hearth, for coals, a wall runs, which has four corner towers, that may be opened to admit water. Below, on the foremoſt wall, is a tube with a ſpout.

A complete ſet of ornaments, for a modern lady, might be collected out of this muſeum: at leaſt for a lady who ſhould be dreſſing for a maſquerade. Here ſhe would find bracelets, and necklaces of gold, ear-rings of pearl, rings for the fingers, and many more baubles.

Paint itſelf would not be wanting: pardon me for uſing the common name, inſtead of the more refined term, *rouge:* for paint itſelf has been preſerved. It was contained in a little box of cryſtal, and has perfectly the appearance of the *rouge* of Paris. My lady here too might find large needles, and combs of ivory, with ivory ſpindles, to deck her out for the maſquerade.

A marble buffet might have been miſtaken for a piece of modern furniture.

A kitchen fire place, diſcovered in Herculaneum, has been uſed as a model of imitation; under it are ſmall arches, to contain the coals; which take but little room, and can heat many veſſels at once. The utenſils of the kitchen are of earth, copper, and braſs.

But little armour has been found: the helmets are handſome, embelliſhed with figures, but intolerably heavy; which proves they could not have been in common uſe.

A horrid kind of iron fetter, or ſtock, was found. It may be about four ells long; and was ſo formed that ten priſoners might be chained by the leg, each leg ſeparately, by the ſliding of a ſlender bar. Say what we will in defence of the Pagans, they were cruel.

Various kinds of eatables are yet very cognizable: ſuch as dried figs, almonds,

almonds, walnuts, beans, lentils, pine nuts, thickened oil, and thick red wine: all endeavours to render any of theſe fluid have been vain.

The body of a woman, whoſe ſkull is preſerved, was found among the aſhes. Time, by having conſolidated the aſhes, had evidently occaſioned an impreſſion to be taken of one of her breaſts. She was adorned with golden bracelets, and with a necklace of gold.

Small houſehold Gods, of bronze, are ſome of them of inferior workmanſhip.

Among the gold and copper coins, ſome are very rare.

Cameos, and intaglios, of precious ſtones were found; and likewiſe ſome of glaſs compoſition.

Among the buſts of marble and bronze, there is a fine one of the firſt Scipio Africanus; which we recognize by the wound on the head, and by the reſemblance to thoſe at Rome.

A drunken Faun, and a Mercury ſeated, both of bronze, are of ſingular beauty. The Faun lies ſhouting on a lion's ſkin, with a barrel that ſerves him for a cuſhion. If you cover the under part of the countenance, laughter is ſtill evident in his intoxicated eyes: ſo that thoſe who look muſt likewiſe laugh.

Some of the moſaic works are beautiful; and the two moſt beautiful have the name of the artiſt Διοσκουρίδης Σάμιος ἐποίησε. The work of Dioſcurides, of Samos.

Different ſun dials are very rude: a ſingle crooked hook caſts the ſhade. The time of the day is not denoted by numbers. One, which is very ſmall, has the figure of the hind quarter of a pig; the tail of which, inſtead of the hook, caſts the ſhade.

I have expected the leaſt inſtruction from what others have hoped the moſt: I mean the books. The manner which has been invented of ſeparating the leaves, which were rolled together and ſcorched by the aſhes, is very ingenious. You will find the machine that is uſed for unrolling them excellently deſcribed, and drawn, in the

Travels

Travels of Mr. Bartel *. It is wonderful that they ſhould have done ſo much as has been done. A manuſcript, on the effects of muſic, is in preparation. The conjectures on paſſages, where whole words or letters are wanting, are to be printed in red ink, and ſubjected to the general judgment of the learned. A moral enquiry, concerning virtue and vice, will likewiſe be entirely copied. We ſaw two men employed at preſent: the one on a work on Rhetoric, by one Philodemus; and the other on an enquiry concerning Political Economy.

The number of manuſcripts diſcovered is almoſt ſixteen hundred: they are burnt black; and, were it not for the tender manner in which they are handled, would crumble to aſhes. The antients rolled their manuſcripts ſo that the beginning of the work lay wound up in the middle; and the unrolling muſt commence with the concluſion: ſo that they are obliged at firſt to conjecture the contents, and do not learn the title of the work till the latter end. The books on which they have hitherto been employed are all of them Greek.

There is a remaining, but in my opinion a well grounded, hope that, by the future uncovering of the buried towns, works may be found, which may either be very little, or perhaps not at all, damaged by the aſhes. Under a board, beneath a tile thrown down, perhaps, lie Alcæus, Sappho, Menander, the loſt books of Livy, or ſome of thoſe immortal works the names of whoſe authors are only known by the teſtimony of their contemporaries.

From this diviſion of the Muſeum, which contains twenty apartments, we proceeded to another, conſiſting of ſixteen, which are dedicated to antient paintings. Some of theſe paintings have ſuffered very much: others are ſtill tolerably freſh.

Different in their degrees of beauty, they are moſt of them drawn with great freedom, and painted with a light animated pencil. Some of them are repreſentations of fruit, fiſh, and birds. Two quails, pick-

* *Herrn Bartels Reiſen.*

ing the grain from an ear of barley, are painted with all the deception of truth. A bad choice of ſubject, a want of ſenſibility, and falſe lineal perſpective, are the defects of the landſcapes; and, if we may judge after the proofs theſe pictures afford of aërial perſpective, of this the antients appear to have known little or nothing. However, that they were not ſo ignorant of lineal perſpective as many have maintained is evident, from ſome architectural paintings.

The hiſtorical pictures are in part very beautiful.

Chiron, the Centaur; inſtructing the youthful Achilles to play on the lyre.

Oreſtes, Pylades, and Iphigenia; in the temple of Diana, in Tauris.

Theſeus, in the labyrinth. The handſome youth is repreſented after his victory over the Minotaur, which lies extended at his feet. Ariadne is with him; and one of the boys that he has ſaved is kiſſing his hand, and another his leg.

A thoughtful Virgin is all lovelineſs: ſhe is ſuppoſed to be a Sappho. She holds a pencil to her lips, with her right hand; and tablets, in her left.

Telephos, the ſon of Hercules and Auge, ſucking the hind by which he was fed: becauſe his mother had expoſed him from the fear of her father *. Hercules, the Goddeſs of victory, Νικη, a Faun, and a very noble female figure, which appears to be the Goddeſs Flora, give the picture thoſe charms which reſult from a great and various compoſition. At the foot of the figures ſtand an eagle and a lion; probably as ſymbols of power.

Some figures of Centaurs and Nymphs are touched in a free, light, and charming manner.

A delicate chariot, drawn by a parrot, and driven by a graſshopper. This piece is ſuppoſed to be a ſatire againſt Nero; who made great pretenſions to the double celebrity of a melodious ſinger and an expert charioteer.

* Pauſan. lib. viii. c. 48 and 54. lib. ix. 31.

rioteer. We are told, by Suetonius, that he exerciſed himſelf lying on his back, ſupporting a plate of lead on his breaſt, purifying himſelf by clyſters and emetics, and abſtaining from fruits; till his voice, always weak and chirping, acquired ſufficient force for the ſtage; which he actually trod at Neapolis, a Greek city. An earthquake which happened did not prevent him from continuing the air he had begun. He likewiſe appeared as a charioteer in the circus at Rome*. How excellent is the ſatirical repreſentation of a chirping graſshopper, driving the parrot that draws the chariot!

A Woman ſelling little Cupids to a young lady; behind whom ſtands an old female, who appears to be giving her advice. The woman who ſells holds a fluttering Cupid by the wings; and has another encaged in a tripod. From this piece a French artiſt has no doubt taken the well known idea of his CUPID-SELLER.

Four little pictures, which are excellent, were found framed, and ſeparate; not like thoſe that are painted on the walls.

A poet compoſing. If I do not miſtake, he holds a thyrſus in his hand. A Muſe is ſeated at a table, writing, with a maſk lying by her. The thyrſus, as well as the maſk, may denote that it was the dramatic Muſe by which he was inſpired: for dramatic pieces were dedicated to Bacchus.

A company of people playing on muſical inſtruments.

A young woman, ſtanding; with her treſſes combed by her companion: a third is ſitting in the ſame chamber, and near her ſtands a fourth. They are all handſome, and elegantly attired.

The above are three of the four pictures I mentioned: the other is very much injured.

The new model of the theatre at Herculaneum is worthy notice; for it will afford an excellent idea of the theatres of the antients. I ſhould have willingly ſent you a drawing of it; but this is not permit-

* Suet. in Vita Neron. c. xx and xxii.

ted, of any thing contained in the Muſeum. The curioſity of the public is endeavoured to be kept intent on the great work, the publication of which is patroniſed by the king.

All the rarities of this Muſeum, which are ſingular in their kind, are intended to be removed by his majeſty's orders into a large building, which he has purchaſed of the Univerſity. This building is in the city, and called *Gli Studi*. In fact, this noble collection is too much expoſed to the danger of being once more buried by Mount Veſuvius.

LETTER LXXIV.

Naples, 31ſt March 1792.

ENCHANTING as the proſpect of the ſea and the coaſt is, the want of ſhady walks in Naples ſtill is ſenſibly felt. The public walk on the ſea ſhore, which is about ſeven hundred paces long, affords but a ſorry ſhelter againſt the mid-day beams. It is very broad; and, on the two ſides, there are high bowers of vines, that twine their branches round the elm of Ypres: which trees do not ſtand detached, but are connected by palings.

On the ſide which is the moſt diſtant from the ſea, there are little orange trees, and oleanders; among beds of flowers, nearer to the ſea, there are graſs plats, cut and carved in a wretched taſte; among which little fountains throw out their inſignificant ſtreams.

I ſeldom viſit this walk, which is called *Villa Reale*; and which, from its proſpect toward the ſea, its circular and hilly coaſt from Portici to Maſſa, with its view of the iſland of Capri, and the Poſilipo, would perhaps be the moſt beautiful public walk in Europe, if it were but ſhaded by trees that ſhould be ſuffered to grow undiſturbed. The Neapolitans

Neapolitans find an excuſe for this defect, which is pointed out to them by the frequent complaints of foreigners; and allege that the growth of trees is injured by the ſea air. It ſeems remarkable that this noxious quality of the ſea air, at leaſt in ſo great a degree, ſhould exiſt only near the city of Naples: however, this appears to be the caſe. Even of the two rows of vine bowers of the *Villa Reale*, that which is moſt diſtant from the ſea flouriſhes much the beſt.

The parade, for the exerciſe of the troops, lies beyond the *Villa Reale;* and likewiſe on the ſea ſhore. From this a road turns ſhort to the right, and leads to the grotto of the Poſilipo. On the left the ſea ſhore continues; where, every afternoon, the principal Neapolitans have their *Corſo:* that is, their carriages proceed backward and forward in rows, from which they ſhew themſelves without being able to ſpeak to each other; unleſs when a lady orders her coach to ſtop, and the polite cavalier alights from his own, and comes to converſe with her on the ſtep of her carriage.

The bulwark on the ſea is broad, is paved with flags of lava like the pavement of the whole city, and ſerves as a foot path for paſſengers; to whom, from the number of the coaches and horſes, it is very welcome.

At the end of the *Corſo*, I was glad to eſcape, through the gateway of a large building, from the din of this ſilent aſſembly. This brought me immediately on the ſea ſhore; and, from thence, to the volcanic rocks of the extended lofty cape, Poſilipo. Here you enjoy not only the ſame proſpect as in the *Villa Reale*, but you likewiſe have a full view of all Veſuvius, which there was concealed by the houſes.

At this place you come to a large unfiniſhed palace, which the people call the palace of Queen Johanna: probably after the infamous Johanna the Second, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We are told by an inſcription that it was begun in the laſt century, and left unfiniſhed, by one *Donna Anna Caraffa.*

Since that time, the ſea no doubt muſt have intruded farther on the

ſhore: for this palace, at preſent, is not only impaſſable by all kinds of carriages, but likewiſe at high water by foot paſſengers. I conjecture that this element, in return for the loſs it ſuſtained in the eaſt by the building of the Molo, during the reign of the late King, has revenged itſelf upon the weſt; as it now waſhes the palace walls. Fiſhermen keep their boats within the long gate; and the ſmall ſpace within and without the gate is rocky and uneven.

My walk was ſoon afterward interrupted by a public priſon. Between the palace and the priſon, immediately on the deep ſhore of the ſea, the rocks are covered with a kind of white moſs: or more properly a kind of immoveable ſea weed, on which it is very pleaſant to repoſe. This weed has a charming odour, and the ſea is as clear as cryſtal.

I lately ſaw, at a tolerable diſtance, ſome meſhes of a net ſunk in the ſea, with the fiſh living and moving in the water. The varieties of ſhell fiſh, which are thrown up by the ſea, are innumerable; and ſome of them are very excellent *. One of the creatures oftenеſt found is the *echinus marinus*; or ſea urchin. Its ſhell is armed with thin long prickles. Horace, in an ode to Canidia, compares the hair of one of the handmaids of this horrible ſorcereſs to ſuch a ſea urchin.

At expedita Segana, per totam domum
Spargens avernales aquas,
Horret capillis ut marinus aſperis
Echinus, aut currens aper.

HOR. Epod. v. 25.

Now Sagana, round the cell,
Sprinkled her waters, black from hell:

* Signor Poli, the teacher of the Royal Princes of Naples in Natural Hiſtory, has publiſhed an excellent work, called, *Teſtacea utriuſque Siciliæ, eorumque Hiſtoria et Anatome.* This work, not only for external beauty, but chiefly for the novelty of its diſcoveries, and its enquiries concerning the mode of living of theſe beings, whoſe exiſtence does not appear to be ſo limited as has been hitherto imagined, is probably the beſt of its kind.

Fierce

Fierce as ſea porcupine, or boar,
In frightful wreaths, her hair ſhe wore!
FRANCIS.

The fleſh of this *echinus*, or ſea urchin, is red; and agreeable to the taſte.

Moſſes of great variety and beauty grow on the rocks, in and about the ſea; and, in theſe moſſes, ſome of which are of a purple colour, ſwarms of different little beings are ſeen.

If you go from the *Villa Reale* on the eaſt ſide, and wiſh to continue on the ſea ſhore, you muſt long make your way through the noiſy crowd of this populous city, before you arrive at the open field beyond the Magdalen bridge, over the river Sebetho. The *Corſo* is held on this ſide every Friday, during Lent. Along the city and as far as the bridge, the Neapolitans here diſplay themſelves, in their fine carriages, with all their pomp; and are frequently drawn by eight horſes. On the common *Corſo*, which is on the quay called *Chiaia* on the weſt ſide of the city, they harneſs only two horſes to their carriages. The fruitful fields that lie between Mount Veſuvius and Capua, which are covered with grain, trees, and vineyards, are ſeen to the left from the Magdalen bridge. Virgil, wiſhing to deſcribe a very fruitful country, thus ſpeaks:

Illa tibi lætis intexet vitibus ulmos,
Illa ferax oleo eſt, illam experiere colendo
Et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.
Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Veſevo
Ora jugo ———

VIRG. Georg. ii. 221.

——— whoſe mold is clean,
Well cloth'd with cheerful graſs, and evergreen,
Is good for olives, and aſpiring vines,
Embracing huſband elms in am'rous twines;
Is fit for feeding cattle, fit to ſow,
And equal to the paſture and the plough.
Such is the ſoil of fat Campanian fields,
Such large increaſe the land that joins Veſuvius yields.
DRYDEN, v. 299.

Near

Near the city, on both ſides, are kitchen gardens; the fertility of which is enlivening: but you find no trees among them. Theſe gardens are watered by a kind of mills, the water for which is ſupplied by the royal reſervoirs at Portici; and, for the permiſſion to uſe this water, the proprietors of the land are obliged to pay a heavy tax.

Volatile and light hearted as theſe people are, and addicted to the purſuit of pleaſure, they nevertheleſs cultivate their fruitful fields with great induſtry. The ſoil of the city is not thrown away: for the huſbandmen very carefully gather it, and carry it away on loaded aſſes. The lands are kept as free from weeds as in other countries. That many of the country people are poor I aſcribe, in part, to the bad regulations here: among which I include the tax paid for watering their grounds: and, in part, to the ſmall number of landholders; who let out ſmall portions of their eſtates for a few years to farmers, vineyard keepers, or gardeners. The compact is made by public auction; and it frequently happens that the higheſt bidder, with all his induſtry, is a ruined man. It is not ſo much the want of freedom, as has ſo often been affirmed, as the want of more land proprietors, that principally oppreſſes the greateſt part of the country people.

Yeſterday, in order to viſit ſome ſhady places, we went through the Poſilipo grotto, along the road toward Pozzuoli; and already, on the 23d of March, we repoſed in flowery meadows, under green poplars, on the banks of the lake Agnano! Yeſterday, we already ſaw the young buddings of the walnut tree! Whole fields are ſowed with a kind of trefoil; which the Italians call *prato*. The ear of this graſs, *trifolium, ſpica oblonga, rubra* *, is long, with a vivid red flower; and is perhaps more ornamental to meadows than any other. This trefoil is here preferred to every other kind of paſturage. It is already mowed for the firſt time. Our red, white, and yellow, trefoils are likewiſe very common here: though the yellow trefoil is much larger here than in our country. The high red trefoil, like the others, here grows wild.

* *Dietrichs Pflanzenreich*, 1775, 2 *th. ſ.* 892.

In

In dry ſoils, the plant does not grow to a great height; but near the earth: like the *melilotus*, with its yellow flower, the figure of which it much reſembles: with this difference that the *prato* blows with a kind of ear; otherwiſe you might be inclined to call it the red *melilotus*.

I yeſterday ſaw ſweet peas (or vetches) cut, that were as high as my breaſt; they principally ſerve as fodder for cows.

The wheat in theſe countries has broad leaves; and horſes here, as in many parts of Germany, are turned to paſture in it, to prevent its too luxurious growth. For the ſame reaſon, ſheep are ſuffered to crop its firſt ſhoots.

Flax is now covered with large buds.

There are fruit trees over all theſe fields: the mulberry already is loaded with buds; and the apricot, peach, and plum, are now in bloom: nay more, nature not only is early in bloom but long ſo continues to be.

Orange and lemon trees are ſtill covered with fruit: although they have been plucked through the whole winter. Here you ſee the ripe fruit; and, at a little diſtance, the odoriferous flower.

The air is aromatic, and the ſweetneſs of ſpring now equals ours in the month of May; which with us is frequently even then repulſed, and ſuddenly checked, like the tender careſſes of a kind wife, by our rude climate.

Among the flowers of the field which I never ſaw before, I found the lovely red *cyclamen:* likewiſe the yellow, and the red and yellow *cerinthe:* or honey-ſuckle: which alſo blows wild in winter.

How many flowers might here be enumerated! and, while wandering in this garden of God, how often do I regret my ignorance of Botany! I forget no kind of flower, or of tree, that I have once ſeen; and I ſhould leſs regret the ignorance of their names, did it not prevent me from communicating much of my pleaſure to you.

Oh communication, what enchantment is thine; ſince thou canſt give life to the dead letter of a nomenclature!

LETTER LXXV.

Naples, 5th April 1792.

I, and my wife, on the firſt of the month, made a ſhort journey to Averſa. When we travelled from Rome, we made a circuit to viſit the amphitheatre of ancient Capua, and the aqueduct of Caſerta, and did not paſs through Averſa; though it lies on the great high road, in a fruitful country, and pleaſantly ſituated among arable lands, gardens, and vineyards.

This very ancient town was founded by the *Oſci;* who called it *Atella.* The people were famous for their dramatic productions, which early afforded ſuch great pleaſure to the youth of Rome, that they performed the comedies called *Fabulæ Atellanæ*, themſelves, for their private diverſion: nor would they ſuffer them to be degraded by the acting of the common players. According to the teſtimony of Livy, when theſe pieces afterward came to be performed like others by the actors, thoſe who acted them enjoyed a degree of reſpect, which was denied to the ordinary comedians*. The latter were exempted from the tribes, and from military ſervice: but not the former. In later times, the drama of the *Atellani* degenerated ſo much that even Tiberius accuſed them of licentiouſneſs in the Senate; and a decree was paſſed by which they were prohibited in Italy †.

Atella was deſtroyed by the Barbarians, who overran theſe countries. It was rebuilt by the Normans; and Guiſcard their Duke, by whom it was conſiderably enlarged, gave it the name of Averſa: becauſe it was erected as a bulwark againſt Naples.

It was once more laid in ruins by Charles of Anjou: but was ſoon afterward once again rebuilt.

* Liv. vii. 2. † Tac. Annal. iv. 14.

Here, as is general in the province of *Terra di Lavoro*, many people live by the culture of gardens: for which they pay high rents to the ground landlord. We went into one of theſe gardens; which was about two hundred and fifty paces long, and two hundred broad, and in which there was a ſmall houſe, inhabited by a young married couple, whoſe whole wealth conſiſted of an aſs. The yearly rent of theſe good people, for this garden, was a hundred and twenty-five Neapolitan ducats; or about a hundred and thirty-four rix dollars, at the rate of five rix dollars to a piſtole.

The garden was full of vegetables, and fruit trees, that were then in full bloom. Nothing but the pears and fennel, which is a pleaſant vegetable and eaten raw, are brought to Naples*; the reſt of the produce of the garden is ſold in Averſa.

As the land in this country is fruitful through the whole year, a garden like this employs many day labourers. Make an eſtimate of wages, of the maintenance of the tenants, and of the rent they pay to the ground landlord, and you will be ſurpriſed at the gains that proceed from a garden, which is two leagues and a half diſtant from the Metropolis. The gardens in the vicinity of Naples muſt be ſtill more productive. The road that leads from Portici to the city is always full of aſſes; which are loaded with the fruits of the garden as they go, and with manure as they return. I ſaw to-day numberleſs men going to market, with baſkets full of flowers.

Three hundred and ten Neapolitan ducats are paid to the King, by a herdſman, who keeps from ſeventeen to twenty cows, for permiſſion to graze on the charming banks of the lake of Agnano; and, when the air begins to be unhealthy there, on ſome other royal paſture.

Let us return for a moment to the gardens of Averſa, where my wife ſat for ſome hours, till the approach of twilight, among verdure, flowers, and fruits, ſuch as are the produce of ſpring in Italy. We did

* The text reads, "*Fenchel, ein angenehmes gemüſe:*" I ſuſpect that *Fenchel-apfel*, which is a ſpecies of apple, is underſtood. T.

not return till it was late; and, in the forenoon of the next day, ſhe was delivered of my little Sibylla as eaſily as a Neapolitan.

This morning, Erneſt, I, and Nicolovius, took a boat, and went to the iſland of Niſida; which is ſeparated from the point of Poſilipo by a ſmall ſound. This iſland is a tolerably high and very fruitful hill. The olive is the principal ſupport of the inhabitants: though they likewiſe grow flowers, and vegetables. Pliny informs us that the ancients eſteemed the wild aſparagus of this iſland as the beſt. I alſo met with much wild aſparagus, in the parts near Pozzuoli. The fennel, in great quantities, grows wild in Niſida: as do many of our garden flowers. We found the beautiful Iris already in bloom; which Voſs ſuppoſes to be the *Hyacinthus* of the ancients. We likewiſe met with wild vines.

Rabbits here are in ſuch great numbers as to be injurious to the inhabitants.

A ſepulchral lamp was found here, in the grave of a Roman. We are told it burnt, and that the light was clear, in a glaſs vial, which was hermetically ſealed; and that it was extinguiſhed the moment the glaſs was broken.

The Greeks named this iſland *Neſis*, Νησις, or little iſland. The whole bay of Naples, and a part of the bay of Gaeta, may be ſeen from its top. Brutus remained here for ſome time after the death of Cæſar, and was viſited by Cicero*.

* Cic. ad Attic. xvi. epiſt. i.

LET-

LETTER LXXVI.

Naples, 9th April 1792.

THIS day, I went to Nola, which is ſituated about two long German miles to the north of Naples, and met with a very fertile and well cultivated country; ſuch as is found through all the *Terra di Lavoro.* Vegetables and corn grow intermingled; and the field vine winds itſelf round the poplar, and the mulberry tree. This laſt tree is remarkably large, near Nola. The ſituation of this little town is delightful; eſpecially at preſent, amid the tender buds of ſpring.

It is melancholy to meet with ſo few birds in Italy: the reaſon is ſo many of them are ſhot. Each man is ready with his gun: even the day labourer has his loaded fowling piece, ſtanding againſt a tree. In the market-place in Rome, we frequently ſee the goldfinch, and other ſinging birds, which are purchaſed in great quantities to eat.

About half a German mile from Naples, on the road to Nola, are the ruins of the palace *Poggio Reale;* or King's Hill; which was inhabited by Queen Johanna the Second. She is accuſed of having contrived a trap-fall, in this palace. The ſtory is that, when ſhe was weary of her lovers, ſhe plunged them by this means into the water; and thus this cruel, treacherous, and voluptuous, Queen endeavoured at once to bury the ſhame and the remembrance of guilt in this gulph.

Fountains are met with on both ſides of the way, between this caſtle and Naples. The high road, like moſt of thoſe that I have travelled in Italy, is very good. On this ſide of the Alps, you have never any turnpikes to pay; as you ſo frequently have in Germany, and in the northern parts of our country; and not ſeldom for roads that are almoſt impaſſable.

The rye near Nola is high in ear. This kind of grain is ſcarce in Italy: it was probably firſt introduced by the Emperor Charles the

Fifth. It is called *grano Germano;* or German corn; and the people here, as in France, mix the flower of rye and the flower of wheat.

Cluverius proves *, from a paſſage in Velleius Paterculus, that the town of Nola is of elder date by eight-and-forty years than Rome; and that it was founded eight hundred and one years before the birth of Chriſt, and, according to the ſame Velleius, by the Etrurians.

Others ſay it was founded by the Greeks; from Chalcis in Eubœa. Some ſcarce coins of this town bear Greek inſcriptions; and theſe coins and the multitude of Grecian vaſes, which are found here, equally denote that it has been inhabited by Greeks. It is only from error that the epithet of Etruſcan vaſes has been given to veſſels, which were ſeldom found in Etruria, but principally in the ſepulchres of *Græcia Magna* and *Sicilia*.

I ſaw a famous collection of theſe vaſes, which was made by Don Piedro Virenzio. Except that of Sir William Hamilton in Naples, it is the fineſt collection poſſeſſed by any private perſon.

The vaſes found in Nola are eſteemed to be the moſt beautiful in Italy: though thoſe of Sicily are thought preferable. The Romans placed ſome value on theſe vaſes in the time of Cæſar. Suetonius informs us † that, ſome months before the death of Cæſar, a Romiſh colony, which had been ſent to Capua, deſtroyed ſeveral tombs in order to build country houſes: which work, ſays the hiſtorian, they performed the more diligently becauſe they found ſome vaſes of ancient workmanſhip.

In the collection of Don Piedro Virenzio, I ſaw a particular kind of earthen urn, which was entirely in the form of a ſaddle. The corps had been laid in the hollow, probably to denote that it was the body of a valiant warrior. The horſe-tamer ἱππόδαμος, and the horſe-driver ἱππηλάτης, are common epithets for heroes, among the Greek poets, and particularly Homer.

This town is frequently mentioned, in the Hiſtory of the Second

* Cluv. Ital. Ant. † Suet. in Vita Julii, cap. 18.

Punic

Punic War. It was allied to the Romans: and, after the battle of Cannæ, the Senate and principal persons of Nola remained faithful to their allies: but the people inclined to the Carthaginians*. However there were not wanting some of the chiefs, who cherished the pride and the hope of being the allies of Hannibal. Among these was a courageous knight, Lucius Bantius by name, who after the battle of Cannæ was found by Hannibal under heaps of slain. The great general, who left no means unemployed that might induce the people of Italy to desert the Romans, caused him to be carefully attended, and not only suffered him to depart without ransom, but gave him presents. From this time Bantius became devoted to Hannibal, and endeavoured to excite his fellow citizens to revolt.

Marcellus was informed of, though he did not appear to remark, the intentions of the youth; and, calling him to him, spoke in this friendly manner:

"It appears that many of your townsmen are unjust to you; for no "person of Nola has related to me your noble warlike deeds: but it "was not possible to conceal from me the valour of a man who has "fought in the Roman army. From many of your fellow warriors "have I heard what kind of man you are; and how frequent and emi-"nent have been the dangers you have incurred, for the safety and "dignity of the Roman people: how, bleeding and exhausted, you "were almost crushed to death under heaps of arms, horses, and men. "Continue worthy of yourself. The praise and the recompense due "to valour shall be bestowed by me; and you shall be taught that the "oftener you are with me the greater shall be the rewards and the "honours that you shall share."

Marcellus accompanied these kind words with a present in money, and a fine horse; and likewise ordered the lictors to admit him, whenever he should pay him a visit.

* Liv. xxiii. c. 14, 15.

From

From this time, Rome had no friend more ſerviceable, or more faithful, than Bantius.

Soon afterward, the Romans and Carthaginians came to a battle, before the gates of this town; in which Marcellus obtained a conſiderable advantage.

After the victory, the Romans entered the town, ſhut all the gates, placed watch guards, held tribunals, and decapitated above ſeventy of the citizens; who were convicted of having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Hannibal.

How unfortunate were theſe times, the falſe glory of which is ſo dazzling! Marcellus was by nature a benevolent man: but here he acted in conformity to the manners of his age. The Grecian and Roman hiſtories are full of ſtill greater miſeries, inflicted on places over which a victorious General has ſat as judge, armed with the ſanguinary axe. We ſhudder while we read, in Thucydides, how, in the Peloponneſian war, in which this hiſtorian took part as a General, the burghers of the Greek cities, that were democratically inclined, were perſecuted by the Spartans; and thoſe that favoured Oligarchy by the Athenians.

The number of Greeks that were publicly ſold as ſlaves, by Paulus Æmilius, who like Marcellus was one of the moſt benevolent of the Romans, was prodigious*.

A year after this firſt advantage over Hannibal, Marcellus again vanquiſhed him, before the gates of Nola, in a greater battle †; in which the fortune of war began to change. More than five thouſand Carthaginians remained on the field, ſix hundred were made priſoners, and this deciſive victory did not coſt the Romans a thouſand men.

Auguſtus died in Nola; and, if I do not miſtake, Agrippa, two years before him, expired there. He was a great man, and was worthy of a better age. However he merits our eſteem, for having leſſened the

* Plut. Life of Æm. † Liv. xxiii. c. 44.

misfortunes

misfortunes of his time. He was a man of a noble mind, and not only the friend of Auguſtus but the friend of freedom. Rome was principally indebted to him, and to the worthy Valerius Meſſala, the friend of Brutus, for the change that was produced in Auguſtus; who, from a blood thirſty tyrant, became a wiſe ruler.

When Auguſtus conceived, or rather pretended to conceive, the thought of reſtoring the antient freedom of the republic, Agrippa adviſed him to purſue this plan: but Mæcenas, a man neither poſſeſſed of his wiſdom nor his virtue, adviſed the contrary. Yet was Mæcenas in the right. Political chimeras are innumerable: but the moſt chimerical of all is the project of imagining that a people, deeply ſunk in degeneracy, are capable of recovering the ancient grandeur of freedom. Who toſſes the bird into the air after his wings are clipped? So far from reſtoring it to the power of flight, it will but diſable it more.

It is rather generally believed that bells were firſt invented in Nola; and it is true that the Latin name for a bell is *nola*. Thoſe however place the period of diſcovery too late that aſcribe it to Saint Paulinus, who was Biſhop of Nola in the fifth century. He might probably introduce the uſe of them in churches. Large and ſmall bells were well known to the ancients. Of the latter, in the Muſeum of Portici, I have ſeen ſuch as are now uſed in mountainous diſtricts, to hang round the necks of cattle, goats, and ſheep. Mention is made of bells by the Greek and Roman writers; and, among others, by Æſchylus, and Ariſtophanes: and Æſchylus lived a thouſand years before Paulinus. The Romans may probably enough have procured their firſt bells from Nola, and therefore may have named them after the town: or it is not improbable that the bells of Nola were diſtinguiſhable by the clearneſs of the ſound they gave.

LETTER LXXVII.

Naples, 19th April 1792.

ON the 14th, Nicolovius, Erneſt, and myſelf, went on board a felucca manned by eight ſeamen. The weather was fine, but the wind was contrary; and we were three hours and a half in rowing to the iſland of Procida. We paſſed near the Poſilipo, leaving Niſida on the right, and ſailed immediately under the promontory of Miſenum.

Like all the iſlands of theſe parts, Procida has a high and in general a rocky ſhore. We landed at the little town of Procida, which we found ſwarming with people and traders. Tolerably large veſſels are built here; and the port is in greater activity than might have been expected, from ſo ſmall a place.

The iſlands of Procida and Iſchia were peopled by the Greeks of Chalcis, and Eretria: two towns of the iſland of Eubœa, now Negroponte. Its name, *Procida*, or *Procita*, is either derived from the word πρυχυσα, the projecting, or προχυλα, the projected. It was the opinion of ancient writers that it had once been united with Iſchia; which they likewiſe called *Pithecuſa*, *Æneria*, and *Inarimæ*; and that they had been ſeparated from each other by an earthquake.

This iſland formerly belonged to John of Procida, who lived in the thirteenth century; and who, after he had ſtirred up Spain and Conſtantinople, againſt Charles of Anjou, was the author of the famous conſpiracy againſt the French, in Sicily: the meaſures of which were taken with ſo much precaution, entered into with ſuch wonderful ſecrecy, and executed with ſuch unheard of boldneſs. The bell which, on the third day of Eaſter, in the year 1282, called the people to veſpers was the ſignal, through the whole iſland, for the murder of the French; whoſe paſt exceſſes could afford no excuſe either for maſſacre, or for undiſtinguiſhing and univerſal vengeance. The only man that eſcaped

eſcaped aſſaſſination, and whoſe virtue well merited the diſtinction, was William of Porcelets*.

Juſt as we landed, we perceived a man on an aſs, in the middle of the market place. His habit and appearance we thought comic: they reminded us of the gentlemen bachelors with whom Le Sage, in Gil Blas, and his much greater maſter, Cervantes, in Don Quixote, had brought us acquainted. Under a veil, which to us had ſomething of the ridiculous, traits of the nobleſt benevolence were diſcoverable. The people in numbers crowded round him; while he diſtributed alms to the poor, converſed with them, and appeared accuſtomed to beſtow upon them nobler gifts: thoſe of council and remonſtrance.

We went up to the royal caſtle, which is ſituated high above the town, and which poſſeſſes a ſimple pleaſant garden; where the King, that he may enjoy the country ſports, has cover for pheaſants. Theſe birds already are in brood: though I have ſeen finer in many parts of Germany, and particularly in Bohemia.

The pheaſants fly over the whole iſland; which has given occaſion to a rigorous and unjuſt law, by which the inhabitants are forbidden to keep cats: and rats and mice are ſo numerous that the very children in the cradle are not ſafe. The afflicted people ſent deputies to the King, and humbly petitioned for the repeal of this law. Dogs likewiſe are now prohibited in the iſland.

This little country is a garden; fertile in fruits and vegetables, and exceedingly populous. In the afternoon, we went to the other ſide of the iſland, and waited for our felucca in a ſmall bay, between high promontories. The ſteep ſhores here conſiſt of the *tofus*, *tufa*, or ſand ſtone, are exceedingly forked, craggy, and hollow, and every where diſcover, along the ſtrand, tokens of fiery waves, appearances of its volcanic origin, and ſuch as confirm the opinion of the ancients, that Procida and Iſchia were once the ſame iſland.

Some roads, and the ſtreets of the little town, are paved with lava.

* See a note to Letter lxi. vol. i. p. 473. T.

Procida is a long German mile in circumference. Between the promontory of St. Margaret in Procida, and the iſland of Iſchia, though much the neareſt to Procida, the high little iſland of Vivara is ſituated; which, though uninhabited, is cultivated by the people of Procida. The King has a hunting ſeat here, for the chace of the hare.

The largeſt and moſt beautiful of theſe iſlands is Iſchia; which at firſt has a gentle and then a ſteep aſcent, to the ſummit of the lofty and the formerly volcanic mountain, Epomeus. It is ſeen to a great diſtance; while its fantaſtic forms charm and diverſify the proſpect; ſo that it appears to be the centre of the ſurrounding paradiſe; the iſlands and ſhores of which ſeem to decorate and do it homage.

A high rock riſes in the ſea toward Procida; which is embelliſhed with a little town, and many trees, and in which the Biſhop of Iſchia reſides. On the top of the rock a ſtrong fortreſs is built, in which a garriſon is ſtationed, and from which fortreſs the rock is called *Caſtello d' Iſchia*. The rock is connected with the iſland by a long bridge; which aids in forming the haven of the lively *Borgo d' Iſchia*, or ſuburbs of Iſchia, that are built on the iſland, and ſo called after the ſmall town on the rock. The Borgo d' Iſchia is well built, and ſtands immediately on the ſea ſhore.

We arrived early enough to ſee the ſun go down over the *Lago del Re*: or King's lake. Here there are warm baths, which are viſited by the principal people of Naples. Conveniencies are wanting to this place: the houſes are few, and ſmall, and the bathers muſt bring their own bathing veſſels. The warm ſpring runs into the lake; which contains ſalt water, and is connected with the ſea, by a canal.

The canal is provided with floodgates; the opening of which into this little lake, that reſembles the Lucrine lake in its form, ſupplies it from time to time with freſh ſea water, and quantities of large fiſh. The King amuſes himſelf occaſionally at this fiſhery.

There is a broad bed of lava near this lake, which in the year 1301 guſhed out of the foot of Epomeus. Although five centuries have

elapſed ſince the laſt eruption from the mountain, the face of the lava is almoſt entirely barren; being thinly ſcattered with *mauerpfeffer* *, and graſs. The lava emitted by Mount Veſuvius, in the year 1767, is already more covered with vegetation: ſo different is one kind of lava from another, and thus obſcure are theſe annals of nature, when their dates are unknown to hiſtory. The remembrance of the deſolating fire ſtill lives among the iſlanders: the country people relate that it deſtroyed a little town.

The Greek inhabitants were early terrified by theſe dreadful phenomena; and, forſaking the iſland, ſettled on the continent, where they built the town of Cumæ. A repoſe of five hundred years appears to afford an aſſurance of ſafety, to the people of Iſchia; who now enjoy the advantage of volcanic countries, healing baths, and extraordinary fertility, without the dread of future deſtruction.

On the 15th, we ſet out early, mounted on aſſes, and rode firſt to *Caſamiccia*, the place where the warm ſprings are: though there are more warm ſprings in the iſland, and of various medicinal qualities. There is a large building in *Caſamiccia*, the name of which is *Monte di Miſericordia*, where ſix hundred poor patients are annually relieved, bathed, taken care of, and fed, for a fortnight each, from a fund of legacies and preſents, that have been beſtowed by private perſons. The building is large and well conſtructed; and the court is ſhaded by high mulberry trees. The neceſſities of the poor are but too frequently neglected: here the caſe is otherwiſe. The neceſſaries provided for the baths of the poor are very much better than thoſe of the baths of the rich at the *Lago del Re*.

We again mounted our aſſes, and rode to Lacco: a little town which is poſſeſſed of a port, in which there is a rock, that riſes out of the waves, in the form of a muſhroom. Round the ſtalk of the muſhroom there are large ſtones lying; to which, inſtead of riding at anchor, the veſſels are tied with ropes.

* Literally, wall pepper. I cannot diſcover what plant is meant. T.

We

We ſpent our noon in *Furia d' Iſchia;* which conteſts the honour of being the chief place of the iſland with the *Caſtello d' Iſchia.* Furia is ſituated on the weſt ſide of Iſchia, on a cape.

All the places that they call towns are built on the ſea ſhore; along which we ſometimes rode, and ſometimes left it to paſs through blooming valleys, or over hills, from the tops of which we could again ſee the coaſt. The iſland is charming in the higheſt degree. Here a far projecting rock is connected with the land by a ſlender cape; and there detached cliffs tower above the waves. Each form ſeems caſt with a bold yet playful hand; and every moment affords a various proſpect. Theſe heights are planted with vineyards, after the manner of the Germans. In every valley, the ſucculent vine entwines itſelf round the ſlender poplar, or caſts its arms over the knotty mulberry tree, and luxuriantly ſprouts from ſtem to ſtem. Among them the pulpy fig profuſely grows; and large plum and cherry trees are now in full bloom. With the aromatic ſweets of the flowering orange and citron, the delightful odour of the pear intermingles, or the beautiful red bud of the apple tree. Fruit of the ſize of a cherry already is ſeen, on the large apricot tree; and the peach, like the reſt, is in bloom. The orange and lemon trees were ſtill heavily loaded, among the deep cliffs, with ripe fruit: while, as we turned, trees of the very ſame kind, growing on the ſunny hills, regaled us with the odour of their white flowery branches.

Different beauties will ſoon embelliſh the iſland: for ſoon the pomegranate will begin to blow, then the oleander, and, which is here equally common, the aloe: the prickly plants of which ſerve as hedges, or grow wild in company with the Indian fig, that rears its branches among the craggy rocks.

Never before did I behold ſuch varieties of bloom! Never before was I regaled with the aromatic ſweets of ſo many rich ſhrubs! Numerous flowers ſpring up, in this fortunate climate, which are rarely ſeen by us, or of which we only have a tranſitory glimpſe: flowers and plants

plants that here are nouriſhed in the boſom of a mild mother, and befriended by beams that animate but do not ſcorch; ſoftened as they are by the pureneſs of the air, and the cooling breezes of the ſea, through which they paſs; and protected as the fruits and flowers are, in ſhady valleys and among deep rocky cliffs, by the ſprings and rills of which they are watered. Even the wild red ranunculus, which is ſeen blowing through the whole winter in Rome, among the ruins of antiquity, is ſtill here in blow; and ſtill the late primroſe, and the violet, are budding in company with the early roſe.

Some few ſmall fields only of this iſland are allotted to grain: the ſoil is employed to greater advantage in the cultivation of vegetables. The inhabitants of this incredibly populous little iſland have ſcarcely any meadow land. The profitable aſs relieves them from the neceſſity of breeding horſes; and the abſence of the cow is ſupplied by the goat, which animal finds on the luxuriant aromatic cliffs paſture that gives the milk an excellent taſte. The ſheep feeds in company with the goat. Of ducks and geeſe, of which there are few through all Italy, I ſaw none in Iſchia.

In ſome places, freſh water is ſcarce; and the rain is collected in ciſterns, the water of which is eſteemed in proportion to its age, as it continually becomes more pure. If I do not miſtake, it was in Furia, at leaſt in one of the towns, that they recommended water which was three years old, as we ſhould recommend wine for its age: nor were they miſtaken, for the water was excellent. Their wine would be equally good, were it equally long kept. It reſembles, in colour, the dark madeira; of that kind which has a caſt of red.

From complaiſance rather than from curioſity, we ſuffered our landlord to take us to a chapel, of the magnificence of which he loudly vaunted. It was in truth rather rich than beautiful, and wholly incruſted with yellow variegated marble. There is a beautiful ſtatue, of white marble, in the ſacriſty, of Religion, delicately veiled. Her charming countenance is known at the firſt glance; and the deception

tion of art is ſo great that the ſpectator is almoſt tempted to lift up the veil. At the bottom is inſcribed *Religio pura et immaculata:* Pure religion and undefiled *. There is a well executed baſſo relievo, on the pedeſtal; which repreſents the leading of Eleazer to death, becauſe he refuſed to diſobey the command of God †. The devout old man is exhorting the Jews, by whom he is ſurrounded. This beautiful ſtatue is the work of Giuſeppe Sanmartino; a ſculptor of Naples, who is ſtill living, and by whom I have ſeen ſeveral excellent performances in one of the churches of Naples.

The pictures of this chapel are vile, except a John the Baptiſt, by Vaccari, of Naples; which had been preſented to the owner of the chapel, by Sir William Hamilton.

We were intending to depart, when our guide inſiſted that we ſhould go with him into a chamber, belonging to the chapel. *Adeſſo vi faró veder un' altra galanteria:* I will now ſhew you another mark of kindneſs, ſaid he. We followed him, and ſaw the owner of the family chapel, whoſe name is Don Pietro Regine, and who likewiſe performed the office of prieſt. He was in bed indiſpoſed of a cold, was a handſome old man with a mild countenance, and gave us a friendly reception. I aſked him whether he would not do well to viſit the baths of the iſland; and he anſwered, with the pride of a good conſtitution, which well becomes an aged perſon, "I never take any remedy."

While we were converſing with him, the attendants opened a ſhrine; which was partly in the bed chamber, and partly in another room, and the riches of which were uncommonly great, for a private chapel. Among other valuable works in the noble metals, part of which were ornamented with precious ſtones, it contained three buſts of maſſy ſilver, as large as life.

The old gentleman took great pleaſure in diſplaying all this wealth. Some calm reflections, introduced by our converſation on the beautiful ſtatue of Religion, deprived him of this childiſh gratification; but made

* James i. 27. † II Maccabees chap. vi. 18.

him

him capable of one much greater: "Pure religion and undefiled before "God and the Father is this: to viſit the fatherleſs and the widows in "their affliction, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world *."

I afterward learned that he gave much away in alms: but does a delight in gold and precious ſtones, even though conſecrated to the church, coincide with the ideas of pure religion and undefiled; ſuch as the great apoſtle recommends?

I was informed that the produce of his wines enabled him to incur theſe great expences.

We were deſirous of riding over the hill *Epomeus;* which, in the Italian language, is called *Epomeo.* The name given it by the people of Iſchia is *Monte di Santo Nicolo:* after a monaſtery, that is built upon it: which, abbreviated in the Neapolitan dialect, is pronounced *Mon San Nico;* likewiſe frequently *San Nico.* Our guides, proud of the beauties of their country, offered to take us a pleaſant circuit.

At firſt, we rode among garden walls, that were overarched by the branches of fruit trees in full bloom. At one moment we had an open proſpect toward the land and ſea; and at another rode up ſteep aſcents, which were ſo narrow and high that we could pluck the bloſſoms from the trees, on every ſide, from the backs of our aſſes. We were obliged to be careful of our knees between the rocks, becauſe the aſſes were with equal difficulty driven, held back, or guided. The path frequently lay on the brink of deep cliffs; all of which, like the heights, were planted with fruit trees; and over high and buſhy rocks, where we ſaw dreadful gulphs immediately by our ſide. The windings of theſe paths often ſuddenly led to ſteep places, that were ſo ſmall as not to appear capable of being paſſed; and the rider is obliged entirely to commit himſelf to his aſs.

Extenſive proſpects frequently opened upon us. We ſaw the tower of *San Angelo* lying as it were at our feet. This tower is built on a high rock, that projects far into the ſea; and is connected with the

* James, i. 27.

iſland by a low cape. We were long before we had attained any conſiderable height, becauſe we frequently again went down ſteep declivities: but now we almoſt continually aſcended dreadful paths, that lay between high walls of the tufa, or ſand ſtone, of which the mountain conſiſts. We met with ſportſmen, who were hunting the quail; and who barefooted, that they might not ſlip, ſprang light as the goat over the poliſhed tufa. The dogs bring the birds that are ſhot out of caverns, which are impaſſable even to theſe huntſmen.

The upper part of the mountain is rough, but ſtill not deſtitute of ſhrubs and trees; among which the ſheep and goats wander. The more dry and high the ſoil is the more powerful is the aromatic odour of vegetation.

About four hours and a half after we had left Furia, we came to the hermitage on the top of the mountain; which is inhabited by two monks, and dug out of the tufa between overhanging cliffs. A hermit, in the proper ſenſe of the word, would in fact be ſo diſtant from the habitations of men, and ſo helpleſs, on this naked rock, eſpecially in caſe of ſickneſs, as to be in great danger. A third is come to them as a gueſt; but is ſo weak that he cannot undertake a journey to the monaſtery in the valley. He ſits almoſt continually either before the church door or in the church. He ſcarcely ſeemed to mark our approach, and ſpoke only when he was queſtioned; but anſwered with kindneſs and ſerenity. He told Nicolovius that he was born in the year 1706; from whom he learned the date of the preſent year, and thence diſcovered that he was eighty-ſix years of age. He is by birth a Palatine, but has almoſt forgotten our mother tongue.

Toward evening the ſky became obſcured, and deprived us of the pleaſure of ſeeing the ſun go down. Black clouds, riding eaſtward, received the deep ſhadows of the craggy mountain on which we ſtood, and diſplayed their forms. Under them, we diſtinguiſhed the other iſlands, with their coaſts. The ſea and the ſky imperceptibly loſt themſelves in each other; which is an appearance more common to

theſe countries than it is to any other countries and ſeas that I have viſited. Sometimes you diſcover a ſhip, in a place which before you had ſuppoſed to be the ſky; and at others a rainbow, where you had imagined that it was the ſea you ſaw.

On the 16th, the ſun roſe behind clouds: yet the proſpect of the diſtant places was very beautiful. Our view extended from the iſland of Ponza, nay from Monte Dragone with all the intervening ſeas and ſhores, to Monte Cava; which towers beyond the cape of Sorento. This proſpect every inſtant increaſed in grandeur, as the clouds gradually receded before the riſing ſun.

We now thought proper to return, and proceeded by the ſhorteſt road to *Borgo d'Iſchia*. We found the way by no means ſo difficult as from *Furia d'Iſchia* to the monaſtery; though no leſs rich in ſcenery. At firſt, we frequently again rode among deep valleys; or rather verdant and leafy patches of the mountain; which appear to have been produced by eruptions of ſubterranean fire, and earthquakes. Of the former they have ſeen no appearance, ſince the great eruption in 1301: but earthquakes are not unfrequent. One of the monks, who had inhabited the mountain eight-and-thirty years, told us that about once in four or five years ſhocks were felt on the north ſide of the mountain: but they did no damage. During the laſt month the mountain was ſix times ſhaken, by conſiderable heavings.

The rude upper regions as we deſcended ſoon became mild; and more than half of the way nature again was decorated in all her ſmiles. The nightingale ſang from the thick ſhady groves of tall young cheſnut trees on the right, by the ſide of which a rivulet murmured. On the left were groves of poplar, tall cherry trees, mulberry trees, and fruits of every kind; with little corn fields, and kitchen gardens. The rye was already beginning to ear. Among the budding branches, we diſcovered the ſea, the iſlands, and their ſhores: thoſe iſlands and thoſe ſhores where, beyond Procida, the Poſilipo extends itſelf; and beyond the Poſilipo the low cape, at the end of which the high promontory of Miſenum riſes; affording beauties

of lineal perſpective, ſuch as are ſeldom ſeen. And where is the man, who has not viſited Italy, that can imagine all the effects of aërial perſpective which are proper to this country? A tender etherial miſt ſwims before the eye and caſts an enchanting veil over every object: particularly over the ſea, its ſhores, and iſlands: communicating charms to them which are neither to be deſcribed nor forgotten. This faſcinating veil deſerves the rather ſo to be called becauſe it embelliſhes every thing, and conceals nothing. It even brings objects nearer, and delights the eye with the ſoftneſs of its ſhades. Never before could I ſee to ſo great a diſtance as in this country; where every near and diſtant object appears ſo magical.

About nine o'clock in the morning, two hours after we had departed from the top of the Epomeo, we again arrived at *Borgo d'Iſchia.*

There is a poſt felucca, that daily paſſes between theſe towns and Naples. Whoever ſhould be averſe to a ſea voyage, which may laſt from eight to ten hours, may paſs from Naples to *Capo Miſeno* by land. You ferry over to Procida, croſs this iſland, and again take boat from thence to Iſchia. The people of Iſchia call this kind of travelling going by land; although you are twice obliged to croſs the water. This mode of expreſſion made a paſſage in the Odyſſey intelligible to me, which had excited the ridicule of many a ſagacious critic. In the ſixteenth book, Telemachus thus queſtions his father:

Ποίῃ γαρ τῦν δευρο, πατερ φιλε, νηι σε ναυται
Ἠγαγον εἰς Ἰθακην; τινες ἐμμεναι ευχετοωντο;
Οὐ μεν γαρ τι σε πεζον ὀίομαι ἐνθαδ' ἱκεσθαι.

HOM. Od. xvi. 222.

What ſhip tranſported thee, O father, ſay,
And what bleſt hands have oar'd thee on the way * ?

POPE, b. xvi. 246.

Telemachus knew, as well as any critic, that a man could not come

* A line is here omitted, in Pope's tranſlation. Telemachus adds "It was impoſſible "thou ſhould'ſt come hither on foot." T.

to

to an iſland on foot: but the word πεζὸς likewiſe denoted, after the cuſtom of the country, no doubt, a traveller who came from Peloponneſus over the iſlands of Zacinthus and Same to Ithaca.

The paſſage, and perhaps in a flat bottomed veſſel, was frequent between Cephallenia in Peloponneſus to Ithaca. In ſuch a veſſel Philœtias, who had been placed by Ulyſſes, while yet young, over his herds in Cephallenia, uſed to paſs; and take with him the cows and goats to the ſuitors of Penelope.

Ποιμὴν δ' ἀρα τους γε διηγαγον, ὅστε και ἀλλους
Ἀνθρωπους πεμπουσιν, ὁτις σφεας ἱσαφικηται.

From the firm land they came; by boatmen brought,
Whoſe wherries are with trav'lers daily fraught*.

After my return from Sicily I remained ſome weeks in the iſland of Iſchia, and ſent ſeveral meſſengers by land to Naples: that is, what is called by land, over Procida and Capo Miſeno.

The wind was unfavourable for a paſſage to the iſland of Capri; but the boatmen repeated an aſſertion they had made the evening before, that it would change about noon. Their prediction was actually fulfilled: for the winds in theſe countries, at leaſt during ſummer, are not ſo irregular as in ours. It was paſt twelve o'clock at noon when we again took boat, and caſt many a look of regret from the felucca toward the paradiſe of Iſchia; the inhabitants of which had afforded us great ſatisfaction. They are a well made people; and, among the women, you meet with ſome very fine faces. Their manners too are kind and animated; and in the expreſſive pantomime of look, attitude, and geſticulation, they are not inferior to the inhabitants of Naples.

The wind was with us: but there was ſo little of it that the men were obliged to take to their oars, and we were three hours and a half

* Pope's tranſlation is too free for the author's purpoſe: it is therefore, neceſſary to tranſlate, as above, rather more literally. T.

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on the sea between the two islands. When we had accomplished the best half of our passage, the boatmen suddenly threw down their oars and began to whistle. The good people were desirous of affording us an unexpected sight; and they were successful in their attempt. A quantity of dolphins came round us, and rose out of the water, with curving bounds, very near to our vessel. This spectacle continued a considerable time, and we saw many coming at a distance. Several of them raised their bodies out of the sea but a few paces from us, with an expression of curiosity: a position which it appeared they could only obtain by a higher bound than usual, and which they could but preserve for a moment. One of the boatmen unseasonably dashed the water with his oar; and from that instant they forsook our company, although we continued to whistle.

You see that the fable of Arion, whose song collected the dolphins around him, is not entirely without foundation.

None of the islands which we saw on our passage had so wild an appearance as that of Capri; whose shores and summit were steep, rocky, and cragged. The Greeks called it *Capriæ*, *Capreæ*, and *Capria*: the Romans *Capræ*. Augustus delighted in this island, and exchanged the much greater island of Ischia for it, with the Neapolitans: because, being very credulous, he was persuaded that a sickly oak which he thought had increased in strength since his arrival, was a good omen*. A short time before his death, he passed four days in this island, and was very much delighted: taking great pleasure in a sport which, according to the ancient manners of the country, the inhabitants of which are still very lively, was practised by the youth. He encouraged and even took pleasure in their jocularity, and was amused by their manner of snatching and eating their fruits. His stepson and successor, Tiberius, chose this beautiful island as the secret scene of his detestable debaucheries. As it is with freedom so it is with solitude; it ennobles none but the noble: it increases the vice of the vicious. Tiberius re-

* Suet. in Vita Oct. c. 92 and 98.

signed

ſigned himſelf in this ſolitude to his luſts and his miſanthropy; and here deviſed the moſt ſcandalous practices, and the moſt ſanguinary cruelties. Neglecting the affairs of the empire, he omitted the defence of important places; and ſuffered whole provinces to be ravaged by the enemy unchaſtiſed*.

The air of this iſland, like that of Iſchia, is very healthy; which, in addition to its ſteep ſhores, induced him to chooſe it as his place of abode. Such at leaſt is the opinion of Tacitus, that deep enquirer into the motives and actions of men†: for this iſland is only acceſſible in two places; and, as may be ſeen in Suetonius, only in one in his time; and even there for none but ſmall veſſels.

I am indebted to my friend Puccini for a thought which appears to me very probable. This intelligent man, who feels with all the ardour of a poet and reads with all the acumen of a hiſtorian, conceives this choice of Tiberius to have been deeply political. From this hiding place, where the gloomy tyrant had concealed himſelf from the eyes and obſervation of the citizens by whom he was hated, he overlooked the ſea, kept the fleet which lay at Miſenum in awe, ſaw the ſhips arriving that came from Egypt, Barbary, and Sicily, which ſupplied Rome with corn, and, by iſſuing his orders, could have famiſhed the city. How deſirable was ſuch a ſituation for Tiberius; who was not a driveller, like Claudius, nor a frantic monſter, like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; but a capacious plotting tyrant, who reduced deſpotiſm to a ſyſtem, and whoſe well combined projects were beyond the abilities of his ſucceſſors. For this reaſon, though the Romans of his age endured their chains leſs patiently than in following generations, yet he eſcaped the fate of thoſe odious wretches, and died in his bed.

We landed at a village, which was ſituated between projecting cliffs in a verdant and productive valley; to which the ſurrounding terrors of the rocks gave additional charms. Here, as in the iſland of Iſchia,

* Suet. in Vita Tib. c. 40—45, and 60. † Tac. An. iv. cap. 16.

are

are ſhady groves and gardens; and here too the air is rendered odoriferous, by ſhrubs, fruits, and flowers.

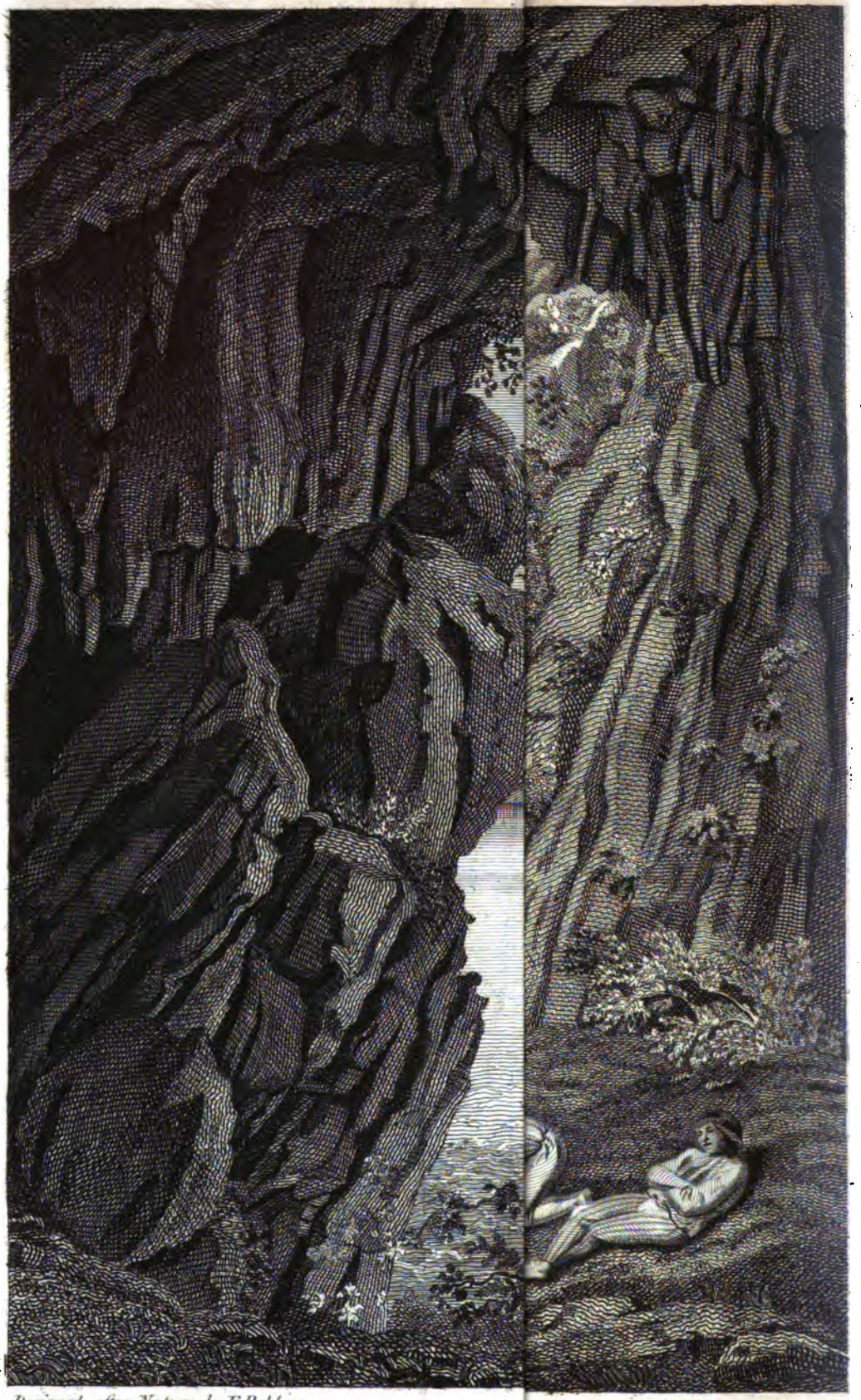
I ſaw ſeveral flowers with which I was unacquainted, and found the double red *anagallis*; which is very plentiful with us, except that it is ſingle. We aſcended a ſteep road to the little town of Capri, in hopes of finding aſſes, and of this evening viſiting the ruins of one of the palaces of Tiberius: but theſe hopes were deceitful.

Though late, we walked on the ſea ſhore; and found the ſtrand covered with multitudes of round pebbles, and very frequently among them circular pieces of white marble, poliſhed by the waves. The rocks on the ſhore form arches, and projecting cliffs; one of which ſoon ſet limits to our walk. We found corals among the flints on the ſtrand. It being dark, we ſaw the glowing lava of Veſuvius; which riſes immediately oppoſite to Capri.

Early on the 17th, we began our ride up high ſteps, by gardens, which brought us into narrow paths, that led among blooming trees and ſmall fields, till the country became more rude: yet only more in compariſon with the pleaſant places through which we had paſſed. We ſaw the barley in full ear. The higher parts through which we rode were embelliſhed with a beautiful pyramidal *ornithogalum*, the flower of which has ſix white leaves, with a tender purple line in the middle.

Large foundations remain of the palace of Tiberius; with halls, and ruins of two pillars. A hermit now lives near the chapel of Santa Maria, in a place which was once the abode of the ruler of half the world. Here we had the grandeſt and moſt enchanting ſea proſpect that I had ever beheld. We overlooked the whole bay of Naples, lying between the two much greater bays to which Gaeta and Salerno give their names. Beyond this is the promontory of Licoſa; and farther than that the hill of Circe; which are at leaſt five-and-twenty German miles diſtant from each other: but the beauty of the ſurrounding objects is of much greater value than their diſtance.

The view of the bay of Salerno is even more enchanting than the views



Designed after Nature by F. Rehberg.

views of the two other bays. The ſhores which it preſents are lofty; and on each ſide of them are ſeen ſixteen or ſeventeen ridges of mountains, one behind the other. The promontory of Maſſa towers in the vicinity of the iſland of Capri; from which it is only about half a German mile diſtant. Beyond the ſhores of the two other bays the lofty Apennines riſe.

Leaving this place, we rode to the ſouth eaſt part of the iſland; where we alighted from our aſſes and climbed a ſteep footpath, and then made as ſteep a deſcent through a cavity formed by the arching rocks, that led to a grotto, in which we met with the ruins of an ancient building. One of the palaces of Tiberius doubtleſs was here. This might probably be one of the places where, according to the narrative of Suetonius, he delivered himſelf up to the moſt hateful laſciviouſneſs, among cragged rocks and caverns. The recollection of this monſter aſſociates itſelf with the ſolemn gloom of the wonders of the ſcene. From this rocky hall there is a proſpect toward the ſea. In the blue diſtance, on the left, lies a part of the ſhores of the bay of Salerno; and, to the right, the neighbouring rocks, projecting and overhanging each other. You cannot ſee the ſky, and can only diſcover a part of the ſea, viſibly encloſed, lying deep below you, and of a dark blue colour.

Our guides called theſe caverns *Grotta di Matrimon.* We are informed, by Tacitus, that Tiberius built twelve great palaces on this iſland. Suetonius calls one of theſe palaces the villa of Jupiter; from which Lipſius conjectures that the twelve great palaces were dedicated to the twelve ſuperior deities. According to this not improbable ſuppoſition, theſe ruins, to which the people have applied the word *Matrimon*, may have been a building dedicated to the mother of the Gods: or the great Mother: *Matri deorum, vel Matri Magnæ:* that is, Cybele.*

Large

* Among the plates engraved for this work, there is one of this Grotto; after an excellent drawing by Profeſſor Rehberg, now living in Rome, to whom my thanks are due.

Large remains of reſervoirs, and moſaic flooring, are found on the ſouth ſide of the iſland. People were employed there in the ſearch of antiquities, at the expence of a principal perſon of Naples. Their ſuperintendant relates that pillars and other valuable antiquities have been found, but no ſtatues: probably, this was a winter palace of Tiberius.

The people of this iſland are lively, and full of geſticulation; like thoſe of Iſchia. An old woman was raiſed to a kind of comic rapture at the freſh coloured cheeks of my ſon, and at his flaxen hair. She danced round and round him, threw her arms in the air, and, as ſhe had no caſtagnetts, ſhe loudly ſnapped her fore finger and thumb, with quick emotion, and ſang, as if half inſpired or half crazy, *Quanto é bello! Sopra bello! Sotto bello! Tutto bello! O quanto bello!* How beautiful he is! Beautiful above! Beautiful below! Beautiful every where! Oh how beautiful!

It appears every where common with the people of theſe countries, when they dance with paſſion, to throw up their arms; and dancing frequently communicates paſſion, and paſſion frequently makes them dance. I once, in Naples, ſaw one woman very angry with another. After a torrent of abuſive language, ſhe ſuddenly began to throw up her arms, and dance. One of the ancients ſomewhere mentions the terrible Graces. She capered with the intoxication of a Bacchante, now made a ſpring, remaining in the ſame place, but riſing upward with unconquerable ſtrength, then flew with incredible ſwiftneſs to the extremity of the circle formed by the crowding ſpectators, again ſhot like an arrow from a bow to the other ſide; flew back, ſtopped for an inſtant with her inflamed countenance in full play, exhauſted her gall in a new torrent of abuſe, and again began her dance.

In our rude northern climates, the limbs are not ſo ſupple, the blood is not ſo hot, the paſſions are not ſo inflammatory.

I hope to ſee many of the beautiful landſcapes of this German artiſt made known to his countrymen, by the means of engraving. He labours with uncommon aſſiduity, and *con amore*.

The leſs lively infant, in conformity to our manners, is early ſubjected to incapacitating reſtraint. The common people are too frequently injured by labour, and by contention with the angry elements; and the injuries are increaſed becauſe the rudeneſs of the climate increaſes the number of their wants, and the inceſſant ſeverities of their induſtry. Thoſe who are not enfeebled, but rendered hardy, become ſtiff and unwieldy: at leaſt if compared to the agility and animation of the ſouth. Our bodies, leſs pliant, and impelled by juices leſs ardent, bend ſlowly to the will; and do not harmonize with, do not participate of, the ardent ſoul of quick ſenſibility; like the playful inhabitants of theſe climates. Our geſtures and our attitudes may be ſaid to ſtutter, compared to the geſtures and ſpeaking attitudes of the Italians; whoſe every motion is a word.

Our rolling national dance cannot be ſaid to picture the emotions of the mind. It is no more than the expreſſion of a thought, or rather of an inclination: yet it is expreſſion, and therefore more animated than the cold Engliſh dance; and more natural than the capricious, regulated, mazes of the French, which kind of dance, in reality, is as void of meaning as the Engliſh. Nor has it much more animation: though it has more of the imitation, the appearance of mirth; and this imitation communicates the ſemblance of jocularity, to youth. Variety, preciſion, and the ſoul of expreſſion are not diſcoverable, by me, in any of theſe dances: nor, till I came to Italy, had I any idea of the dance of the Greeks; which was made a ſerious part of the education of their noble youth.

Not that I have ſeen any dances in Italy evidently intended for moral purpoſes; but they are full of expreſſion, full of life, and of creative faculties; and they appear to prove that there is no exaggeration in the accounts given us of the moral attention paid to the art of dancing and of its dignity.

For this reaſon the art was ſo highly honoured by the Greeks of the

earlieſt ages. Homer celebrates Meriones for having been a good dancer; and, in another place, he ſays,

> Ἄλλῳ μεν γαρ ἐδωκε θεος πολεμηϊα ἐργα,
> Ἄλλῳ δ' ὀρχηστυν, ἑτερῳ κιθαριν και ἀοιδην.
>
> Hom. Il. xiii. 730, 31.

> To ſome the powers of bloody war belong,
> To ſome the dance, the lyre, the charms of ſong *.
>
> Pope, b. xiii. 915.

Socrates was not aſhamed of exerciſing himſelf in dancing; and hiſtory has preſerved the name Calliphron, the dancing maſter of the great Epaminondas. An ancient poet has exhibited even the Zeus dancing:

> Μεσσοισιν δ' ὠρχειτο πατηρ ἀνδρῶντε θεῶντε.
>
> In the midſt of them danced the father of the gods and men.

The dance conſtituted a part of the muſic of the ancients: for this muſic included both poetry and dancing. It was the gymnaſtic of the ſoul: for, as the body was rendered more ſupple and powerful by it, ſo was the harmonic concord of the ſoul the great end of muſic. The arts of intonation and of dancing were very frequently connected with lyric poems: at leaſt with ſuch kind of poems as conſiſt of ſtrophe, antiſtrophe, and epode. Among the odes of Pindar, we find ſome the ſtrophe and antiſtrophe of which each conſiſt of ſeventeen verſes; and the epode of thirteen.

By this union of poetry, muſic, and dancing, and only by this, was the ear of the auditor, who was likewiſe a ſpectator, enabled to conceive the exiſting harmony between the ſtrophe and the antiſtrophe, and the connection of both with the epode, and to enjoy them; but not without the aid of the eye. I conjecture that the dance, which

* I have again been obliged to vary from Pope. T.

was

was accompanied by the ſong of the dancer, did not conſiſt in ſprings and bounds; but meaſured ſteps, regulated by the muſic, and accompanied by geſticulation of the arms. During the ſong of the ſtrophe, the dancers turned from the eaſt to the weſt, returned with the antiſtrophe from the weſt to the eaſt, and ſtood ſtill while the epode was ſung. It may eaſily be conceived that, animated as the Greek rhythmus is, its harmonic connection, during the vaſt circuit if I may ſo ſay of the rhythmic period, would have eſcaped the ear, had not union and expreſſion been communicated by muſic and dancing; of which we perhaps can only form a very inadequate idea.

The greater the effects that were produced upon theſe people, by dancing and muſic, the more natural, wiſe, and neceſſary, it was to limit them by determinate rules. This was at leaſt the caſe in ſome republics, that were ſubject to the Doric laws. By ſuch means only could muſic, like the gymnaſtic exerciſes, be capable of moral worth: as it would otherwiſe have been injurious to the too inflammable paſſions. Dancing was combined with muſic, and poetry with both, in the moſt ancient ages of the eaſtern nations. We find, in the contents or titles of many of the pſalms, not only the inſtrument, by which the pſalm was accompanied, deſcribed, but likewiſe the number of the ſtrings of this inſtrument.

When the royal poet cauſed the ark to be removed from the houſe of Abinadab, in Gibeah, "David and all the houſe of Iſrael played "before the Lord on all manner of inſtruments, made of fir wood, "even on harps, and on pſalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, "and on cymbals *."

And again, when after three months the ark of God was brought from the houſe of Obed Edom, the Gittite, into the city of David, that "David danced before the Lord with all his might; and David "was girded with a linen ephod. So David and all the houſe of

* Sam. vi. 5.

"Iſrael

" Iſrael brought up the ark of the Lord with ſhouting, and with the " ſound of the trumpet *."

Why ſhould I recall to your recollection things ſo well known as the warlike Pyrrhic dances of the Greeks, or thoſe of their banquets? You likewiſe know how Hippoclides, the Athenian, who was one of the ſuitors of Agariſta the daughter of Cliſthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, had almoſt won the palm, when all his hopes were killed by immodeſty in dancing. Cliſthenes withheld his diſapprobation even when the youth ſtood on his head on a table: but, as ſoon as in this poſition he began to throw his legs in the air, and geſticulate as if with his arms, Cliſthenes exclaimed, Ω παῖ Τισανδρου, απωρχησασγε μην τον γαμον.

O, ſon of Tyſandras, you have danced away your bride †!

A deſcription of a dance of the ancients, which they called the *Hormos*, that is, the neck band, is preſerved by Lucian; and appears to me to be ſo charming that I cannot forbear to cite the paſſage.

" The *Hormos* is a dance performed by young men and young wo- " men, who are interchangeably arranged, one behind the other, in " the form of a neck band. A youth, dancing, leads the ring, with " ſuch attitudes as may be ſerviceable to him in war. A Virgin mo- " deſtly follows, dancing with female ſoftneſs: ſo that the Hormos " weaves a garland of graceful modeſty and courage ‡."

The Ionic dance was notorious for its voluptuouſneſs. It is a complaint, with Horace, that young women in his time were inſtructed in this dance.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artibus
Jam nunc, et inceſtos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui.

Lib. iii. ode 6.

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* V. 14, 15. † Herod. vi. 126. ‡ Λουκιαν· περι Ὀρχησεως.

With

With pliant limbs the tender maid
Now joys to learn the ſhameleſs trade
Of wanton dancing, and improves
The pleaſures of licentious loves.

FRANCIS.

You know how Herod, enflamed by the dancing of the daughter of his wife Herodias, and probably heated with wine, made the mad oath of granting whatever boon ſhe ſhould require, even though it were the half of his kingdom; and that the murder of a holy man, whom he honoured, was the conſequence of this oath.

It is a common opinion in Italy that perſons, who have been bitten by the Tarantula, can only be cured by dancing; and not by that, unleſs the muſician ſhall play an air that ſuits the temper of the patient: which he can only diſcover by repeated trials. This opinion, the truth of which I ſhall leave to future enquiry, as I hope to hear more of it in Apulia, evidently proves the power aſcribed by the Italians to dancing accompanied by muſic: a power which is indubitably proved by a variety of experiments.

In the afternoon, we ſailed with a briſk gale from Capri; and ſaw the eaſt ſide of the iſland, the appearance of which is even wilder than that of the north. The hollow cliffs, dreadful to view, reſiſting the raging waves, now tower perpendicularly, and now preſent themſelves in fantaſtic forms.

We paſſed the promontory of Maſſa: or, as it is called, *Campanile di Maſſa:* the belfry of Maſſa. It is thus named by the Italians from their cuſtom of erecting towers, for their bells, not upon but beſide their churches. By the ancients it was called the promontory of Minerva.

We landed at the little town of Maſſa; where we hired mules, and rode to Sorento. At firſt, we aſcended a very ſteep height: after which the road became more level, but continually pleaſant. All the productions of earth ſeem to embelliſh theſe coaſts. Beſide the leſs agreeable olive,

olive, the beautiful oak riſes: the *cytiſus-laburnum* grows wild in the hedges; which it decorates with its lovely grape formed flower.

That beautiful ſpecies of ſpartium, which our gardeners call Spaniſh broom and which is preſerved in the hot houſe in winter, here grows wild with its yellow butter flower; and, like the bloom of the *cytiſus*, is delightful both to the ſight and the ſmell. The ſpartium and the *medicago arborea*, the *cytiſus* of Virgil, flower in Italy in the winter.

The whole hill above us was ſhaded with lofty trees; and we ſaw the ſea on the left: having aſcended to a great height, riding through zig zag roads among groves of orange, citron, and various fruits in bloom, till we came to Sorento.

The age in which this place was founded is uncertain: but it is of high antiquity. It was generally believed, among the ancients, that it derived its name of *Surrentum* from the Sirens. I cannot conceive how the naked rocks, that project from the promontory of Maſſa, or thoſe ſmaller cliffs that face Sorento, could have been ſuppoſed to be the iſland of the melodious Sirens. Homer mentions the iſland of the Sirens: but he likewiſe tells us they ſang in flowery meadows. That the charming iſland of Homer lay between the promontory of Circe and the gulphs of Sicily is certain: but I ſhould rather ſeek it in the vicinity of theſe gulphs. We find that, after Ulyſſes and his companions had paſſed the iſland, they heard the thunder, and ſaw the ſmoking billows, of Scylla *.

> Now all at once tremendous ſcenes unfold;
> Thunder'd the deeps, the ſmoking billows roll'd!
>
> POPE, Od. xii. v. 240.

Sorento is built in a verdant valley, which is ſituated upon the hill. Nature has rendered this valley inacceſſible from the ſea on all ſides: for the rocks, which are in the form of a ſickle, are high and ſteep.

* —— When I wrote this, I had not ſeen the cliffs which are ſituated in the bay of Salerno, on the further ſide of the cape of Sorento, called *Le Galle*, and generally ſuppoſed to be the iſland of the Sirens: though they are very ſmall, and barren.

Protected

Protected from the ſouth and the eaſt by the hill, refreſhed by the ſea breeze from the weſt and the north, viſited by the afternoon ſun, and ſheltered from the north wind by the heights beyond Naples and Poſilipo, this valley enjoys an eternal ſpring. It is watered by the rivulets of the mountain; and the quick deſcent of the ſhores prevents the water from forming marſhes. The odour, from the buds, flowers, aromatic ſhrubs, and plants, is ſo ſtrong, that it penetrates and fills the ſtreets and houſes. The breezes from the ſea and the mountain ſport with theſe lovely odours; and, by purifying the atmoſphere, prevent them from becoming too powerful.

In the evening, we went on board a fiſhing boat, and rowed along the coaſt. As the rocky ſhore is ſteep and the houſes of the town are built in the valley, which lies rather under the rocks, we were obliged to ſail tolerably far into the ſea, before we could diſcover the little town. From its produce it carries on a conſiderable trade with Naples; and its ſtrand ſwarms with buſy and reſtleſs mariners. Under what is properly the town, the rocks frequently riſe perpendicular from the ſea; and frequently afford a ſmall bank, for boats and fiſhermen. Steps are cut in the rock, through ſuch openings as lead to the ſtrand; from which too there are roads cut, in a lateral and zig zag direction.

Wherever nature affords little plats among the rocks, gardens are planted; and, among the inacceſſible cliffs, wild ſhrubs and flowers peep. I never made ſo charming a little trip as this, or one ſo diverſified in its beauties: nor ſhall I ever forget the high rock, fronting the garden of a Capuchin monaſtery, which roſe, like a watch tower, braving the angry waters. As we rowed round into a ſmall bay, we had a glimpſe of a monk, ſpreading nets to catch quails in a verdant part of the garden that was over-arched with trees.

Like moſt of the hills of theſe ſhores, that on which Sorento ſtands is cleft in many places, and over theſe cavities bridges are built, as over rivers. On the morning of the 18th, we deſcended one of theſe cliffs, through which a ruſhing ſtream poured its waters. Lofty trees incline

their branches from the upper edge; others grow blooming below; and, between them, luxuriant ſhrubs, mingled with innumerable aromatic plants and flowers. We ſat ſome hours beſide the rivulet in this cooling cavity; and ſaw, opening in front above us, a high rocky grotto, lined with moſs, round which the ivy, kept in motion by the air, ſpread itſelf, forming a thin curtain.

The vegetables and fruits of Sorento are excellent. We met with lemons, which we could not ſpan with both hands; and ſweet oranges, which, for ſize, odour, and taſte, were not inferior to the famous oranges of Malta. Milk and butter are equally good; and the veal of Sorento is ſuppoſed to be the beſt in Italy. The water is cooling, and clear; and the wine, which in colour reſembles Burgundy, has ſome ſtrength: but it is acid, becauſe they do not know how to preſerve it above a year. Galen long ago remarked that the wine of Sorento did not become mild in leſs than ten years; and I am well aſſured that, if proper means were taken and it were treated in a different manner, it would be excellent and maintain its ancient fame. Ovid celebrates the noble vines of the Sorentine hills.

——— *Surrentino generoſos palmite colles* *.

Rich in all the gifts of nature, embelliſhed with all the charms that ſeas, and rocks, and hills, and dales, and rivulets, and groves, ſhrubs, fruits, and flowers, can afford, in all their various and lovelieſt changes, this little people live as it were protected by their ſituation, ſecured under the moſt friendly atmoſphere, and endowed with all the profuſion that can delight the heart of man.

The ſilk manufactory maintains many people; and here, as well as in Capri, the women are often ſeen on the tops of their flat houſes, or ſitting at their doors, with their little ſtools, weaving ribbons. There you ſee the poliſhed roſy threads paſs through their ſun-burnt fingers, while from houſe to houſe they converſe with each other acroſs the

* Metam. xv. 710. Surrentine hills, that generous wine produce.

ſtreet,

ſtreet, or with men at work below them, and with ſuch animation that there ſeems to be a conteſt between their hands and their tongues, which can move the faſteſt.

The rocks beſide the ſea, as well as little inſulated cliffs, are covered with a kind of white ſlime; which is occaſionally diſcharged by the water. The ſame thing happens likewiſe at Poſilipo. While it remains humid, it emits a pleaſant ſmell; and, when dry, ornaments the ſtone with a kind of white tapeſtry. The aromatic coaſt of Sorento is celebrated by Italian writers. The author of the Life of Taſſo ſpeaks of the *lidi oderiferi del mare:* the odoriferous ſhores of the ſea.

This great poet was born in Sorento, in the year 1544. Maſſa it is true likewiſe claims this honour; but it appears that Sorento was the place of his birth, or at leaſt that he ſpent his early youth in this town.

Happy poet! whoſe tender ſoul was ſuſceptible of all the impreſſions which, under the mildeſt of climates, great and beautiful nature could afford! His father was a native of *Bergamo*, a conſiderable town in the Venetian territories: for which reaſon the Venetians claim a right in Taſſo. Thus have three towns conteſted the honour of producing a poet, whoſe delightful numbers have been tranſlated into all the dialects of Italy and Sicily*.

The citizens of Sorento, with true national pride, ſhewed us the houſe in which the immortal poet was born. Though inferior in ſublimity and fire to the great Dante, and in fulneſs and in richneſs of imagination to the luxuriant Arioſto, he is one of the three great poets of modern Italy, who have done honour not only to their own country but to all mankind: for all mankind are infallibly juſt to men of extraordinary genius, and ſuch men do not properly belong to any ſingle country. His chaſte Muſe was inſpired with the pure love of the true and the beautiful; and, deſirous only of deſerving praiſe, without ſeeking

* *Lo Taſſo Napoletano, zoe La Gieroſalemme Libberata de lo ſio Torquato Taſſo, vatata a LLengua noſta; da Grabiele Faſano.* NAPOLE, 1689. This is the title of a folio tranſlation of Taſſo, into the Neapolitan dialect, which is in my poſſeſſion. T.

the applauſe of the multitude, he obtained the garland of glory from their hands; which he will ever preſerve.

In the afternoon, we rode on mules from Sorento to *Caſtell-a-Mare*. A road is cut in the hill; which, at leaſt in many places, is almoſt impaſſable. The various ſcenes of nature, with which I have endeavoured to entertain you in this long letter, were here again diſcoverable; and, in addition to their other charms, were dreadfully ſublime. Compared to this day's jaunt, in which we ſpent four hours and were frequently obliged to alight and proceed with the utmoſt caution on foot, the paſſage of Mount Cenis, which yet has its terrors, is an eaſy high road.

The nightingale ſaluted us from the young cheſnut groves. The ſpacious proſpect of the ſea opened upon us, and at laſt we beheld, lying at our feet, the little town of *Caſtell-a-Mare*; where the ſhips of the royal navy are built, and from which they are launched. This place is ſituated at the foot of a woody mountain, and enjoys a healthy and cool air. The king ſpends the hotteſt part of the ſummer here, in company with his family and a ſmall train.

On the place where *Caſtell-a-Mare* now ſtands, the ancient town of Stabia once ſtood; which, like Pompeii and Heraclea*, was buried in the year 79 by the eruption of Veſuvius.

The healthy air of this place is mentioned by Galen.

We took poſt horſes at *Caſtell-a-Mare*, and returned to Naples by the way of *Torre del' Annunciata*, *Torre del Greco*, and Portici. All the country was in a high ſtate of cultivation. Among other plants, the *borago* is reared; the blue flowers of which, in Germany, we ſometimes mix with our ſallad. It is eaten by the Italians as ſpinage. Here likewiſe whole fields of white poppies are ſeen; from which laudanum is produced.

I am now preparing for my journey into the ſouthern provinces of this kingdom, and to Sicily.

* Herculaneum.

I have

I have been detained in theſe fortunate fields by innumerable grand objects. How much has this little journey of five days exceeded my expectations! I hope I have not viſited Sorento and Iſchia for the laſt time. I hope, at the end of ſummer, far from the tumult of cities, to reſide in theſe plains of paradiſe; which are more lovely and beautiful than any that I had ever beheld before.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Salerno, 28th April 1792.

BEFORE I undertook my journey through Puglia, Calabria, and Sicily, I was deſirous of viſiting the grand remains of the ancient Greek town of *Pæſtum*, or *Peſto*, at this ſeaſon of the year, while the air is not yet dangerous. For this purpoſe, taking Nicolovius and Jacobi along with me, I yeſterday morning rode to Salerno.

At Portici, we were joined by our friends: the two Meſſieurs Droſt, from Münſter, with their companions, Mr. Vicarius Büngens, and Captain Colſon.

As far as Pompeii, the countries we ſaw were not unknown to us. Thoſe we afterward came too were equally fertile, and variegated in their views and objects: eſpecially on this ſide of the little town of *Nocera di i Pagani*; which, by the Romans, was called *Nuceria Alfaterna* *; till a colony was ſent thither, in the time of Auguſtus, who then called it *Nuceria Conſtantia*. It ſeems to have derived its preſent name from the Saracens, by whom it was conquered; and who, in the middle ages, were frequently denoted by the epithet *Pagani*: or Pagans.

* Cluv. Ital. Ant.

We

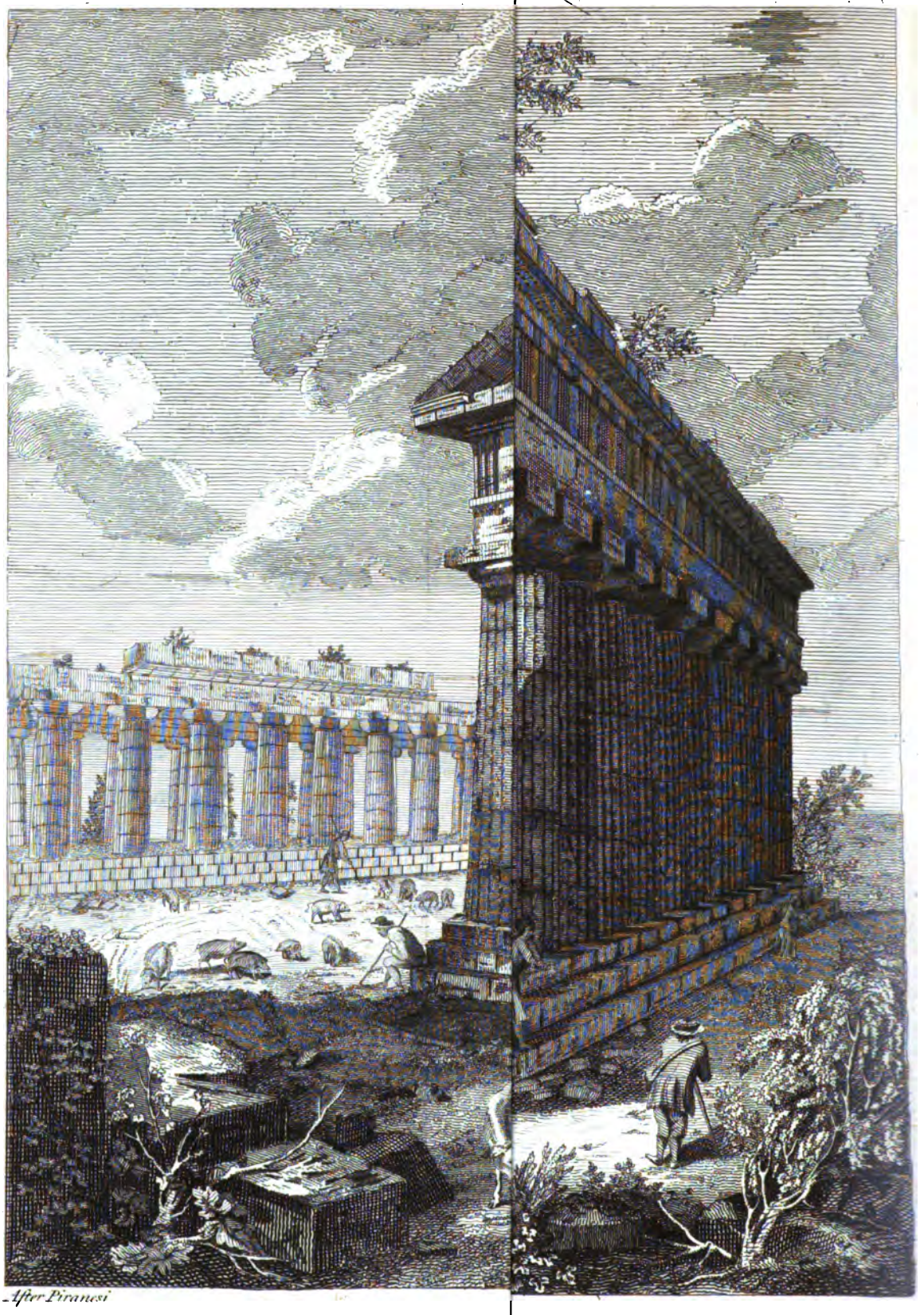
We already ſaw both wheat and oats in ear. We rode over woody hills, and through a charming narrow valley; which hills ſtrongly reminded me of the *Bergſtraſſe*, that lies between Darmſtadt and Heidelberg. Here we met with equal induſtry of agriculture but greater fertility, from lands that lie under the influence of ſo mild a climate. Theſe national recollections were ſoon loſt in the delightful little valley that lies between La Cava and Vietri; where, far below us, a clear rivulet now winds through herbage and groves, and now ruſhes among the rocks.

This valley is juſtly held to be the moſt beautiful place in Italy. It is a calm beneficent retreat, inviting all that are capable to the enjoyment of nature.

Having arrived at Vietri, you are ſuddenly ſurpriſed by a view of the bay of Salerno, with its craggy ſhores and promontories, that are ſhaded by high trees, and that form ſmall gulphs, among the cliffs and grottos, in delightful variety. The town of Salerno is ſituated in the great bay to which it gives its name. Formerly, when Peſto flouriſhed and was known by its ancient Greek name, it was called the bay of *Poſidonia*.

We departed early, before ſun riſe; and found the country, between Salerno and Peſto, extremely fruitful, and rich in foliage. The unhealthineſs of the air is injurious here to agriculture, becauſe inhabitants are wanting. The marſhy places are chiefly the paſtures of herds of buffaloes.

We paſſed a ferry over the Silaro, the *Silarus* of the ancients, which was the territorial boundary between the *Lucani* and the *Picentini*: or *Piceni*. Few corn fields are ſeen on the farther ſide of the river: but the ſpontaneous vegetation is luxuriant. Here I met with many to me unknown flowers. The red *adonis* grows wild; and I ſaw the *cercis ſiliquaſtrum*, or tree of Judas, covered with its beautiful red papilionaceous flower. Some of the inhabitants call it *platano*; though it has nothing



After Piranesi

nothing in common with the *platanus*; and others *guzza-pino*; becauſe it bears leaves and has no prickles.

The ruins of Poſidonia appertain to the moſt ancient remains of Grecian architecture. They are evidently of an age when the art had acquired its higheſt character of dignified ſimplicity: an age which in Greece was called the age of Pericles, who lived above four hundred years before the birth of Chriſt*.

There are likewiſe the remains of a gate; and of the city wall, which was twenty-ſix Neapolitan palms in breadth; (The Neapolitan and Sicilian palm is the extent of the ſpan, including the firſt joint of the thumb.) and, beſide theſe, there are the pillars of three very large buildings ſtanding. The hindmoſt appears to have been a baſilica, or hall of juſtice; and the two others were temples. Of theſe three buildings, that which is in the middle was evidently the grandeſt.

This has been properly called the temple of Neptune: the ancient town having been dedicated to that deity, and from his Greek name, *Poſidon*, called *Poſidonia*. In the breadth of the temple there are ſix pillars, and fourteen in length; therefore, thirty-ſix in the circumference. They are each forty-three palms in height; and, if I do not miſtake, have one-and-twenty flutings, διαξυσμαὶα, *ſtriaturas*, *cannelures*, but without pedeſtals, according to the ancient Doric manner. Neither have the pillars of the two other buildings any pedeſtals: though their too great tapering appears to denote an age when the beauty of proportion had not been diſcovered; at leaſt not with ſufficient accuracy.

* When I wrote this I had met with no good repreſentation of the temple of Minerva in Athens, which was rebuilt by Pericles after it had been deſtroyed by the Perſians. I have now ſeen an engraving of this noble building, in the *Archæologiæ Græcæ* of Potter, and remark that there are pedeſtals to the pillars. In the temple of Neptune, at Poſidonia, the pillars reſt immediately on the ground; according to the moſt ancient manner of the Doric architecture. It therefore appears that this temple of Neptune is more ancient than the temple of Minerva, built by Pericles; which was likewiſe called *Parthenion*, or the temple of the virgin. The reſemblance between theſe temples is ſtriking.

For

For this reaſon, both theſe buildings ſuffered very much; when compared to the temple of Neptune.

This temple conſiſts of three ailes. Upon the two middle rows of pillars others of a leſs ſize are conſtructed, which likewiſe are Doric. Perhaps there was a wall, that ran between the outward and the next row of pillars; as ſome traces ſeem to denote. If ſo, the temple muſt have had five ailes. The architrave and the frieze are in good preſervation: as likewiſe is a great part of both the frontiſpieces.

The whole has a combined character of beauty, grandeur, and ſimplicity; compared to which, the nobleſt buildings of ancient Rome would appear inſignificant.

The baſilica has nine pillars in breadth, eighteen in length, and fifty in circumference. The other temple has ſix pillars in breadth, thirteen in length, and thirty-four in circumference. All theſe pillars are fluted.

Theſe ſtructures are of a kind of porous ſtone, which is called travertino; with which St. Peter's at Rome is built.

Such are the noble monuments of Greek art, that had remained many centuries unobſerved by antiquaries, when the ſcholar of a painter of Naples, while he reſided at Capaccio, a little town that is built on the hill near Peſto, diſcovered them from a hill as he was walking toward the ſea. As ſoon as he returned to Naples, he gave an enthuſiaſtic relation of what he had ſeen to his maſter; who went with him to view the great ruins, and publiſhed the diſcovery to the world.

Immediately beneath the ancient city wall a rivulet runs, which has a petrifying quality that was remarked as early as Strabo. Its banks are reedy, and ſome little hollow pillars bear evident marks of being themſelves petrified reeds. I taſted the water and thought it brackiſh; and indeed the inhabitants call it, *Fiume ſalſo:* or ſalt river.

Cluverius found it freſh: but he poſſibly taſted it at another ſeaſon of the year, and certainly at ſome other place: otherwiſe he muſt have ſeen the ruins. This brook often overflows, and either cauſes or increaſes the unhealthineſs of the air. Plutarch ſpeaks of its marſh, to

which Spartacus retired with his fugitives, and ſays that its waters were ſweet at one time and ſalt at another*.

The roſy gardens of Pæſtum are praiſed by Virgil and Ovid. Virgil tells us they annually bloomed twice——*Biferique roſaria Pæſti*—— and I was aſſured that they ſtill poſſeſs this quality at Peſto. By Ovid they were called "The tepid roſy gardens of Pæſtum"—*Tepidique roſaria Pæſti.* During the whole of our way to Salerno, the air was tepid, and the breeze diſagreeable; but we did not find ourſelves oppreſſed by it till we had croſſed the gloomy Silaro, and were about three German miles on this ſide of Salerno. The people who live at the ferry have a pallid and bloated appearance. Nicolovius aſked one of them why he continued to live there? He replied becauſe he was obliged. "Who is it that obliges you?" ſaid Nicolovius. "Poverty" anſwered the man; with a true Italian ſhrug of the ſhoulders.

The air of Peſto gave me a bad head ach: yet I ſaw a flock of goats that was uncommonly full of life. It is probable that the very quality of this air, which to man is injurious or rather mortal, may have a different effect on the organs of theſe animals, whoſe ſtrong ſcent may afford an antidote. The ſame may be true of vegetation.

Poſidonia was founded in very early times, and is of Grecian and Doric origin. The Sybarites, who had conquered the town, built the wall after the building of the temples. They were obliged to yield to the Lucani; and the Lucani to the Romans, probably during the ſecond Punic war. The Romans corrupted the ancient name to *Pæſtum;* from which the Italians have formed Peſto.

Inconſiderable ruins of a temple, which, according to an inſcription that was found, was conſecrated to the *Mens Bona*, or ſound mind, denote, as do remains of an amphitheatre, that was indubitably built in the times of the Emperors, how profane was the hand of Roman art, when compared to the high genius of the Greek!

Peſto lies about half a league from the ſea. The continued mountainous ſhore riſes beyond the town, on the right, toward the ſea; and,

* Plutarch's Life of Craſſus.

on the left, the curving coaſt is diſcovered as far as the promontory of Licoſa: while ridges of hills tower and diſappear in perſpective.

While I was writing this, Jacobi called to me demanding my attention to a new object: the buſhy height of Salerno, which was ſwarming with flying glow worms.

The illuminated livelineſs and motion of theſe inſects are delightful. How did they hover about, riſing over the hills into the air, and looking like little ſtars!

Salerno was formerly called *Salernum*. During the ſecond conſulſhip of the firſt Publius Scipio Africanus, when Tiberius Sempronius Longus was his colleague, ſoon after the ſecond Punic War, a Roman colony was ſent hither. In the middle ages, Salerno had its own Princes; and, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Arabians here taught philoſophy, and the art of phyſic: which laſt ſcience was exerciſed with emulation and renown, ſo that in the year 1100, a book on the medical art, as practiſed at Salerno, was written in Leonine verſes.

This town has been the ſeat of an archbiſhop for more than eight hundred years. The haven of Salerno was once famous; but it is now neglected, and the proverb is

Se Salerno averſe un porto,
Napoli ſarebbe morto.*

Large annual fairs are held here. The Leonine Muſe ſtill appears to hover over the place; for ſhe is not ſeen alone in the work I mentioned, but likewiſe in the following Latin; which is ſung by a community of Salerno, on the feſtival of St. Fortunatus.

Salernum civitas nobilis,
Quam fundavit Sem Noe filius †.

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* If Salerno had a port, Naples would be dead: or,

If Salerno had a port,
Naples would have little ſport.

† Salerno is a city noble,
Founded by Shem the ſon of Noah.

LETTER LXXIX.

Barletta, 4th May 1792.

ON the morning of the 29th of April, we took leave of our friends from Münſter, whom we again hope to meet in Sicily; and, in order to avoid returning to Naples in our way to Puglia, the ancient *Apulia*, we rode over hills to Avellino.

This was one of the moſt pleaſant little journeys I have ever made. Rich in foreſts and rivulets, which ſpring from the rocks and wind meandering through the laughing meadows, this country is adorned with all the charms of nature; at once wild and friendly. The young verdure exhaled its ſweets, after ſprinkling ſhowers; and the nightingale ſaluted us from the budding branches. We ſaw the linden and the cherry tree of extraordinary growth in the villages; though the linden is ſeldom met with in Italy. The white thorn is ſtill in bloom; and already the Italian honeyſuckle * flowers.

A rough, rocky, and frequently ſteep, road led us among high cheſnut foreſts, over a ridge of the Apennines; which ſeparates the provinces of *Principato Citra* and *Principato Oltra*.

According to ancient geography, theſe mountains divided the country of the *Picentini* from the country of the *Hirpini*. The latter were a tribe of the Samnites; in whoſe language, according to Strabo, *hirpum* ſignified a wolf.

From the heights of theſe hills, ſhut up among the woody mountains, we ſaw a valley plentifully watered; the diverſified beauties of which, as we proceeded along the winding road, continually preſented new charms to the eye.

* *Caprifolium perfoliatum.*

We arrived early at the not very little town of Avellino; which is built in a fruitful place, among the mountains.

During the whole way, and particularly when we approached Avellino, we ſaw many large hazle buſhes, the nuts of which are ſo famous. Hence the French call a fine kind of this fruit *des Avellines.*

The eaſt ſide of the country round Avellino is no leſs beautiful than the weſt. On the morning of the 30th, we ſaw many of the *cytiſus* ſhrubs in bloom: but the mountainous diſtricts ſoon became more rude, and we met with leſs grain; moſt of which was not yet in ear. This backward growth muſt not be aſcribed to the mountain air, but to the poverty of the ſoil; which is ſtony, and frequently ſandy. The inhabitants do not appear to neglect the labours of agriculture: as an inſtance, we ſaw them hedging their grounds. They have likewiſe many fruit trees; but only ſuch as grow in the open air in Germany.

Theſe countries abound in trees; and their towns are generally built on hills; which cuſtom is leſs inconvenient among the Italians, becauſe of their breed of mules and aſſes, than it would be in Germany. The high road, which was the work of the late King, Don Carlos, is excellent, and abounds in extenſive proſpects over valleys and hills; behind which, on all ſides, high ridges of the Apennines riſe.

On the firſt half of the way, we paſſed the little town of *Monte Fuſcolo*, lying on the left on a high hill.

As we approached Ariano, we ſaw vineyards which were laid out in the German, or rather in the Swiſs, manner; for, though the vines are carried up poles, they yet ſhoot over croſs laths, and are conducted from one vine ſtock to another.

Ariano lies on a high hill of tufa ſtone, ſome of the houſes of which are hewn in the ſoft rock. The town is very ancient. Some among the ancients aſcribe its foundation to Diomedes, ſon of Tydeus, King of Ætolia, one of the celebrated heroes of Homer. That he made a deſcent in Italy after the taking of Troy is as well proved as

are

are any of the narratives of the renowned heroes of this ſiege; with which, embelliſhed by the dreams of fable, the hiſtory of Greece begins to dawn. However, it was the cuſtom of the leaders of the early Greek colonies to make ſettlements upon the ſea coaſts. The ancient Italian name of the town was *Equus Tuticus*; and *Tuticus*, in one of the moſt ancient Italian dialects, ſignified *great*: This place therefore was called *Great Horſe*. Perhaps you will be a little inclined to laugh at an etymological vagary that ſuggeſts itſelf. What if the epithet *Deutchſe* *, which the people of Switzerland ſtill pronounce *Tütſchen*, in Latin *Teutones*, originally ſignified *the great*? You know how terrible an impreſſion the greatneſs of our anceſtors made on the Romans; who, with this impreſſion of greatneſs, ſtrength, and valour, aſſociated even the flaxen hair and the blue eyes of the Germans, as things dreadful.

I muſt not omit to notice that Germany formerly conſiſted of marſhes, and foreſts, which have been drained and felled; that it was then colder than it now is; and that the deſcription given of the Germans, by the Romans, perfectly agrees with the preſent people of Norway. I have never been in that country, but the Daniſh life guard chiefly conſiſts of pure Norwegians; the aſpect of whom frequently brought to my recollection the ancient Germans.

On the 1ſt of May, we made a little trip up the country, to the ſouth, to view a remarkable natural phenomenon; which had neither been overlooked among the remarks of early naturaliſts, nor by the ſage Muſe of Virgil. We hired a guide, and ſometimes rode up narrow paths and frequently over the beds of brooks; which were now half dried up, but which in ſome ſeaſons of the year are impaſſable. The heat was rather great; but the way was pleaſant. We ſaw many foreſts of oak; the ſight of which for ſome days paſt had delighted us, becauſe, in other parts of Italy, though here and there a ſolitary tree may be met with, there are but few foreſts.

* German.

We

We heard numerous nightingales, among the ſhady valleys, and ſinging in the foliage of the high banks of the rivulets; and we met with a ſhepherd, who was playing on the bagpipe. We yeſterday had before heard this kind of muſic, enlivening the people of a village, who were employed in toſſing the ſheep that were ſheered from the top of a high bridge, into the brook. The villagers are friendly and gay.

Weary with the ſtiff jog trot pace of our hack horſes, which, though they were Neapolitan ſtallions, were unworthy of their breed, we alighted at the village of *Caſal di Frigente;* and proceeded more than half a German mile on foot. This ſmall village is ſituated in a foreſt, at the foot of a hill; at the top of which the little town of Frigente ſtands. Our charming road at firſt led us under lofty cheſnuts, and oaks; where we heard the ſong of the nightingale, which was anſwered by the clear note of the quail, the warbling of the lark and the goldfinch, the cry of the cuckoo, and the chirping of the chattering graſshopper.

When we left theſe ſhady heights, the heat became very great; and we were not a little delighted to meet with a goatherd, whoſe boy, with great dexterity, caught the goats, as the old man pointed them out; when they would not follow, but diſregarded the *Theocritic* call of *Sitta! ſitta!* which is ſtill in uſe.

We refreſhed ourſelves with drinking ſome of the warm foaming milk. The milk of the Italian goat is much more pleaſant than that of ours; for it has not the ſame ſtrong taſte, but is rather ſweet, and very white: neither are the goats here ſo ſtrong ſcented as they are in Germany.

At the bottom of a declivity, the ſummit of which was overgrown with oaks, there was a tolerably ſteep dale; in which there was a ſulphureous ſpring, that yielded but little water, but that ran over a ſpacious ſtony bed, which denoted what its contents might be in autumn, and winter. The depth of the ground, and the whole bed that it formed, bore a great reſemblance to Solfatara, near Pozzuoli. It was equally

equally cruſted with ſulphurous ſubſtances, and likewiſe appeared to have holes; at leaſt the earth was broken through in more places than one. Below is a little pool, the circumference of which may be about ſixty paces; and the water, that is as dark as the darkeſt lime water, ſpouts up in various places. On the ſhore, there is a natural fountain; that projects its waters, with froth and noiſe, to the height of a man, and that never ceaſes to riſe. This noiſe, this viſible boiling, and theſe reſemblances with Solfatara, leave us without the leaſt doubt that it is caſt up by hot ſources; though we found it entirely cold.

Virgil could not have diſcovered a better place for the Fury Alecto, when ſhe unwillingly obeyed the command of Juno, at the moment that ſhe expected the applauſe of the goddeſs, and was obliged to return to night and hell *.

Eſt locus, Italiæ in medio ſub montibus altis,
Nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
Amſancti valles. Denſis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragoſus
Dat ſonitum ſaxis et torto vortice torrens.
Hic ſpecus horrendum, & ſævi ſpiracula Ditis,
Monſtratur; ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Peſtiferas aperit fauces: queis condita Erinnys,
Inviſum numen, terras cœlumque levabat.

VIRG. Æn. vii. 563.

In midſt of Italy, well known to fame,
There lies a lake, *Amſanctus* is the name,
Below the lofty mounts: on either ſide
Thick foreſts the forbidden entrance hide:

* Miſguided by Addiſon, I have ſaid in my Iſland †, that Virgil, in this deſcription, ſpoke of the waterfall of Velino, near Terni, in the States of the Church. Virgil no doubt meant this aperture.

Later remark. Since I wrote this, I have ſeen the great waterfall near Terni, which does not agree with Virgil's deſcription. The reader will judge for himſelf, when I have conducted him to Terni.

† This I ſuppoſe to be the title of ſome work, that I am unacquainted with, by the author, Count Stolberg. T.

Full

Full in the centre of the ſacred wood
An arm ariſes of the Stygian flood;
Which, breaking from beneath with belſowing ſound,
Whirls the black waves and rattling ſtones around.
Here Pluto pants for breath from out his cell,
And opens wide the grinning jaws of hell.
To this infernal lake the Fury flies;
Here hides her hated head, and frees the lab'ring ſkies.

DRYDEN, v. 777.

The Romans here erected a temple to the goddeſs *Mephitis:* whom they likewiſe called *Graveolentia*, or the Ill ſcented. Why ſhould they not as well build a temple to Mephitis as to the goddeſs of *Tuſſis:* or Cough? who is ſuppoſed to have been honoured in a ſanctuary the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen near Tibur, the modern Tivoli.

In the preſent altered yet recognizable dialect, the place is called *Muſite*. Near, and perhaps on the ſame ſpot, where the temple of Mephitis ſtood, there is a chapel called, *San Felice*. May not this likewiſe have been a corruption of the word *Amſanctus*, or *Ampſanitus*, which was the name of this place *?

In the forenoon of the day before yeſterday, we reached the top of the mountain. The country was poor in trees; and we ſaw the bald top of Apulia, lying before us, which is dried by the eaſt wind, according to Horace,

Quos torret Atabulus.

The land was ſtony, and the corn poor: but, when we came into the province of Puglia, the ancient Apulia, we met with a very welcome foreſt of oaks; which firſt afforded us ſhade, and, as the ſun got higher, ſome cooling breezes. An excellent field of wheat reminded me of the induſtry of the ancient Apulians; whoſe fame the preſent inhabitants appear willing to maintain.

For ſome time before we came to Bovino, the trees diſappeared;

* Cluv. Ital. Ant.

and,

and, in the middle of the day, we rode through a large open plain, which here and there bore excellent corn; though the greateſt part of it was paſturage.

The ſheep of this province are ranked among the fineſt in Italy. The cattle are not ſo prodigiouſly large as thoſe in Terra Lavoro: but they are ſtrong, numerous, and have large horns, like thoſe in the States of the Church; the modern breed of which is derived from Puglia. They are all of them light grey; as in general are the cattle of the middle and lower parts of Italy, from the moſt northern countries of Tuſcany to the ſouth point of Calabria. We likewiſe ſaw a herd of buffaloes; which, being in want of larger marſhes, were here collected round a ſmall pool. This breed of animals, during the heat of the day, repoſe themſelves by lying in lakes, or marſhes; and are frequently ſunk ſo deep in the mud that nothing but their turned up muzzles is viſible. They are dark brown, rough, almoſt ſhaggy, and have little round horns, arched backward; which are ſerviceable only to butt with, and not to gore. They are rather overcome than tamed. The buffalo ox has a wild and fearful aſpect, under the yoke; and the buffalo cow ſhyly looks about her, while ſhe is milked. If they are grazed in the ſame paſture with other cattle, the herds keep themſelves ſeparate. The milk is thinner than that of the cow, is ſweet, very healthy, and affords very pleaſant viands.

The buffalo was neither a native of Italy nor does he now wander wild in this country. The race was brought from Aſia five or ſix hundred years ago; and they all have proprietors. The King has a breed of white buffaloes, from Hungary; which he received from the late Emperor: but I have not ſeen them.

We paſſed the town of Fogia, on the left; which was the ancient Luceria, and the founding of which, like Ariano, is aſcribed to Diomedes. It is ſtill by many called Lucera. On a hill to the right, we ſaw the little town of Aſcoli.

The Romans would have beſieged Luceria, when they were ſur-

rounded in the defile by Herennius, the valiant and cautious leader of the Samnites; where, in the year of Rome 432, or 321 before the birth of Chriſt, they were obliged to paſs under the yoke at *Claudium**.

Aſcoli was formerly called *Aſculum*; and, near this place, in the year of Rome 471, and 282 before Chriſt, the Romans, under the conduct of their two conſuls, Curius, and Fabricius, both great men, gained a battle over the conqueror Pyrrhus.

The high mountain of Volto, the *Vultur* of the ancients, riſes on the ſouth weſt; concerning which Horace ſo poetically fables that, having fallen aſleep upon it while a boy, the doves had bedecked him with ſprigs of myrtle and laurel:

Me fabuloſæ, Vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque ſomno,
Fronde nova puerum palumbes

Texere: mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicumque celſæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltuſque Bantinos, et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Forenti:

Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et urſis: ut premerer ſacrâ
Lauroque, collatâque myrto,
Non ſine dis animoſus infans!

HOR. lib. iii, od. iv. 9.

Fatigu'd with ſleep, and youthful toil of play,
When on a mountain's brow reclin'd I lay,
Near to my natal ſoil, around my head
The fabled woodland doves a verdant foliage ſpread.

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* The Count has been guilty of two miſtakes, in this ſhort paſſage; a thing very unuſual with him: the received name is Caudium, not Claudium. Pontius was the general of the Samnites; and Herennius was his father, whoſe advice was indeed too wiſe to be followed by the vain and ambitious ſon: it was generouſly to ſuffer the Romans impriſoned in the *Caudinæ Furcæ* to depart. LIV. ix. T.

Matter, be ſure, of wonder moſt profound
To all the gazing habitants around,
Who dwell in Acherontia's airy glades,
Amid the Bantian woods, or low Ferentum's meads,

By ſnakes of poiſon black, and beaſts of prey,
That thus, in dewy ſleep unharm'd I lay;
Laurels and myrtle were around me pil'd,
Not without guardian gods an animated child.

FRANCIS.

To the north eaſt, we ſaw the mountain of *Garganus*; which is ſituated in the province of *Capitanata*, over the bay of *Manfredonia*. It is now called *Monte San Angelo*. Here there is a chapel, which is viſited by pilgrims; and we met ſeveral country people, in the fore-noon, who were returning from their journey. They bore pine branches, with their fruit, tied round their long pilgrim ſtaves; to denote that they had accompliſhed their pilgrimage.

Before the ſun went down, we reached the village of *Ardona*; which was known to the ancients under its preſent name, though it was likewiſe called *Ardoneæ*.

The Greek name for all Apulia was *Japygia*; and the country on this ſide of the river *Aufidus*, which is now called *Ofanto*, was the *Apulia Daunia* of the Romans. The epithet *Daunia militaris*, or the warlike Daunia, was applied to it by Horace. Apulia was always famous for its heat; which yeſterday, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, was very great; though an enlivening ſea breeze blowed from the Adriatic, toward the eaſt, in the afternoon.

We found a very effectual and pleaſant antidote to the heat, in that kind of large citron which is common in the ſouth of Italy, and is called *Valenciana*. It is not ſo ſoft and excellent as the leſs and more common citron: but it may be entirely eaten, both pulp and ſkin.

Yeſterday, at Ardona, we had a diſtant view of the Adriatic, illuminated by the riſing ſun. It was our intention to arrive at Barletta

in the evening; from which we meant to make a trip to *Cannæ*, to view the field of battle: but we learnt, at *Cerignola*, that it was but a ſhort day's journey to Barletta paſſing by Cannæ: we therefore determined to remain at Cerignola, as the heat was very great, and take this road on the morrow.

The plain is dry, and ſandy; and only here and there ſcantily ſhaded, by wild pear trees: but the ſhort graſs is the more aromatic, and affords excellent paſture for ſheep. Horace travelled here, and what he ſays of the place is ſtrictly true: The bread is excellent; the water is dug from wells, and ſold: though the ſprings are not diſtant. Before I had examined the combining circumſtances, which after ſo many ages have paſſed away are ſtill concordant, I was not of the opinion of thoſe who imagine the poet ſpoke of Ariano. An additional proof is what Horace has ſaid of the name of the place; which is, that it did not accord with his verſe. The names, *Equus Tuticus*, can indeed in no manner be brought into verſe. The old name of Cerignola was not known. Beſide, we muſt not forget that Horace came from *Villa Trevici*: the preſent *Trevico*. He made a retrograde motion of four-and-twenty miles, before he reached the place in queſtion. I do not accurately know how far Ariano is from Trevico; but it is certain that, on his journey from Rome to Brunduſium, he muſt have gone a conſiderable way back, in order to come to Ariano. At preſent, Cerignola is thirty miles from Trevico: but the roads of the Romans were generally in a right line, and ſhorter than moſt of the modern roads. Nay more, Horace tells us that the prudent traveller would do well to take the bread of this place with him to *Canuſium*: the modern *Canoſſa*. Canoſſa is ſix miles diſtant from Cerignola: but it is forty-two from Ariano! Would a traveller carry bread in his wallet two-and-forty miles? Cerignola actually lay, not on the Appian way, but three miles from it: Horace however had once before left this road, when he went to *Villa Trevici*; probably, on both occaſions, to viſit his friends.

In

In Cerignola, which is well built, there is ſtill a Roman mile-ſtone; with an inſcription, of the age of Trajan *.

The people collected at the inn; and, as is the cuſtom of this country, our chamber was not empty of them: but they ſtared at us as if we had been wild animals. They queſtioned us concerning our country, and our travels; and talked of Italy, of the battle of Cannæ, and of the antiquities of theſe parts. Our friendly hoſt ſent for one Don Giovanni Danielle; a handſome young man, who was well acquainted with the country and antient authors; and who talked with great animation of his countryman Horace, and of his native town *Venuſia*: now *Venoſa*: which is only eighteen Italian miles from Cerignola. It was from him I learnt that the *Atabulus*, which Horace tells us rendered the hill of Apulia barren, is a parching eaſt wind; which the people of Puglia called *Altino*.

He ſhewed us the bay of Manfredonia, and Monte Angelo, from the top of a hill. When the weather is clear, Manfredonia and the ruins of the antient *Arpi*, founded by Diomedes, may be ſeen. The antient *Salapia*, the ruins of which are ſtill called *Salpe*, ſtood not far from Cerignola.

Don Giovanni † took us to the garden of one of his friends, who has a country houſe near Salpe. Some labourers, digging in the ground a few years ſince, found a large antique vaſe; the mouth of which was carefully covered with lead. They opened it, in hopes of finding gold:

* It was the young man of Puglia, whom I have mentioned in the text, who told me that the ancient Appian way was three miles diſtant from Cerignola: but Riedeſel is of opinion that Cerignola was ſituated on this way; and that the pillar, which is ſuppoſed to be a mile-ſtone, was one of thoſe that were erected to Trajan on this way, after his victorious campaign againſt the Daci: and this is a rational and probable ſuppoſition.

† In the ſouth of Italy, and in Sicily, it is cuſtomary to call people by their chriſtian names; but, inſtead of Signor, they preface them with the epithet Don. Thus the Engliſh preface the chriſtian names of the Baronets, and Knights, with Sir: as, *Sir Iſaac*: *Don Giovanni*.

inſtead

inſtead of which, they found only a clear odoriferous water. Full of vexation at the diſappointment, they threw it out of the vaſe: and thus ſcattered this valuable water of the nardus: the charming ſcent of which was felt far around, for three days. The high value, which the people of the Eaſt, as well as the Greeks and Romans, ſet upon this perfume is well known.

During our walk, the fame of the arrival of foreigners had ſpread, and a great crowd ſurrounded us; ſome of whom followed us into our apartment. The landlord requeſted Jacobi to write down our names, and country; that, by this means, he might, when we were gone, ſatisfy the enquirers.

As the inhabitants of this country ſeldom travel without an armed eſcort, and as they form a ſtrange idea of our country, travellers like us, from a land ſo diſtant, appeared to them bold adventurers; who had encountered, and ſtill had to encounter, Herculean labours. Their ſenſations are rather lively than durable: but they feel themſelves intereſted in foreigners, concerning whom they are induced ſeriouſly to enquire.

Don Giovanni now accompanied us to Canoſſa; and afterward, for the Romans, to the too celebrated Cannæ. On our road, we paſſed the river *Ofanto:* the *Aufidus* of the ancients: the waters of which are already much decreaſed; and, in the middle of ſummer, its broad ſtony bed will be little more than a brook: but, in autumn and winter, it is a charming ſtream, and deſerves the epithet of *longe ſonans*, or far-ſounding, which Horace gives it; for it frequently overflows the fields, as in the poet's time; to whoſe waters he compares the ſtep-ſon of Auguſtus, the young warrior Claudius.

Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni præſtait Appuli,
Cum fævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris.

HOR. lib. iv. od. 14.

So

So branching Aufidus, who laves
The Daunian realms, fierce rolls his waves,
When to the golden labours of the ſwain
He meditates his wrath, and deluges the plain.
FRANCIS.

The preſent Canoſſa includes only a part of the ancient town; of which there ſtill are tombs, a gate, and ruins of the walls, remaining. We ſhould have been glad to have found the tomb of the benevolent Buſa; a noble matron, who, after the battle of Cannæ, when the citizens of Canuſium afforded ſhelter to four thouſand fugitive Romans, generouſly ſupplied them with corn, clothing, and money, for which ſhe was publicly honoured by the Senate *.

Following the advice of Horace, we took bread with us from Cerignola: in which we were very prudent. *Nam Canuſî lapidoſus*, ſays the poet: and the bread of Canoſſa is in fact ſtill of a ſtony quality, and worſe than any I have met with in Italy; in many parts of which the bread is bad. This hardneſs ſeems juſtly aſcribed to the ſoft millſtones of Canoſſa: yet it is inconceivable that the inhabitants ſhould have continued for more than eighteen centuries in this practice, without ſending for other millſtones.

The principal church is a very wretched Gothic building; but it contains ſix pillars of *verde antico*, and likewiſe is the burial place of Boemondo; the knight whom Taſſo, in his Jeruſalem Delivered, has rendered immortal.

We viſited the field of battle at Cannæ, with Livy in our hand. How does the aſpect of the place give reality to the deeds of former times, and form and colour to the ſhades of the departed! The deſcription of Livy is delightful. We evidently ſaw how Hannibal had ſupported his left wing by the Aufidus, extending his right toward the downs near the ſea; and how the ſouth-weſt wind, from the Vultur

* Liv. xxii. c. 52.

hill,

hill, *ventus Vulturnus*, and the afternoon ſun, were full in the face of the Romans.

It was about the time of harveſt when the battle was fought; and the afternoon rays of the ſun are even already ſcorching, while the ſouth-weſt wind, from Volto, blows, bringing duſt with it over the ſandy plain. Some find it difficult to imagine why the flying Romans ſhould not rather have paſſed the river than have come to Canoſſa. It is true the Ofanto was always ſcanty of water, in ſummer, and fordable; and a part of the Roman army, that was ſtationed on that ſide, might, by exertion, have paſſed. But it is not recollected that, in this general flight, the fugitives preſſed on all ſides; that, probably, the excellent cavalry of the Carthaginians had cut off every other retreat; that a handful of men only eſcaped to Canoſſa; and that Hannibal himſelf called to the victorious army, "Enough! Forbear! Spare the vanquiſhed!"

Below one of theſe downs, there is a clear ſpring, with much water; at which tradition ſays that, while bleeding with his wounds, Paulus Æmilius here refreſhed himſelf, before he expired.

The whole place appears very naked: but, on the approach to Barletta, there are good arable lands, and vineyards; the vines of which are not carried an ell high: and it is affirmed that this kind of wine is the beſt, becauſe the grape is more perfectly ripened by the ſteaming warmth of the ground, as it riſes from the rocky bed. Theſe, which are of a red kind, are ſtrong and ardent. As the wine here is as cheap as the beer with us, the Swiſs, who lately were ſtationed at Barletta in garriſon, drank it to dangerous exceſs.

Great quantities of a plant are found in the bean fields; to extirpate which no degree of induſtry is ſufficient. It bears a white pyramidal flower; which reſembles, but is larger than, the ſweet pea. Its roots are entwined round the roots of the bean plant, grow with it, and thus render it ſickly. The people call this plant *ſporchia*; and *ſucciamele*; be-

cauſe the bees take delight in extracting honey from it. It is called *orobanche*, and *fiamma*, in Tuſcany.

Barletta is a tolerably large well built town; and its ſituation on the Adriatic, the aſpect of which to me is delightful, is the more charming becauſe you likewiſe diſcover, oppoſite to the coaſt of the bay of Manfredonia, the high mountain of San Angelo: which was the Garganus of the ancients, celebrated for its fertility. Barletta may contain twenty-two thouſand inhabitants; and has a large ſtone pier, which runs into the ſea: yet it is ſaid that it is never a ſafe place for ſhipping; eſpecially when the *Greco-Levante*, or eaſt north eaſt wind, blows. The people carry on a conſiderable trade; and the principal articles of exportation are corn, almonds, and ſalt. Near the town, there are large royal ſalt works.

A bronze coloſſal ſtatue of the Emperor Heraclius, which was found in the ſea, ſtands in the market place: of which the people have made a Saint.

LETTER LXXX.

Taranto, 11th May 1792.

ON the 15th, we rode from Barletta to Bari: the province of which, now by ſome called *Terra di Bari*, and by others *Provincia di Trani*, was by the ancients named *Daunia Peucetia*: or rather ſimply *Peucetia*. The *Peucetii* were likewiſe called *Pædiculi*.

On our road between Barletta and Bari, we paſſed through four other towns, all of which are in like manner built on the ſea ſide, called Trani, Biſeglia, Molfetta, and Giovenazzo.

Trani, formerly *Turrenum*, is the ſeat of an archbiſhop. It may contain about fifteen thouſand inhabitants; and the handſomely built Molfetta twelve thouſand. *Biſeglia*, the antient *Vigiliæ*, has a ſtreet in which there are larger houſes than might have been expected in ſo ſmall a town.

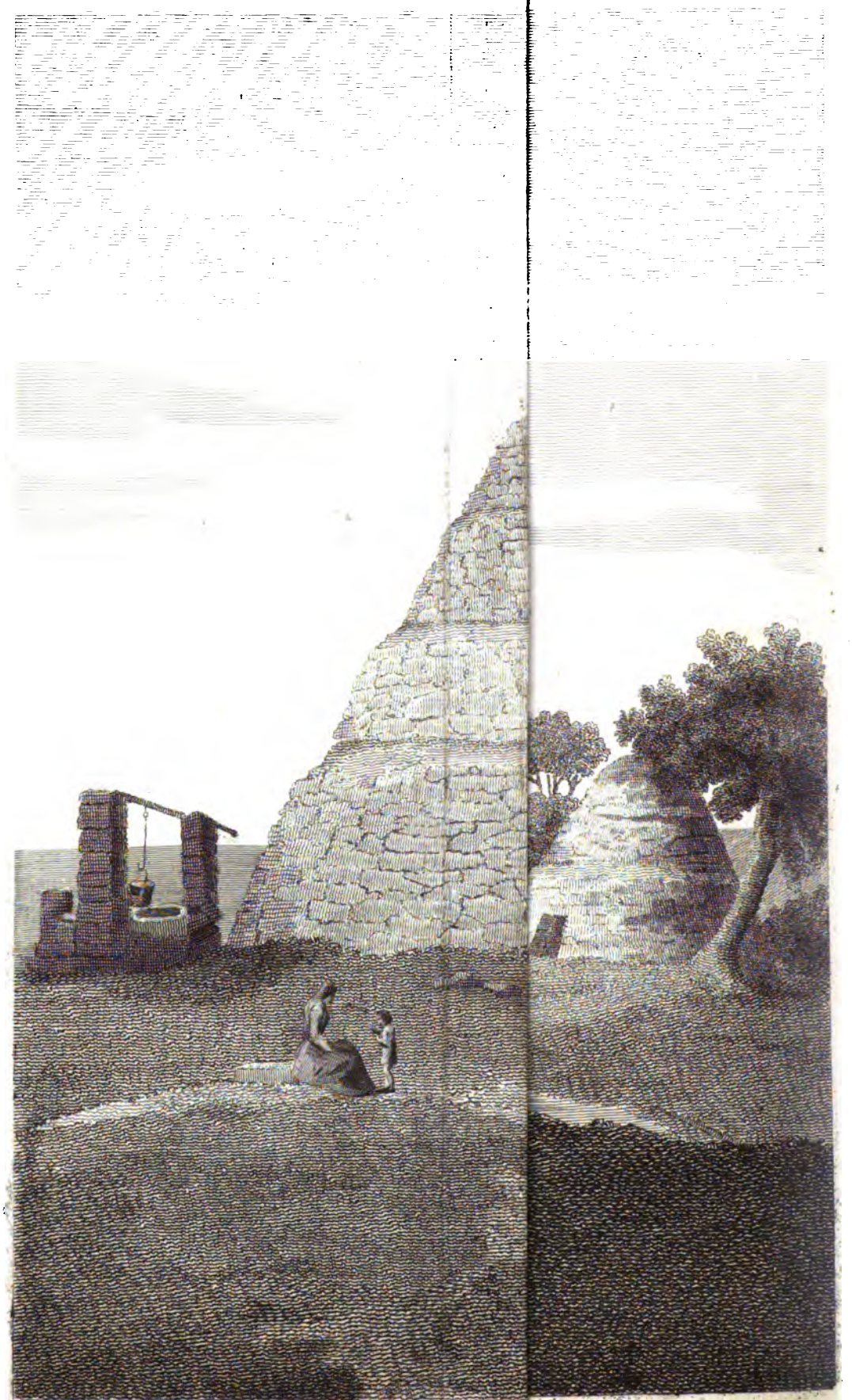
The appearance of Giovenazzo is ſingular. It has very high walls of ruſtic architecture; within which the high houſes, and towers, riſe in narrow rows: the roofs flat, and built of poliſhed ſtone. Giovenazzo in appearance reminds you of the ſports of nature in various kinds of marble, agate, or cryſtal; among which you imagine you ſee walls, houſes, and towers.

On this coaſt, all the productions of nature and art are ſingular, and different from any that I have hitherto ſeen. The lands are induſtriouſly cultivated: but, in many of the fields, the oats and barley grow in tufts *. The corn has not been ſown with broad caſt; but three or four grains have been planted together, in the manner we plant garden peas.

I am told that the corn which is reared in this manner is cut, before the ears ripen, as green fodder for cattle. Where the land is very rocky and the plough cannot be uſed, this may be the beſt, or perhaps the only, manner of turning it to advantage. The vines are not higher than potatoe plants are with us; and the ears of corn and the vine are often intertwined. In theſe fields the fig, the carob, the almond, the peach, the apricot, the olive, and the granate tree, the beautiful red bloom of which now begins to appear, are all ſeen to grow. Here you find various fields that are entirely like thoſe through which Sampſon ſent the jackalls; which, in the tranſlation of the bible, have improperly been called foxes; when he tied the fire brands to their tails, "let them go into the ſtanding corn of the Philiſtines, and burnt up "both the ſhocks and alſo the ſtanding corn, with the vineyards and

* I have ſince ſeen wheat grow in this manner, in ſeveral parts of Sicily.

"olives."



W.F. Gmelin del.

" olives *." There is a valley, between Trani and Biſeglia, in which we evidently diſcover the bed of a river, that formerly meandered through the plain and emptied itſelf into the ſea. Like our blue *tremſe*†, the ſingle red poppy grows here in great quantities, which the French call *coquelico*, and which grows among our wheat though ſparingly. The yellow horned poppy is found here wild, in abundance, among the rocks and ſand of the ſhore. The *carob*, *ceratonia*, extends its branches very far: the twigs frequently ſink, and are weighed down to the ground; where they probably take root, and the ſprouting ſtems are at laſt ſeparated from the mother plant.

There are remarkable ſmall round huts built here, of the fieldſtone, that have no windows, and only a low entrance, which is always open. Here the country people live, with their wives and children, during the vintage. I ſend you a drawing of theſe huts, which will convey to you ſome idea of theſe ſingular places.

The wine is very ardent, and red, like moſt of the Italian wines. The white wines, ſome of the moſt generous excepted, are not to be indulged in: at leaſt, it is affirmed that they do not agree with Germans. The varieties of tree, grain, and vine, afford an inceſſant change; which is ſtill farther embelliſhed by the proſpect of the highly coloured, blue, Adriatic ſea.

I might eaſily have given a pompous deſcription of places, which are ſome hundreds of German miles diſtant, but I muſt acknowledge that the country between Barletta and Bari, entertaining as it is to a traveller, is not that which ſatisfies the heart. The numerous trees it contains afford only ſcattered and inefficient ſhades. There is no thought of an umbrageous walk; and pure as the charming vegetation

* Judges xv. 5. My clerical friend, Rudolf Schinz, from Zürich, has made the ſame remark, in his Deſcription of Italian Switzerland, concerning the reſemblance between ſuch fields and thoſe of the Philiſtines.

† I cannot diſcover more than the context tells me of this plant. T.

is, excepting only the gloomy and mutilated olive tree, yet the impreſſion of the whole wants that ſecret, inimitable, fullneſs of harmony, which is the reſult only of great and uninjured nature.

The whole is a rock: yet we never ſee any bold projecting rocks, any grottos, any foreſts, or any ſprings. How different to this were the grandeur and harmony of the noble and native beauties, which we ſo lately ſaw in the iſlands of the bay of Naples: at Sorento, at Cava, at Vietri, and between Salerno and Avellino!

Bari is built upon a rock, which is a peninſula. Horace calls it the fiſh-abounding Bari; but the fiſh of this place, at preſent, are more famous for their goodneſs than for their numbers. Though Horace is the firſt writer who mentions this town, the inhabitants maintain that it is more ancient than Rome. This is a kind of vanity peculiar to the Italians.

Bari is the ſeat of an archbiſhop, and may contain about twenty thouſand inhabitants. Its trade principally conſiſts in olives and almonds.

We met with quantities of both theſe trees, as we travelled on the 6th, leaving the coaſt of the Adriatic and Bari to go to Taranto. The beautiful freſh verdure of the almond tree is heightened by the pallid hue of the olive.

During the heat of the day, we halted at a little town, that is called *Mondrone*; the inhabitants of which were buſily employed in celebrating the holiday of their patron Saint, *Santo Triphone*. About four hundred little pieces of artillery, made of gun barrels, were arranged before the church; and, according to the cuſtom of the place, were fired in honour of the Saint, as his image was borne in ſolemn proceſſion, accompanied by prieſts, banners, drums, and fifes. The people entreated us very much to look at their beautiful Saint. It was the figure of a warrior, completely armed, about half the ſize of a man: a kind of puppet, cut in wood. The honours now paid to him were probably the honours that were formerly paid, in the ſame place, to ſome hero.

The

The Italians are always inclined to conſider their Saints' days as holidays. They frequently mingle with this trifling amuſement an inward but fleeting ſenſe of devotion: a flaſh which, among moſt of them, ſcarcely paſſes perhaps from the image to the Saint: much leſs to him who alone is worthy of adoration.

In the evening, we rode through a wood; in which, along with the oak, there were many cork trees. This kind of tree appears to be a medium between our oak and the evergreen prickly oak; the fruit of which, though leſs, is perfectly like our acorn. The fruit of the cork tree is ſtill leſs than this, and not ſo long; and, like the other kinds of acorn, it is eaten by ſwine. Corks for bottles are made from the bark of this tree; and likewiſe cork ſoles: for which reaſon it is called by ſome the ſlipper tree. This bark is alſo uſed for the nets of fiſhermen: becauſe, by ſwimming on the ſurface, it ſhews where the nets have been caſt. Of this likewiſe the cork jacket is made; which is uſed for ſwimming, and the uſe of which is ancient. In the advice given to Horace by his father, the latter adds, "When thou art old, thou wilt ſwim without the help of bark:"

—— *Nabis ſine cortice**:

figuratively to tell him he would not then want aid. This valuable tree ſeems deſtined by the Creator, for our uſe, to be robbed of its bark: for every other tree, when ſtripped of its bark, dies. The bark is four fingers thick; and, after it has been peeled away, grows again in two years.

We paſſed the night in the little town of Gioja; and, on the 7th, we again came to a large foreſt: but the ſtony ſoil will not permit the trees to attain a beautiful growth. Here and there, we ſaw good corn fields: but we met with others,

"*Wo, in ſteinigem acker, die ſaat der kieſel erſticket*†,

* Hor. i. Sat. iv. 120.

† In ſtony lands, where flints the ſeed had killed.

as Klopſtock, in an inimitably expreſſive and rugged verſe, has told us.

We expected to have met with a ridge of the Apennines, which ſhould have formed the heart of the peninſula: but the rocky hills, that lie between Gioja and Maſafra, do not deſerve this name. The whole country between Bari and Taranto, like the coaſt between Barletta and Bari, is flat and rocky.

At noon, we yielded to the friendly importunities of our hoſt, at Maſafra; who took us to the church, to ſhew us the carved image of the *Madonna della Scala*: Our Lady of the Ladder. With what enthuſiaſm did he ſpeak —— not of the Virgin —— of the image! You no doubt remember the conteſt that aroſe in the time of Auguſtus, between the Thundering Jupiter and the Jupiter of the Capitol. The common people in Italy are all zealous for the image of their town. It is not ſo much the Holy Virgin as the Holy Virgin of the Ladder; nor ſo much the Holy Virgin of the Ladder as the particular image belonging to their own town, and their own pariſh church, that is the object of their devotion. This devotional zeal is the aſſociate of national vanity. The ſolemn honours of the Saint are combined with popular games, and ſports; and with public feſtivals, which frequently degenerate into pernicious exceſs.

The ſhrubs and vegetation of theſe ſtony regions are very powerfully odoriferous; and eſpecially the buſhy *ciſtus*, which fills the air with a balſamic ſcent. Its bloom is generally white, though ſometimes red; and the flower, which the German gardeners call *ciſtus-röſlein**, can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed from the field roſe: though the leaves and buds are very different from the leaves and buds of that plant. The ciſtus with us is a green-houſe plant.

A buſh, the leaves of which reſemble trefoil, and which bears great quantities of a fruit that reſembles beans, likewiſe grows wild here. The people call it *lupina ſelvaggia*: or the wild *lupinus*.

* Little ciſtus roſe.

As

As the Greeks had named all Apulia after *Japyx*, who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be a ſon of Dædalus, by others a brother of Daunius and Peucetius, the ſons of Lycaon, ſo they called the peninſula (which ſometimes is now called *Terra di Lecce*, from the chief town *Lecce*, but oftener *Terra d'Otranto* after Otranto) Meſſapia; from Meſſapus, who was ſaid to be a ſon of Neptune.

—— *Meſſapus equûm domitor, Neptunia proles.*
VIRG. Æn. vii. 691.

Meſſapus next, great Neptune was his ſire.
DRYDEN, v. 955.

The ancients called the eaſt ſide of the peninſula Calabria; and the weſt the land of the Salentines: though the latter was frequently included under the name Calabria. Thus the inſcription of the monument of Virgil, which ſome hold to have been written by the poet himſelf, tells us,

Mantuâ me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

I ſung flocks, tillage, heroes: Mantua gave
Me life, Brundufium death, Naples a grave.
Life of Virgil prefixed to Dryden's Tranſlation.

Tarentum, where Virgil reſided for ſome time, was underſtood by the general name Calabria.

The provinces, which are now called *Calabria citra* and *Calabria oltra*, had very different names given them by the ancients; who, at firſt, called them by the common term Lucania. When fugitive ſhepherds roſe againſt their rulers, and founded an individual ſtate, *Calabria oltra*, which we likewiſe, becauſe of its ſouthern ſituation, call Calabria, received from them the name of *Bruttium*: and this muſt not be confounded with *Abruzzo*, which is the modern name of a part of the

the ancient Samnium. *Calabria citra* continued to be called Lucania by the ancients.

Virgil makes Meſſapus combat againſt the Trojans, as the ally of Turnus. The people of Meſſapia were not of Greek origin, but were called by the Greeks barbarians: a word which, among them, did not ſo accurately ſignify a barbarous nation as a nation that was not Greek. Tarentum was not only the principal town in Meſſapia but in all Italy; and was taken by the Greeks about ſeven hundred years before the birth of Chriſt: the occaſion of which I will relate.

During a tedious war between the Spartans and the Meſſenii, the Lacedemonian women complained of being ſo long deprived of all intercourſe with their huſbands.

Among the Spartans, more than among any other of the Greeks, and more even than among the Romans, the man was ſubordinate to the citizen, and virtue to the ſtate. The women were permitted, or rather commanded, to receive the youths, who remained at home, as their huſbands. When the army at length returned, the fruits of theſe connections, who were improperly enough called maiden ſons, παρθενιοι, were conſidered as natural children. This enraged them; and, under the conduct of Phalanthus, many of them left their country, and with their leader landed on the coaſt of Italy.

The oracle had told Phalanthus that he ſhould ſettle in that land, and city, where it ſhould rain from a clear ſky. Phalanthus defeated the barbarians; but conquered neither their town nor their country, and was grieved that he could not diſcover the meaning of the oracle. His wife accompanied him, endeavoured to afford him conſolation, and, as his head happened to be lying on her lap that ſhe might free it from vermin, her tears wetted the hair. It then immediately occurred to him that the oracle was fulfilled: for his wife's name was *Aithra*, which ſignifies *clear ſky* *. Strengthened by this animating hope, he took Tarentum the following night; which, at that time, was the

* Strabo: and Pauſanias, lib. x.

greateſt

greateſt and wealthieſt city of the Barbarians on the ſea coaſt *. The city and the river, among the Greeks, preſerved their ancient name of *Taras*; from the hero Taras, to whom the founding of Tarentum was aſcribed, and to whom they did the honour of ſuppoſing him to be a ſon of Neptune. From *Taras* the Romans formed *Tarentus*, and more frequently *Tarentum*; and from theſe came its preſent name, *Taranto*. The firſt ſyllable is pronounced long: as likewiſe is the O, in the name of the town of Otranto. The ſchool of Pythagoras flouriſhed for a time in Tarentum; and produced Archytas, one of the greateſt men of antiquity, who governed the town with wiſdom and reſpect, and who was the contemporary and friend of Plato.

It likewiſe formed Lyſis, a citizen of Tarentum; and he the great Epaminondas, the pride of Thebes and Greece, in an age when great men were no longer common.

The people of Tarentum were celebrated for bodily exerciſes; and a certain method of training war horſes was called, after them, ταραντισμὸς. A part of the bay of Tarentum, which was called the *Saturian* fields, was famed for its ſtuds †; and even ſtill affords good horſes ‡.

Miſuſing

* There are people who would entirely baniſh fable from ancient hiſtory; and by ſuch people I ſhall frequently be criticiſed. To ſeparate the fabulous from the hiſtorical, as frequently as poſſible, is good: but not without exception. Truth often is concealed behind the veil of fable. Beſide, fable appears to me ſtill more important as it affords a hiſtory of human genius than as the veil of hiſtorical fact: and this is a ſpecies of hiſtory more engaging to the true philoſopher than the moſt pompous details of war, or ſucceſſions of dynaſties. I have a paſſing recollection that Fenelon is guilty of an anachroniſm of five hundred years, when he makes his hero, Telemachus, the contemporary of Phalanthus. Poets have the right of changing ages to anſwer their purpoſes. We ought not to chooſe a poet as our guide through the labyrinth of chronology. I know a lady of wit and underſtanding who ſtudies the Engliſh hiſtory by reading Shakeſpeare.

† Hor. i. Sat. vi. 59.

‡ The preſent archbiſhop of Taranto found a fragment of ancient marble, in the principal church, on which is the following part of an inſcription:

Miſuſing the fertility of the earth and the mildneſs of the air, the people of Tarentum gradually gave themſelves up to indolence, and voluptuouſneſs. At the time that they affronted Rome, their power was great. They plundered a Roman ſquadron of ſhips, killed the commander, and inſulted the ambaſſadors that came to complain of the violence done to the rights of nations. However it appears that, in the interim, the Romans were ſecretly practiſing againſt the contracted alliance, and were the real promoters of the breach of peace: but this artful conquering people knew how to take advantage of the raſhneſs which they excited others to commit; and, under the pretext of juſtice, to be guilty of depredations. War was proclaimed, by Rome, and Tarentum applied to Pyrrhus for help. After Pyrrhus had departed from Italy, the *Tarentini* called for aid on the Carthaginians: however they ſoon made peace with the Romans *.

In the ſecond Punic war, they were the allies of the Carthaginians; and their city was taken by Fabius through treachery. Two of their leaders, Nicon and Democrates, fell in combat; and it was thought that the third, Philomenes, who had left the city full gallop and was not again heard of, had thrown himſelf into a well. It was he who had adviſed the alliance with Hannibal.

Many ſtatues and pictures were found by the Romans; and, among

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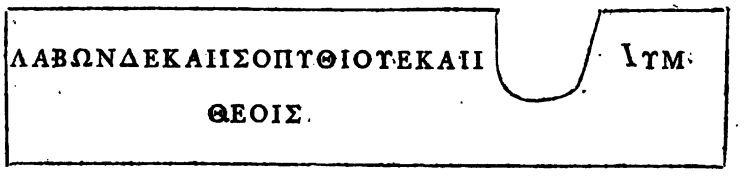

From the part that remains of this inſcription, it is evident that he who dedicated this ſtone to the Gods had been victor in games; of which ſome were in imitation of the Pythian, and others of the Olympic, games.

* Liv. Epit. xii. xiv. xv.

others,

others, coloſſal ſtatues of their Gods, in combating attitudes. Fabius, who probably foreſaw the influence which an exceſſive admiration of theſe works of art would have on the manners of the Romans, did not take away the ſtatues, and the pictures. When he was queſtioned what booty he had taken and how he had acted, the ſage leader replied, he had left the *Tarentini* their angry Gods *.

Thus Tarentum loſt its freedom, of which it had become unworthy and perhaps incapable, through effeminacy and arrogance.

In the time of its proſperity, according to the teſtimony of Strabo, it had as great a fleet as any people of Greece; and contained thirty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand knights. The geographer adds that the people were ſo ſunk in voluptuouſneſs that they had more feſtivals than there were days in the year. Thus, in Strabo's time, who was a contemporary of Auguſtus, though ſubjected, they had become more happy than their voluptuous forefathers had been toward the concluſion of their independence. There can be no doubt but that they enjoyed even more freedom, under the Cæſars, than they did toward the cloſe of what they called their age of liberty. A ſtate is free, or ſlaviſh, according as the laws † govern, or are neglected. And how could the voluptuous and degraded *Tarentini* eſcape the affliction of diſobedience to the laws?

Taranto at preſent may contain eighteen thouſand inhabitants, and is built upon the ground where the fortreſs of the ancient Tarentum ſtood; between what is called *Mare Piccolo*, or little ſea, and the bay of Taranto. This is a rocky iſland; on each ſide of which there is a bridge, that gives it a communication with the two ſeas: or rather with the little bay and the great, between which it ſtands. This is the only place in the Mediterranean ſea where regularly, and indubitably, every ſix hours, the tide is obſerved to ebb and flow ‡. The *Mare Piccolo*

* Liv. xxvii. 15 and 16.

† Subſtitute the word *morals*, and the reaſoning will be excellent. T.

‡ In the time of Ferdinand the Firſt, of Arragon, Taranto was a peninſula; but, after

Piccolo lies to the eaſt and the north of the town; and the bay of Taranto to the weſt and the ſouth. The ancient town extended far toward the ſouth; and the whole *Mare Piccolo*, which is more than two German miles in circumference, ſerved it as a haven.

The Archbiſhop of Taranto, a Neapolitan of the noble family of Capece-Latro, had the kindneſs to invite us on the 8th, the morning of the day after our arrival, to his palace. He is a man of much intelligence, uncommonly pleaſing in his manners, and has a countenance that, while it beams with benevolence and dignity of ſoul, appears to me extremely to reſemble the portraits of Henry the Fourth of France. I have met with few men who were ſo familiar with nature as he is, or who ſo well knew how to enjoy her beauties. He is one of thoſe rare men with whom you are as intimately acquainted, and as openly confidential, the firſt day you meet as with the tried friend of years.

He ſhewed us the garden of a monaſtery, which lies tolerably diſtant from the preſent town, eaſtward, and which proves the grandeur of the ancient city; for we find indubitable traces in it of an amphitheatre. This muſt have been the work of the Romans; for the Greeks held theſe blood thirſty ſpectacles in abhorrence. Nor could it have been built before the time of the laſt Emperors of the firſt century; becauſe, under Auguſtus, Rome itſelf had no amphitheatre, but theſe ſpectacles were exhibited in the Circus. It was no doubt erected, by the Romans, either within or immediately in the vicinity of the

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after Mahomet the Second, in the year 1480, had taken Otranto, and it was preſumed that he would arrive with his fleet at Taranto, Ferdinand commanded that the cape ſhould be cut through. The work was continued by his ſon, Alphonſus; and Philip the Second, ſon of Charles the Fifth, commanded the canal to be widened, and rendered navigable. In proceſs of time, it became dammed up; and the air was thus rendered very unhealthy: but Don Carlos, the father of the reigning King, that Don Carlos to whom the Two Sicilies are ſo much indebted, in 1755, with the labour of three years once more opened it; and ſince that time the air of Taranto is not only healthy but balſamic. Vide *Delicie Tarentinæ*.

city;

city; for we find that, regardleſs of the well founded diſguſt of the Greeks, they built amphitheatres in moſt of the Greek towns.

From this the Archbiſhop took us to a little country houſe, on the banks of the *Mare Piccolo*; where, for his recreation on the water, he has built a ſmall haven, in which there are ſome boats. He jocularly calls this haven his *Breſt*; and we went on board one of the boats, where we witneſſed the ſingular œconomy of the ſhell fiſh, which is called *cozza peloſa*: or, *mitylus eſculentus*. Theſe fiſh, for their taſte, are preferred to all others, are peculiar to this little ſea, and are ſent from here to Naples. Stakes of pine are driven into the ſea in the month of December, when very ſmall ſhell fiſh cling in great quantities round theſe ſtakes. In the month of May, the ſtakes are almoſt entirely covered with them; and one ſhell hangs to another like bees, when a young ſwarm is pendent, in the form of a bunch of grapes. They are then ſuddenly torn away, and thrown, as they hang in cluſters, into the ſea; where they attain their full growth, to pleaſe the palate of the ever voluptuous Tarantines. If they are ſuffered to remain on the ſtake, they only keep the growth which they had attained during the winter. It was the prejudice of the inhabitants that theſe ſtakes could only be profitably erected to a certain diſtance near the town: but the Archbiſhop, by his example, has taught them better; and the trade, which is very valuable to the fiſhermen of Taranto, has greatly increaſed.

The oyſters of this little ſea are likewiſe peculiarly good. People take a curved and forked inſtrument, with many teeth, by which they obtain whatever oyſters they pleaſe from the tranſparent water; and, like as it is pleaſant to eat fruit under the tree, ſo they here eat living oyſters in their boats.

The *Mare Piccolo* is remarkably rich in fiſh; particularly in varieties of oyſters, and ſhell fiſh; and perhaps as abundantly ſo as any part of the luxuriant Mediterranean. Regulations, which probably are as ancient

ancient as the times of the Greeks, determine what kind of fiſh are to be taken every month.

Horace makes the proficient in the art of cookery, Catius, celebrate the ſhell fiſh of Tarentum:

Pectinibus patulis jactat ſe molle Tarentum.

HOR. Serm. ii. ſat. iv. 34.

And ſoft Tarentum broadeſt ſcollops boaſts.

FRANCIS.

The *Mare Piccolo* is only acceſſible to the natives of Taranto, and the people on its borders. Other fiſhermen, even thoſe of Bari, though they are ſuffered to fiſh round the peninſula and in the bay of Taranto, are here prohibited. The Tarantines complain that theſe ſtrangers injure their fiſhery, by making the meſhes of their nets too ſmall, and catching millions of young fry, inſtead of ſuffering the fiſh to attain their full ſize.

The water of the *Mare Piccolo* is by no means ſo ſalt as that of the bay, or of the main ſea; for it is ſweetened by many freſh ſprings; as its waves curl, their round poliſhed ſurface denotes theſe ſprings; which are called by the Tarantines *occhi del mare:* or, eyes of the ſea. From theſe freſh water can be obtained between the ſalt waves; and the aſpect of the white round ſwellings of theſe freſh ſprings, ſurrounded by the more lofty and blue billows, is charming: eſpecially when, as the ſun goes down, the purple and foaming waves reflect the roſe coloured atmoſphere as in a mirror.

The ſoft riſing of the ſhores is characteriſtic of the whole country. The olive and the fig tree grow beſide each other; and both kinds here attain a very ſuperior growth. The country is indeſcribably pleaſant. The *Mare Piccolo* is not ſubject to ſtorms; and tepid airs, beneficently tepid, not like thoſe of Peſto, waft odours from ſhore to ſhore: where the continually freſh verdure is rendered increaſingly charming, by the azure

azure of the ſea, and the clearneſs of the atmoſphere; which is almoſt invariable.

The little river Galæſus, which the Spartan colony that ſettled here likewiſe called the *Eurotas*, after a river in Lacedæmonia, empties itſelf, oppoſite the town, into the *Mare Piccolo*.

The banks of this river were formerly famous for their woolly flocks: but the preſent breed of theſe paſtures is not particularly excellent; for the white ſheep die if they feed on a plant that is called *fumolo*. It is very remarkable that the ſheep that have black ſpots on the head, as well as thoſe that are entirely black, or brown, have nothing to fear from this plant. Several people aſſured me of the truth of this fact; and I ſaw many ſheep that had theſe black ſpots on the head, but not one that was entirely white.

In the afternoon, we went with the Archbiſhop to a long ſmall cape, in the *Mare Piccolo*; which abounded in various kinds of ſhell fiſh, and white corals.

During our little ſea trip of this day, the weather, with Tarantine levity, had frequently varied, and the winds had blown in all directions; yet they had given us no diſturbance, as they would have done in other places, where ſuch changes are accompanied by ſtorms. The ſouth wind here, nay the ſo much by all Italy dreaded Scirocco, or ſouth eaſt, is pleaſant: but the north wind in this country brings heat.

The great bay of Taranto does not poſſeſs ſo friendly a character as the *Mare Piccolo*; though its beauties are more dignified. During ſtorms, its waves ſwell into foaming billows. Near Taranto, the ſhores are not high: but, on the right, you ſee the ſtill ſnow-covered mountains of the province of *Baſilicata*, which is a part of the ancient *Samnium*, the country of the courageous Samnites; and, on the left, the mountains of *Calabria citra* riſe, formerly *Lucania*, beſide which the voluptuous Sybaris was built.

In the middle of the bay, there are two low iſlands; the greateſt of which

which is cultivated, and was called *Electris*, by the ancients. I believe that the inhabitants of the coaſt give it no other name than that of the iſland: or the great iſland.

On the top of a cape, that runs into the ſea on the left, is a watch tower that, after Saint Vitus, is called *San Vito:* many of which towers were erected, on the coaſts of the two Sicilies, by the Emperor, Charles the Fifth. It is the duty of the landholders, on whoſe eſtates theſe towers are built, to keep a man and a horſe continually in readineſs; that an immediate alarm may be given, on the approach or the landing of any corſairs: but this is a duty that is ſeldom fulfilled. In the watch towers that I have viſited, I found no horſe.

Large ſtones lie on the ſtrand of this ſea, in all of which ſhells are found; and there is a grotto of this kind formed in a rock, which is remarkably beautiful: the ſhells being entirely the work of nature, and of time. Good ſalt is depoſited by the water that had been incloſed in many of theſe ſtones.

The river *Tara*, the *Taras* of the ancients, empties itſelf into the great bay; on the ſhores of which the ſame kind of trees grow that embelliſh the *Mare Piccolo*. They both contain many odoriferous gardens: though there are ſome trees that flouriſh better on the banks of the *Mare Piccolo* than on thoſe of the great bay: becauſe the ſalt particles of the latter fill the air, and injure their growth.

In the garden of one of the canons, the *Abbate Tommai*, on the ſhore of the *Mare Piccolo*, I ſaw orange and citron trees equal even to thoſe that I had met with at Sorento; and along with them the fig, the pomegranate, and the apricot tree, of an extraordinary ſize.

By the ſide of this little ſea, and on the banks of the Galæſus, lived the induſtrious huſbandman, whoſe garden is ſo charmingly deſcribed by Virgil. I can the leſs reſiſt the temptation of tranſcribing this delightful paſſage, becauſe the deſcription is as applicable to the preſent gardens, of this country, as to the paſt: except that I muſt remark that Virgil

Virgil has either given a poetical power to Winter, which it did not poſſeſs, or, in his days, the climate of theſe fortunate lands was much leſs mild than it is at preſent.

*Namque ſub Oebaliæ * memini me turribus altis,*
Qua niger humectat flaventia culta Galæſus,
Corycium † vidiſſe ſenem: cui pauca relicti
Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
Nec pecori opportuna ſeges, nec commoda Baccho.
Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
Lilia, verbenaſque premens, veſcumque papaver,
Regum æquabat opes animis; ſeraque revertens
Nocte domum, dapibus menſas onerabat inemptis.
Primus vere roſam atque auctumno carpere poma;
Et quum triſtis hiems etiamnum frigore ſaxa
Rumperet, et glacie curſus frenaret aquarum,
Ille comam mollis jam tondebat hyacinthi,
Æſtatem increpitans ſeram Zephyroſque morantes.
Ergo apibus fœtis idem atque examine multo
Primus abundare, et ſpumantia cogere preſſis
Mella favis; illi tiliæ atque uberrima pinus;
Quotque in flore novo pomis ſe fertilis arbos
Induerat, totidem auctumno matura tenebat.
Ille etiam ſeras in verſum diſtulit ulmos,
Eduramque pirum, et ſpinos jam pruna ferentes,
Jamque miniſtrantem platanum potantibus umbras.

VIRG. Georg. iv. 125.

For where, with ſtately tow'rs, *Tarentum* ſtands,
And deep *Galeſus* ſoaks the yellow ſands,
I chanc'd an old *Corycian* ſwain to know
Lord of few acres, and thoſe barren too:
Unfit for ſheep, or vines, and more unfit to ſow:
Yet lab'ring well his little ſpot of ground,
Some ſcattering potherbs here and there he found:

* Virgil calls Tarentum, which was a Spartan colony, Oebalia, after an ancient King of Sparta, Oebalus, the father of Tyndarus.

† Corycus, a promontory of Cilicia. Pompey granted lands in Italy, on this coaſt, to the conquered pirates of Aſia Minor. See the remarks of Voſs.

Which, cultivated with his daily care,
And bruis'd with vervain, were his daily fare.
Sometimes white lilies did their leaves afford,
With wholeſome poppy flow'rs to mend his homely board:
For, late returning home, he ſupped at eaſe,
And wiſely deem'd the wealth of monarchs leſs:
The little of his own, becauſe his own, did pleaſe.
To quit his care, he gather'd firſt of all
In ſpring the roſes, apples in the fall:
And when cold winter ſplit the rocks in twain,
And ice the running rivers did reſtrain,
He ſtripp'd the bears-foot of its leafy growth;
And, calling weſtern winds, accus'd the ſpring of ſloth.
He therefore firſt among the ſwains was found,
To reap the product of his labour'd ground,
And ſqueeze the combs with golden liquor crown'd
His limes were firſt in flow'rs; his lofty pines,
With friendly ſhade, ſecur'd his tender vines.
For ev'ry bloom his trees in ſpring afford,
An autumn apple was by tale reſtor'd.
He knew to rank his elms in even rows;
For fruit the grafted pear-tree to diſpoſe;
And tame to plums, the fourneſs of the ſloes.
With ſpreading planes he made a cool retreat,
To ſhade good fellows from the ſummer's heat.

DRYDEN, v. 186.

Though Virgil makes the old Cilician

"Call on the weſtern winds, accuſe the ſpring of ſloth,"

yet this might only be to repreſent the poor prejudiced wanderer as preferring his own country to this new place of abode. I doubt whether the eaſt part of Cilicia, lying under Mount Taurus, enjoyed ſo mild a climate as the weſt of Tarentum: though the latter is three degrees more to the north.

The ſouth of Paleſtine had more ſevere winters than the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples: as we may clearly learn from the Scriptures, from paſſages in the book of the ſon of Sirach, and from the 147th Pſalm.

"He

" He (the Lord) giveth ſnow like wool: he ſcattereth the hoar froſt " like aſhes."

" He caſteth forth his ice like morſels. Who can ſtand before his " cold *?"

The ſon of Sirach ſpeaks thus:

" As birds flying, he ſcattereth the ſnow; and the falling down " thereof is as the lighting of graſshoppers.

" The eye marvelleth at the beauty of the whiteneſs thereof; and " the heart is aſtoniſhed at the raining of it.

" The hoar froſt alſo, as ſalt, he poureth on the earth; and, being " congealed, it lieth on the top of ſharp ſtakes.

" When the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed " into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and " clotheth the water as with a breaſt-plate †."

In the country round Taranto, they have no froſt; nor do they ſee any ſnow, except that which lies even during ſummer on the mountains of the province of Baſilicata, on the other ſide of the bay. From theſe they procure ice in the midſt of ſummer; which they eat with many of their fruits, and mix with their beverage. Horace celebrates the mild winter and the long ſpring of Tarentum.

The planting of large trees, by the Cilician countryman of Virgil, is a proof that the people at that time knew how to profit by the goodneſs of the ſoil, near the *Mare Piccolo*. The fruit trees very quickly attain an extraordinary growth; and nobler kinds of them no doubt are reared now than were known to thoſe ages. At leaſt, it does not appear that the ancients knew how to cultivate all the *agrumi* of Italy, which now ſo greatly contribute to embelliſh and render this land a paradiſe.

There are not only many ſhells, found on the ſhore of the *Mare Piccolo*, but numberleſs fragments of Greek earthen vaſes, both there

* Pſalm cxlvii. v. 16 and 17.

† Eccleſiaſticus, chap. xliii. v. 17 to 20. The verſes, as divided in the German and Engliſh tranſlation of the Apocrypha, do not correſpond. T.

and in the vicinity of the town. It is conjectured that there was a manufactory for theſe vaſes, oppoſite to where traces are ſeen of an ancient wall.

There is a road to theſe ſhores which, probably from ancient tradition, is called Goldſmith's way. Bits of gold are ſtill occaſionally found among the pebbles, the potſherds, and the ſhells. The Archbiſhop knew an old man, who ſeldom miſſed a day without collecting ſome gold, which the ſea had caſt up; and by this means he made a handſome livelihood.

Yeſterday, being the 10th, the Tarantines kept the feſtival of their patron, Saint Cataldus; who was an Iriſhman, and, according to the legend, arrived here in the ſecond century; though I doubt whether, at that time, Chriſtianity had travelled as far as Ireland. The love of antiquity may eaſily have thrown back the æra when this biſhop lived a few centuries. During the eighth ninth and tenth centuries, when the Italians were ſunk into barbariſm, ſome Hibernians came there who taught the ſciences, nay more the Latin language, in Italy; and principally in Pavia, and Bologna.

The Tarantines, as chriſtians, take no leſs delight in their holidays than did their anceſtors, as Pagans. They will ride miles, from all parts, to be preſent at the feſtivals of other towns: for which reaſon many perſons had arrived from the neighbouring places, on the preſent occaſion: the number of which viſitors was eſtimated at ten thouſand.

The magiſtracy of the town intended me the honour of making me bear a ſtar, before the ſolemn proceſſion of the Saint: from which project they were with difficulty diverted, by the Archbiſhop. His authority, and not my hereſy, was my protection.

The lower orders are extremely credulous. The principal object of adoration among the men, and ſtill more among many of the women, appears to be the ſilver image of the Saint. With no leſs zeal than that recorded by St. Paul, they ſeemed to emulate the Epheſians; while they exclaimed, "Great is Cataldo, the patron of Taranto!"

The ſtatue had been taken from its ſhrine, and placed in the middle

of

of the church, the preceding day; on the 9th, in the afternoon. You can form no conception of the clamour of the people; or of the loud mixture of riotous mirth, and fleeting devotion. The women uttered their feelings with tears, howlings, and hideous grimaces. Men and women, all were desirous of touching the Saint: some with their lips, others with the hand, and the most devout with their garments. One woman successfully opened herself a passage through the crowd, placed herself fervently before the image, gazed at it, and prayed to it, to excite its attention, as people are accustomed to do to those whom they would awaken from a reverie. *Hist! Hist! San Cataldo! San Cataldo!* A merchant conversed with me as zealously, concerning the uncovering of the image, as if he had spoken of the actual appearance of the Saint; although he knew he was talking to a heretic, for he had questioned me, the Sunday before, whether I would not go to mass? and I had told him I was not a Catholic. His terror deprived him of all reply. In his panic, not knowing how to conceal it and forgetful of what he was doing, he suddenly attempted to kiss both my hands.

The divine service of yesterday was long; for in Taranto, and in Brindisi, the ancient *Brundusium*, the epistles and gospels are always read first in Greek, and then in Latin. The solemn procession, with the image through the town, was numerously attended.

According to the ancient Greek custom, the day of the town patron, πολιοῦχος, was devoted to national games. A high pole, which was soaped two thirds of its height, was erected before the gate, in honour of San Cataldo. A wheel was fastened above, which was hung round with hams, fowls, flasks, cheeses, sausages, and viands. To climb up this pole was the task; and, after many vain attempts and tumbles, at length one adventurer took possession of the wheel. Loud shouts of joy then resounded from the place, the city walls, and the round towers: all of which were covered with the thronging multitude. This was a peep into Grecian antiquity.

The people are handsome; and, among the women, I saw many truly

truly Greek beauties. I did not find that undeviating ſurface, which deſcends from the forehead to the noſe and chin in a right line: a line which certainly can only exiſt in nature as an exception, is rather uncommon than beautiful, was firſt uſed by artiſts who were guilty of exceſs, and afterward received among the dilettanti as the ſection of ideal beauty: but a gentle projecting, which effectually connected in many the right lined noſe with the ſmall forehead.

The women wear their hair platted behind, and wound round the head; as we ſee it in the buſts of the Grecian women, and eſpecially of the Muſes. The people of rank ſubject themſelves to the faſhion; and thus loſe very much in compariſon with thoſe who adopt this beautiful coſtume.

Both ſexes are well proportioned. The women here are fair complexioned; though, in the other parts of Puglia, they are ſtill as ſwarthy as the Apulians were in the times of Horace; whoſe uſurer, Alphius, overcome for a moment by rational feelings, ſighs after the country and wiſhes for a wife:

Sabina qualis, aut perusta ſolibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli.

HOR. Epod. 2.

Of ſun burnt charms but honeſt fame;
Such as the Sabine or Apulian dame.

FRANCIS.

Many of the Tarantine women have fair hair, and blue eyes.

This handſome people were yeſterday particularly jocular; and, after the Italian manner, ornamented with various colours.

The conqueror of the hams and ſauſages played many tricks upon the wheel, took one of the flaſks and drank to the honour of the Saint and of the city, and deſcended by a rope, which was faſtened laterally to a wall, ſometimes ſwinging by the hands, and at others holding by the legs.

When this diverſion was over, they had an aſs race; and of many a one of theſe courſers it might well have been ſaid, as Boileau has remarked of Roſinante, that

Galoppa, dit l'hiſtoire, une fois dans ſa vie.

Hiſtory ſays he once began to gallop.

Others ran foot races; and ſome were tied in a ſack, ſo that, if they fell, they could not riſe without help.

Mildneſs is the character of the people. With the vivacity of ſouthern nations, they are eaſily excited, and eaſily appeaſed. Amid their zeal, they are tolerant; and there is dignity in the toleration of zeal. Nothing but ſtupidity, or knavery, and more frequently the laſt, will praiſe the toleration of indifference.

There are many Greek words in the Tarantine dialect. The Archbiſhop cauſed a copy of theſe words, as collected by the Abbate Tommai, to be tranſcribed for me; moſt of which I here encloſe.

There is a kind of manufacture here, which has deſcended from mother to daughter, probably from the times of the Greeks. A ſpecies of ſhell-fiſh, called *pinna*, the leaſt of which are ſome inches and the largeſt may be an ell long, afford a tuft of fine hair, or threads, of poliſhed green colour *. The Archbiſhop had the goodneſs to ſend for ſome women, to work while we were preſent. The art is ſimple. The tufts are taken from the fiſh, are waſhed twice with ſoap, three times in

* It is proved that the *pinna*, and its poliſhed tuft, were known to the ancients. They gave the tuft the name of εριον πιννενον: or, Pinna wool. The Tarantines ſtill call the fiſh *pinna;* but the tuft *lana peſce:* or fiſh wool †.

Tertullian likewiſe tells us, in his work *De Pallio: Nec fuit ſatis tunicam pingere et ferere, ni etiam piſcari veſtitum contigiſſet. Nam et de mari vellera, quæ muſcoſæ lanoſitatis lautiores conchæ comant.* And the father of the church, *Saint Baſil*, ſays in one of his homilies, Ποθεν το χρυσουν ἐριον αἱ πιννα τρεφουσιν, ὁπερ οὐδεις των ἀνθοβαφων ἐμιμησατο; —"Whence had the pinna its gold coloured wool? that colour which is inimitable!"

† *Claud. Salmaſii Plinianæ Exercitat. p.* 792. *Edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum* MDCLXXXIX.

clear

clear water, then heckled *, and afterward ſpun from the diſtaff: after which they take three threads, wind them, and out of them knit gloves, ſtockings, and entire garments. They have the gloſs of the cloth called *drap de vigogne*, ſit eaſily, and look handſomely. They likewiſe take two ſuch threads for knitting, and add a third of ſilk; and the manufacture is then more durable, but leſs beautiful.

Theſe ſtuffs loſe their gloſs, and their green colour, when they are placed by the ſide of woollen garments. All aromatics likewiſe are ſtill more injurious to them; and they are beſt preſerved when worn with linen. After the gloſs has been loſt, by wear, it may be reſtored, by lemon juice, and water.

A woman, who ſhewed us the manufacture, ſent me ſmall ſamples of the raw thread; alſo in its different ſtates: waſhed, heckled, ſpun, and knit.

I gave her a trifle, ſhe bluſhed, and, with true cordiality and ſenſibility, requeſted that, before my departure, ſhe might bring me a pair of gloves. The next day ſhe came to the Archbiſhop, and entreated him to intercede with me to take the gloves, which ſhe brought me the ſame evening.

I muſt not forget to tell you of a ſingular requeſt. A monk came, when I was preſent, ſent by the young novices †, to the Archbiſhop, and whiſpered him to petition me to petition the monk that he might grant them permiſſion to go into the town in the evening, and ſee the illumination, in honour of the Saint. Accordingly, the Archbiſhop petitioned me, I petitioned the monk, and he complied.

The Archbiſhop ſhewed us two ſmall lakes, formed by rain water, called *Salſine*. As it has not rained for a length of time, the leaſt is entirely dry; and the other partly. The leaſt is called *Salſina*, from

* I know not why our dictionary writers ſay that *hatchel* is the true word, and *heckle* a corruption: adding at the ſame time that it is derived from the German. In the German, the verb is *hecheln*: the *ch* pronounced hard. T.

† *Seminariſten.*

its

its reſemblance to the greateſt; and this is ſo called becauſe it yields ſalt, which needs no preparation. The earth of its bed has a ſalt taſte; and, as the rain waters that have collected begin to dry up, they leave this ſalt behind them. Its uſe is forbidden, to ſecure the royal ſalt works at Barletta from loſs: but this prohibition is little regarded by the peaſants, who frequently come armed, and ſupply themſelves with ſalt.

Their complaints of this prohibition are well founded: though they are wrong at being angry that the King intends to dry up theſe lakes; for the inhabitants of the vicinity confeſs that their exhalations, during ſummer, are unhealthy.

I have been able to obtain no ſatisfactory account of that kind of venomous ſpider, which, after this town, has been called *tarantula*. You know it has been aſſerted of the tarantula that its venomous bite inſpires a deep melancholy, which frequently ends in death, and can only be cured by violent dancing. Neither will the ſick perſon dance till the muſician has happened upon the air that pleaſes him, and the ſame air will not produce the ſame effect on all patients.

The reaſons which have long been alleged, in oppoſition to this ſtory, appear to me very ſtrong; if not unanſwerable. It is firſt ſtated that the ancients ſay nothing of this dance; and next, this practice is confined to Puglia, although the Tarantula is likewiſe found in Sicily, at Rome, at Tivoli, and in many parts of Italy, as well as in Puglia. If the heat of Puglia render the bite of the Tarantula particularly dangerous, muſt not the heat of the ſouth of Sicily do the ſame? Why ſhould the bite be ſo dangerous at Taranto, where the air is ſo mild? Ought we not to aſcribe the danger, and the effect produced by dancing, to the lively imagination of the Tarantines: or rather of the Tarantine women?

In the third place, the bite is ſaid only to be dangerous in the hot months; though I hear that theſe dancers are exhibited for money at the beginning of May. To this it may be anſwered that, having been cured by dancing, whenever they hear the ſame muſic played again

the livelineſs of their imagination once more makes them begin to dance with violence, and even with convulſions. But is it not highly probable that there is often knavery at the bottom?

Beſide, the imagination, to which we are indebted for ſo much good and evil, acting upon the inhabitants of Italy over whom it is ſo powerful, may here double its effects. The perſuaſion that the bite of the tarantula excites melancholy may, in thoſe who have been bitten, be actually productive of melancholy; and the perſuaſion likewiſe that dancing will cure them may as readily excite them to dance, and as effectually afford them relief*. Animated and exceſſive motion, which at laſt ſinks into laſſitude, is of itſelf an excellent remedy.

We muſt not forget that more women fall into this melancholy than men, and are cured by dancing.

What was the origin of this opinion? Is it not probable that the malady called St. Vitus' dance raged in Puglia; which malady, at certain times, has been ſeen in Germany, attended with ſuch terrific appearances? Saint Vitus, who is called *San Vito* by the Italians, is principally honoured in Puglia.

I have ſeen a living tarantula. It was grey on the back, and white on the belly, with clear brown ſpots. It had not attained its full growth. In the middle of ſummer, it is as large as the largeſt ſpiders. At this time the back becomes black; and even the ſpots on the belly of the ſame colour.

We this morning left the charming Taranto, the remembrance of which will ever be dear to me.

In his ode to Septimius, Horace wiſhes to end his life either at Tibur, that is Tivoli, or at Tarentum.

Tibur Argeo poſitum colono †
Sit meæ ſedes utinam ſenectæ!

Set

* How far all diſeaſe, external violence excepted, begins with and is ſubject to the imagination, will ſoon, I hope, be a topic of ſerious and general enquiry. T.

† Tibur was founded by Tiburs: who was likewiſe called Tiburnus; and, by Virgil Tiburtius.

Set modus laſſo maris et viarum
Militiæque !

Unde ſi Parcæ prohibent iniquæ,
*Dulce pellitis ovibus Galeſi **
Flumen, et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalantho.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet : ubi non Hymetto †
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro ‡ :

Ver ubi longum, tepidaſque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon §
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis.

Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Poſtulant arces : ibi tu calentem
Debitâ ſparges lachrymâ favillam
Vatis amici.

Hor. lib. ii. od. 6.

May Tibur, to my lateſt hours,
Afford a kind and calm retreat ;
Tibur, beneath whoſe lofty towers
The Grecians fix'd their bliſsful ſeat ;

Tiburtius : He came from Arcadia, and the Arcadians were known by the epithet Argeii, or Argivi. Aided by his countrymen, Tiburs expelled the ancient inhabitants, and gave the infant colony his own name. This happened in times of the higheſt antiquity.

* The wool of this ſheep was ſo highly eſteemed that they clothed the animal, to protect it from brambles. To explain the *pellitis ovibus* would require a long commentary.

† Hymettus, a mountain of Attica, having much thyme and other odoriferous plants, was ſuppoſed to afford the beſt honey in the world. The honey of Taranto, likewiſe celebrated by Horace, is excellent.

‡ *Venafrum*, now *Venafro*, a ſmall town in Campania, was famous for its oil.

§ A hill in the neighbourhood of Tarentum. I doubt whether it can be determined which hill was meant. My enquiries were fruitleſs.

There may my labours and my wanderings ceaſe,
There all my toils of warfare reſt in peace.

But, ſhould the partial Fates refuſe
That purer air to let me breathe,
Galeſus, thy ſweet ſtream I'll chooſe,
Where flocks of richeſt fleeces bathe.
Phalantus there his rural ſceptre ſway'd,
Uncertain offspring of a Spartan maid.

No ſpot ſo joyous ſmiles to me
Of this wide Globe's extended ſhores;
Where nor the labours of the bee
Yield to Hymettus' golden ſtores:
Nor the green berry, of Venafran ſoil,
Swells with a riper flood of fragrant oil.

There Jove his kindeſt gifts beſtows;
There joys to crown the fertile plains:
With genial warmth the winter glows,
And ſpring with lengthen'd honours reigns.
Nor Aulon, friendly to the cluſtering vine,
Envies the vintage of Falernian wine.

FRANCIS.

APPENDIX TO LETTER LXXX.

Examples of Tarantine words derived from the Greek:

Angelo di Trappeto, is a veſſel into which the oil drops out of the preſs: from ἀγγος, a vaſe for fluids.

Anchiato, or *Onchiato*: ſwollen: from ογκος, a tumour: ὀγκωδης, ſwollen.

Alazza, *Lazza*: to breathe: to breathe out: from Λαξειν, warm out breathing.

'Ale! An exclamation common at maſquerades, from the war cry of the Greeks, ἀλαλη.

Ammaza-

Ammazarato, an epithet ſignifying ill baked bread: probably from the Greek μαζα; which, according to Heſychius, ſignified meal that was kneaded with water and oil.

Arialio, the loom: probably from ἐργαλεῖον, a tool.

Apulo, a ſoft egg: from απαλος, ſoft, tender.

Arrotare, to terrify by noiſe. It is likewiſe uſed for a howling dog: from ῥόδος, noiſe.

Accatuſari, to dip in the ſea: probably from the participle of the word κατειμι, I go down: κατιων, κατιουσα, κατιον.

Biſacchiato, and *Abiſſacchiato*: ſwollen: puffed up: probably from φυσᾶν, φυσσᾶν, to blow out.

Cata, *Incata*: uſed in many caſes like the Greek κατα. It is likewiſe contracted by the people, and only *ca* uttered.

Camaſcia, wearineſs: from καματος.

Cona, an image: from εἰκων.

Coquiglia, a kind of ſhell fiſh: from κογχυλιον.

Coſifago, a ſpecies of the *beccafico*; a little well taſted bird, ſo called by the Italians, and which, during the fig ſeaſon, eats ſo voraciouſly of this fruit as occaſionally to fall down dead: from συκοφαγος.

Cilona, the tortoiſe: from χελωνη.

Cardaſcia, a beloved: from καρδία, the heart: or rather from the adjective καρδιαχος, to afflict the heart.

Camolare, to be vexed: from καμνειν.

Geloſo, in Italian, means jealous: but it is combined by the Tarantines with the idea of ridiculous. *Sei ciluſo*; thou art ridiculous; ſay they: from γελοιος.

Jetta, a lock of hair: from χαιτη, the hair of the head.

Melana, the black gall of the fiſh *ſepia*: from μελας, μελαινα, μελαν, black.

Oſimo, odour: from ὀσμη.

Ottato, a kind of fig, good to dry: probably from ὀπτᾶν, to roaſt, to dry.

Paradiſo.

Paradiſo. Every woody valley is ſo called by the Tarantines: from the Greek παραδεισος, which ſignifies an encloſed park for animals. A word which the Greeks may have borrowed from the Perſian language, and the Perſian from the Hebrew.

Patimoſo, marſhy: *Patimiſco*, a river: from ποταμος, a river.

Rummato, ſwept: from the Greek ῥυμμα.

Sia! an exclamation among the Tarantines, to the boatmen, when the boat being kept in the ſame place is ſwayed from ſide to ſide, by the oar: from σειειν, to ſhake, to move.

Sione, a ſignal: Σημειον.

Scerſo, deſert, uncultivated: χερσος.

Taraſca, drunkenneſs, delirium: from ταραξις, agitation, delirium.

Uz, *Uzza*, a hog: from the Greek ὑς, and συς. It is likewiſe uſed by the Tarantines when they wiſh to affront and reproach with uglineſs.

Zanzico, marjoram: Σαμψυχον.

I have omitted ſeveral words collected by the Abbate Tommai, the derivation of which from the Greek appears to me doubtful. The Italian words, the origin of which are Greek, are numerous, but not unknown to you: for example: *Bambino*, a child: from βεμβαινειν, to chatter.

LET-

LETTER LXXXI.

Gallipoli, 17th May 1792.

WE left Taranto on the 12th, and travelled through Manduria, to Oria. This ſtretch of country is very ſtony, yet produces grain in many parts; and ſtill more willingly the vine, the fig, and the olive. We already ſaw the people buſied in getting in the ſeed from their flax. *Rudiæ*, the native place of the poet Ennius, was in this country *.

Manduria is an ancient town. Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus, King of Lacedæmonia and the great-grandfather of Agis, was vanquiſhed by the Calabrians in its neighbourhood †. It was taken and plundered by Fabius, during the ſecond Punic war. Among other booty four thouſand men were taken ‡.

The origin of Manduria is unknown. It was probably a colony of Oria, which had been founded by the people of Crete. This may be conjectured from the name, and alſo becauſe no coins have been found with the name of the town: though ſome have been lately dug up with the ancient name. The ancient wall is worth examining. Prodigious ſquare ſtones, reſting upon the rock itſelf, the breadth of each of which is one-and-twenty palms, riſe to a very conſiderable height. Thoſe of Pæſtum excepted, which are ſix-and-twenty palms in breadth but by no means ſo high as theſe, there are not any in Italy to equal them. Moſt of the ſtones are full of ſhells, many if which are petrified.

We ſaw a ſpring which Pliny tells us had the ſtrange quality of not becoming more empty if water were laded out, or more full of it were

* Cluv. Ital. Ant. † Plut. Life of Agis. ‡ Liv. xxvii. 15.

poured in *. Paſſing down ſtone ſteps, we came to an arching rock, where this clear ſpring, in eternal ſhades, affords a cool and refreſhing beverage. Theſe rocks likewiſe every where abound in ſhells.

In this country, nature appears beautiful, and beneficent; and, like the fabulous Sphinx, preſents enigmas which no ſcientific *Oedipus* has been able to ſolve.

Theſe curioſities were ſhewn us by an ancient nobleman, whoſe ſon-in-law took much pleaſure in exhibiting his little collection of wrought precious ſtones; ſome of which were beautiful. Gems, cameos, vaſes frequently, and ancient coins almoſt daily, are diſcovered over the whole province of *Terra d'Otranto*. The young gentleman appeared delighted with his own, although he was blind. Where is the wonder? How frequently do we ſee the blind dotage of the dilettanti, and pretended connoiſſeurs! His agreeable lady, who had borne him eight children, preſented to us, with a mother's pleaſure, her little boy that was ten months old.

At the houſe of Canon Camarario, we ſaw a fine collection of Greek vaſes.

This town had long been called *Caſal novo*: but the inhabitants petitioned the King laſt year for a decree, according to which it has recovered its ancient name, Manduria.

Between Manduria and Oria, which are a German mile diſtant from each other, there are hollows, cut in the rocky ſoil, or dry canals; one of which is three Italian miles in length. Theſe muſt have been the work of early and rude times. We can learn nothing concerning them from the known cuſtoms of later ages: it may be that the people, when the coaſt was infeſted with ſea pirates, withdrew, with their wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, into theſe cavities; where defence was more eaſy.

Oria belongs to the moſt ancient colonies of Greece. Herodotus † aſcribes its foundation to the Cretans; and to an age when the dreams

* Plin. ii. c. 103. † Lib. vii.

of

of Greek fable began to aſſume the conſiſtency of hiſtory. Minos purſued Dædalus, who, to avoid his wrath, fled to Sicily, and there was murdered. After a time, the people of Crete ſailed over with a large force, to revenge the death of the King; and continued, for five years, to beſiege Camicus, a city of the Siculi. Their purpoſe defeated, they took ſhipping to return home; but were overtaken by a ſtorm, and caſt on the coaſt of the Japyges: where, their ſhips being deſtroyed, they built the town which Herodotus calls *Hyria*. By others it was named *Uria*, and *Ureton*: but many ancient coins, ſome of which were found at *Oria*, denote that its ancient name was *Orra*. The Greeks, like the preſent Italians, ſoftened the harſh ſounds of names; and in its preſent name, *Oria*, you recognize, with little alteration, the ancient name, *Orra*.

The town is built on a hill, which towers over a row of leſſer hills, that extend from north to ſouth. There is a proſpect over a wide plain to the eaſt. The ſituation delighted ſtrangers; but they were obliged to be upon their guard, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring people. We were at the houſe of the Biſhop, who poſſeſſes a large collection of Greek vaſes; and a ſtill larger of ancient coins. Among others, he has ſix hundred different coins of Tarentum.

There is a German, who lives in Oria, whoſe hiſtory is remarkable. His father and grandfather fell, in the year 1734, at the unfortunate battle of Bitonto, fought between the Germans and the Spaniards: by which the fate of the Two Sicilies was determined, in favour of the houſe of Bourbon. His mother was in the rear of the ranks; and was ſhot, as ſhe ſprang forward to protect her huſband. Their only boy, whom they had brought from Germany to Italy ſwaddled in oil cloth, they had left in Oria, with two compaſſionate young ladies; by whom he was brought up. The boy was induſtrious, and he is now a teacher in the ſeminary. All the money he could ſpare, he expends in forming a collection of coins; which he began ten years ago, and which is now very conſiderable. Although he neither recollects his

country, his parents, nor can ſpeak a word of German, yet he is an enthuſiaſtic admirer of Germany, and a moſt zealous defender of the houſe of Auſtria. Since the travels of his childhood, he ſcarcely has left this place. The utmoſt of his peregrinations have been no farther than Lecce, and Oſtuni; each of which is a day's journey from Oria. As a man of learning, he is equally ſincere and capable.

Noble fruit trees are planted round the town of Oria; and the aloe grows on both ſides of the road, which has already puſhed forth its buds. The fig trees are large. I have ſeen none ſuperior, except near the walls of Manduria.

On the 13th, we journeyed to Brindiſi, the ancient Brunduſium: a place of high antiquity. Its foundation has been aſcribed by ſome to the Cretans, from Orra; and by others to Theſeus, who is ſaid to have landed there, on his return from Crete to Athens. It is likewiſe given to Diomedes, whom ſo many of the towns in *Grecia magna* conſider as their founder. The Meſſapii called it *Brentiſium*, from the double craggy form of its haven; which word it is affirmed, at that time, denoted, in the language of this people, the head of a ſtag *. Many circumſtances have concurred to reduce this formerly great city to the little Brindiſi, whoſe inhabitants are not computed at more than ſix thouſand ſouls.

Brunduſium in Italy, and in Greece *Epidaurus*, which is likewiſe called *Epidamnus*, and, becauſe of the inauſpicious ſignification of the word *damnum*, was changed by the Romans to *Dyrrachium*, were the two ports of paſſage. The moderns, from *Dyrrachium*, have formed *Durazzo*. At preſent, the veſſels from Brindiſi are few, and ſmall. The Appian way was continued by Auguſtus from Capua to Brunduſium. The preſent roads that lead to Brindiſi are bad, the trade of the place is trifling, and the air very unhealthy.

During the civil wars, Cæſar ruined the haven; by caſting up dams, and ſinking veſſels. He ſays nothing of ſtaking it up; neither do I

* Cluv. Ital. Ant.

think that there is any good ground for the opinion that the oak piles, which were found there, were of Cæſar's driving. The inner haven is curving, and longeſt toward the north; and it waſhes the walls of the town. This haven is very large, but the outer haven is ſtill larger. The two havens are united by a ſtrait; which formerly was narrow, has ſince been widened, and which is formed by the outſtretching of the oppoſite ſhores. The curving of the coaſt is aided by ſeveral rocky iſlands in forming the outer haven; and on the largeſt of theſe iſlands a fortreſs is built. There are two fine entrances to this haven; one to the north eaſt, and the other to the ſouth eaſt: but they frequently bring with them much ſand, and mud; for many rivers empty themſelves into the ſmall Adriatic. This has greatly injured the paſſage of the inner haven; the waters of which, as their reflux is partly prevented, overflow the banks, and occaſion much unwholeſome air. This is augmented by a kind of putrid ſea weed; and by the waters of a rivulet, which is frequently ſo ſwelled with rains as to inundate the country, before it can arrive at the inner haven.

There were formerly two large Corinthian pillars, that were placed at the entrance of the inner and ſmaller haven, one of which is ſtill entire; but of the other the pedeſtal only remains. The opinion that lanterns were ſuſpended from an architrave I think is evidently erroneous: becauſe, for the lights to have been diſcoverable at ſea, they muſt have been placed on a tower of the caſtle, facing the great haven. Theſe great pillars of white marble were probably only an ornamental boundary, to the entrance from the city to the inner haven. Statues of the Roman Emperors probably were placed upon them; as formerly on the pillars of Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, at Rome.

Don Carlo Pollio, a hydraulic engineer, who had before been accuſtomed to different undertakings of the ſame kind, is at preſent employed in improving the inner haven, and relieving Brindiſi from its unwholeſome air. The marſhy places have been filled up with earth,

generally wretched. But the misfortune is they are too kind. You may plead in vain that you have more need of reſt than of feaſting: they cannot conceive the neceſſity there is for any repoſe. You are obliged to remain for hours in company with idle, talkative, and inquiſitive men; and, when it is late, are introduced to a plentiful ſupper. They forget that the traveller has to riſe early; and is frequently deprived of the afternoon ſleep by which he ſhould recruit his ſtrength. Thus, after travelling a whole day, you ſeldom have gone more than four or five German miles, in a country where the horſes and mules are in general very bad. I am contented to travel no further in a day; but I would rather do it in a ſhorter time, and repoſe during the heat of the ſun.

The royal governor of the province, who likewiſe ſits as preſident of the tribunal, reſides at Lecce. An appeal lies from this provincial tribunal, in civil cauſes, to the chief court in Naples, for ſo ſmall a ſum as two hundred Neapolitan ducats: equal to two hundred rix-dollars. Four perſons, who are called *Miniſtri*, regularly ſit as aſſiſtants to the governor: but they muſt not be natives of the province. This cuſtom appears to me to denote the ancient Spaniſh ſpirit, of jealous and political caution. Would not the people place more confidence in their fellow citizens than in perſons who are preferred only becauſe they come from another province? And what can be of greater importance than the confidence placed by citizens in the adminiſtration of juſtice? I conceive indeed it would be a narrow mode of thinking to exclude ſtrangers: but I am perſuaded the excluſion of natives is ſtill more ſevere.

In addition to the tolls and the ſalt revenue, which article the inhabitants are obliged to purchaſe from the royal ſalt works of Barletta, the city annually pays the King ſixteen thouſand Neapolitan ducats.

In Lecce, as in different other towns of this kingdom, a *ſedile*, or kind of college, is inſtituted; the members of which conſiſt of the nobility, and a few of the citizens. This college regulates the price of corn,

corn, and other viands; and, in times of ſcarcity, muſt take care to proviſion the city. It collects the taxes that do not belong to the King: from which, and other reſources, the ſixteen thouſand ducats are provided. The ſyndic is annually choſen from the noble members of the college.

The roads round Lecce are intolerable. The wheels of carriages have made ſuch deep ruts, in the ſoft ground, that, if the evil be not ſoon remedied, they will be utterly impaſſable. The people have hopes that this neceſſary improvement will be made. Nay the deep holes made by the hoofs of horſes have rendered the road extremely difficult even to horſemen.

The peculiar quality of the rock, which is ſoft when taken from the quarry, and becomes hardened by the air, occaſions the inhabitants to uſe it for building their large houſes; and their magnificent but inſipid churches, with other public buildings. They decorate their Grecian columns with the extravagancies of Gothic taſte; and overload the very village churches with ornaments in baſſo and alto relievo, which equally betray a want of invention and a miſguided, or rather a depraved, imagination.

The ſoil of the whole peninſula, though it have no conſiderable heights, is rocky; but it is very productive in olives, figs, and grapes. In ſummer, the earth muſt be exceedingly hot; and that it is productive the noble face of nature is a convincing proof. The people are œconomical in the uſe of their land; on which I ſaw whole places bare, the earth of which had been removed from the rocks to ſupply ſpots that were more favourable. I met with good grain.

A German mile and a half from Otranto, we had a proſpect of the Adriatic, where it bathes the ſhores of Greece. We exclaimed, at beholding it, as joyfully as the ten thouſand led by Xenophon did, when they viewed the ſea, Θαλαττα· Θαλαττα· The ſea! The ſea! We ſoon ſaw the Albanian mountains, or the ancient Epirus, and the *Acroceraunian*, or thundering, rocks, covered with eternal ſnow;

Infames

Infames ſcopulos, Acroceraunia

HOR. lib. i. od. 3.

——Rocks for ſhipwrecked fleets ill-fam'd.

FRANCIS.

as Horace ſays: and the two hills on which *Dulcigno* is built; that neſt of daring pirates.

In the neighbourhood of Otranto, there are olive trees of remarkable height. The olive, if it be not lopped, has beauties peculiar to itſelf; although, in my opinion, its character is gloomy. The fig trees of Otranto are juſtly celebrated for their extraordinary ſize and beauty.

Would you believe that the wind that blows over the ſea from Greece is at preſent quite cold? As we approached the town, this wind wafted with it the odours of the lovely orange groves, that ſurround Otranto.

I have now ſeen Greece, though ſituated beyond the Adriatic. We have frequently wiſhed to take a trip to the iſland of *Corfu*, the *Corcyra*, Κερκυρα, of the ancients, and the *Scheria* of Homer, to viſit the country of the Pheacians, and from that to the Ithaca of Homer, or the little iſland of Cephalonia. Yet, eaſy as this would be in going, it would be difficult to return, becauſe of the ſtrict quarantine; and eſpecially at preſent, as the plague has again broke out in the Morea, or the ancient Peloponneſus.

By the Greeks, Otranto was called *Hydrus*, Ὑδρους, abbreviated from Ὑδρεις, and by the Romans *Hydruntum*. It had been ſo named by the Greeks from the river *Hydrus*; which, although, like ſo many other famed rivers of the ancients, its name ſignified abounding in water, is no more than a brook, that empties itſelf into the ſea at Otranto. This town is the ſeat of an archbiſhop; but contains only three thouſand inhabitants. It is guarded by a ſtrong caſtle, to protect it againſt the inroads of the Turks and pirates.

In the year 1480, under Mahomet the Second, Otranto was taken

and plundered by the Turks; and the inhabitants were treated with cruelty. Probably, according to the ſyſtem of Turkiſh politics, the conqueror of Conſtantinople, who with proud and ſwelling hopes had ſent an army into Italy, intended by ſpreading the terror of his name to ſubdue this beautiful country.

The diſtance of the coaſt of Albania is ſixty Italian miles: that is, fifteen geographical or ten common German miles. We yeſterday ſaw the ſun go down below the *Acroceraunian* mountains. The ancient Greeks thought theſe coaſts ſo remarkable that they gave them no other name than *Æpirus*, or continent; of which the Romans formed *Epirus*. Pyrrhus and Scanderbeg were both natives of this country.

On our road from Otranto to Gallipoli, we yeſterday thus early ſaw barley in ſheaf, and oats that were houſed: yet, in theſe diſtricts, the rocky ſoil is ſcantily covered with earth. We likewiſe travelled through ſeveral foreſts of oak; and ſaw fruit trees, among which the lofty and wide ſpreading fig was not inferior to the large walnut tree.

He who would fully conceive and intimately feel the beautiful idea of the Iſraelites, who "dwelt ſafely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree*," ought to have ſeen the fig trees of this peninſula, and the high vineyards of *Terra di Lavoro*; or Sorento. In the afternoon, we ſaw the ſun ſet below the Mediterranean ſea, which in the morning had riſen over the Adriatic.

Gallipoli is built on a ſmall rocky iſland, on the ſouth ſhore of the bay of Taranto; and communicates with the continent, by the means of a long bridge. The ſituation would have been delightful, had the inhabitants been careful to plant trees. It did not, as many have imagined, receive its name from the Gauls: its origin was Greek, and it was called *Calliopolis*, or charming city: probably becauſe of its ſituation.

The ſeed cotton (allow me to uſe the term) which is called *Bombace*†,

* I Kings, iv. 25; and Micah, iv. 4.

† Erroneouſly written, as I ſuppoſe, inſtead of *Bambagia*. T.

is induſtriouſly cultivated in the country round Otranto. It muſt not be confounded with the cotton of Aſia and America, which grows upon trees. This cotton, white as ſnow, is ſpun by the women from the diſtaff. It is beſt manufactured at Gallipoli; and is wove into muſlins, which have a great exportation. I ſuppoſe theſe ſtuffs to be the *Byſſus* of the ancients.

Gallipoli enjoys a great oil trade. According to the eſtimate of a meritorious man of literature of this place, its annual and average export of oil amounts to nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand eight hundred and four Neapolitan ducats: or, in round numbers, about a million*.

It has not to thank its haven for its trade; which is unſafe, and in which many ſhips have been loſt: but its rocks, in which the magazines for keeping the oil are hewn. Theſe warm rocks have the property of purifying the oil; for which reaſon oils from other parts of the province are brought here, for amelioration.

This trade would no doubt be more flouriſhing if, as the citizens have requeſted, a haven were ſuffered to be built. Art might overcome the obſtacles of nature; and it is eſtimated that the expence of this uſeful improvement would only amount to twenty-five thouſand ducats. Only five-and-twenty thouſand ducats! And of this ſmall ſum the citizens have petitioned to pay a part! It is ſaid indeed that it is the *intention* of the King to comply with this juſt demand of the people: but I own I am inclined to think that this neceſſary undertaking has been procraſtinated through the envy of other towns. I have no proof for this conjecture: except that I can no otherwiſe account for ſuch neglect. Neither can I conceive why the wealthy town ſhould not require to pay the whole expence. The mere *permiſſion* for undertaking ſo uſeful a work would not ſurely have been denied them: and how greatly would it have been to their advantage!

* *Eſame economico del ſiſtema civile.* The author of this valuable work, who has not publiſhed his name, is called *Filippo Briganti*; and is a citizen of Gallipoli.

It

It would be equally political and juſt in the State to aboliſh, or at leaſt to lighten the heavy duty which is paid for the exported oil. From eighty to a hundred veſſels annually arrive at this port; and many of them pay a tax of from five to ſeven thouſand ducats.

People juſtly admire the wiſdom of the Engliſh; who, inſtead of taxing their exports like other Governments, allow premiums, and drawbacks: yet, while they admire, they forbear to imitate.

Signor Giovanni Preſta, another man of letters of Gallipoli now living, who has written a very valuable book on the properties of different oils, ſays that three fifths of the lands in this province are planted with olive trees. And the before-mentioned *Filippo Briganti* maintains that this tree has not been adopted as a foreign plant, from the peninſula; but that it is proper to the ſoil*.

In this province there is a gum likewiſe found, which is in high eſtimation. The people call it *ragia*. It exudes from the olive tree; and only from the olive trees of the province of *Terra di Bari*, and of the peninſula: though principally in the latter. No inciſion need be made in the bark. Some ſuppoſe that the tree ſpontaneouſly emits this gum, which uſually hangs like a tear on the poliſhed bark. The country people ſay there is a kind of butterfly, that lays its egg in the bark; from which a caterpillar is produced, that frequently bores through the branch to the ſap, and through this wound in the branch the gum exudes; but no ſuch are ever found; neither do the ancients mention this caterpillar; though, according to the learned Signor

* *In fatti, par che la Natura abbia deſtinate, a la riproduzione degli ulivi, le fertile colline della Iapiggia; ove tutto cio, che rimane abbandonato alla ſpontanea vegetazione della terra, ſi vede ricoperto di elivaſtri; che inalzano le fruttifere chiome al par degli alberi piu ſpecioſi: ſegno evidente che la forza produttrice del ſuolo non adotta, ma genera, queſta piante.* Nature appears to have deſtined the fertile hills of Japygia to the production of the olive; where the ground, when left to its own ſpontaneous efforts, is covered with olive branches; that raiſe their beautiful foliage equal to that of the fineſt trees: which evidently ſhews it is the productive force of the ſoil that generates, inſtead of adopting, this plant. *Eſame pol. p.* 70.

Preſta *, who has written on oil, they deſcribed this gum by the name of Ethiopian tears †.

The wine that is produced in the country of Gallipoli is excellent, when it is allowed to be eight or ten years old.

I had yeſterday agreed with a French captain, who was bound to Dunkirk and ready to ſet ſail, and who would have taken us to Cotrone: but he has juſt been informed that an armed veſſel is waiting for him, off *Capo Santa Maria*, the ancient promontory of *Leuca*. It is probably a veſſel from Trieſte; for I am informed the French have plundered two merchantmen of that place. The poor man is in great tribulation. Amid the general confuſion of the affairs of France, the French conſuls receive no inſtructions from the miniſtry; and therefore can neither give advice nor information.

Surrounded by the ſhips of all nations, the ſtreamers of which are flying, this melancholy captain is obliged to conceal his flag: for the

* *Memoria ſu i ſaggi diverſi di olio, e ſu della ragia di ulivo: da* GIOVANNI PRESTA. This is a different work and a much leſs than that which I have cited in Letter LXXIII. by the ſame author, on experiments upon various kinds of oil.

† Signor Preſta, on this occaſion, quotes the following paſſage from BACCIO DE VINIS APPULIS, lib. v. *Gummi hic oleæ exſudant optimum, quod chirurgi Gummi Elemi appellant. Gleba eſt pinguis, ac myrrhæ inſtar fragranti odore, ut non ſolum in unguento probandam exiſtimem—verum etiam prunis aſperſa ſuffimentum balſami in cameris edit gratioſum, ſuperans thuris et ſtactæ myrrhæ fragrantiam* *.—Signor Cotunnio, a celebrated phyſician of Naples, has had the kindneſs to give me a ſample of this gum. When uſed as incenſe, it has a much ſtronger odour than frankincenſe. For this reaſon, Signor Cotunnio forbids it to be uſed by lying-in women, for ſome days; and does not think it good for perſons who have any diſorder of the lungs: in which he differs from a celebrated German phyſician, who had been in Italy. Signor Cotunnio however ſhould be beſt acquainted with its effects; as he is a native of Puglia, and comes from *Ruvo*, which is in the *Terra di Bari*.

* The olive trees here exude an excellent kind of gum, which the ſurgeons call *gum elemi*. It is a fat ſubſtance, and has the fragrant odour of myrrh; and when thrown on hot coals emits a fragrant odour, that exceeds the perfume of frankincenſe, or myrrh.

French

French are with good reaſon diſliked here, as they not only afford protection on their coaſts to the African corſairs but give them information at ſea.

Before I quit this province, I muſt do the inhabitants, and particularly thoſe of Puglia, the juſtice to ſtate that they are a worthy people; friendly, diſintereſted, hoſpitable, and with excellent hearts. Would they could recollect that the traveller has more need of repoſe than of reveling! That ſome viſits are pleaſant and intereſting to him, but that he ſtands in need of his moments of leiſure! That he muſt be greatly incommoded, after a hot day's journey, by a chamber full of people, going in and out: or by being hurried away to view objects, which may appear worthy the attention of the inhabitants of a ſmall town, but can have few charms for thoſe who have viſited the antiquities of Rome, and the grand works of ancient art; and that their kindneſs would have double worth, were it ſimply and cordially adminiſtered, undebaſed by the vain marks of honour, and ignoble cringing and flattery, as exerciſed by the inſignificant babbling of curioſity! What can a ſtranger ſay to people, who vaunt of his merits without ever having ſeen him before; of the overflowing of the heart at his arrival; and who, with an expreſſion of falſe modeſty, not uncommon to them, compare themſelves to inſects *?

* The following expreſſions are frequent. *Voglia compatire colla noſtra debolezza—E niente al ſuo merito, alfatto niente! Ci e niente degno di lei, ma ci e abondunza di cuore.*—"I hope you will excuſe our incapacity—We have nothing worthy of you; abſolutely "nothing! I poſſeſs nothing worthy of your notice: but I have an overflowing heart!" If you go to ſee a collection of vaſes, coins, or other curioſities, they offer them with the phraſe—*E tutto alla ſua diſpoſizione!*—"The whole, Sir, is at your diſpoſal!"—A nobleman, whoſe handſome wife I had viſited, and whom I had the courage to praiſe, being to depart the next morning, anſwered my praiſe in the preſence of a dignified eccleſiaſtic, with *E tutta alla diſpoſizione del Signor Conte!* The man certainly was not ſerious: but why ſo degrading an expreſſion? Why ſo debaſing a compliment as—*Sono un piccolo inſetto nel mondo!*—"I am but a worm, crawling on the earth!"

LET-

LETTER LXXXII.

Catanzaro, 21ſt May 1792.

IT was on the 17th, half an hour before midnight, that we got under ſail in the harbour of Gallipoli. During our paſſage, the wind was generally favourable; but ſo weak that it was eleven o'clock of the forenoon of the 19th, before we arrived at Cotrone: although the diſtance between the two places is only from ſeventeen to eighteen German miles. We ſoon loſt ſight of the flat ſhores of Gallipoli, and ſaw before us the high mountains of the two Calabrias.

The preſent *Terra d'Otranto* was called by the ancients the *Japygian* peninſula; and, in its moſt proper ſenſe, the eaſt ſide was called Calabria, and the weſt the land of the Salentines. The two provinces, which are now called *Calabria citra* and *Calabria oltra*, were included under the general name *Lucania:* till the ſouth part of this country, which is now called *Calabria oltra*, according to the account of Diodorus Siculus, was ſeparated from the north after the following manner.

"In the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad [354 years before the birth "of Chriſt] the country of Lucania was overrun by a multitude of vile "wretches, moſt of whom were fugitive ſlaves. At firſt, they ſubſiſted "by robbery: but, after being accuſtomed to ſleep on the bare earth "and to make incurſions, they ſo far inured themſelves to warlike en- "terpriſes that they attacked the inhabitants of the country, whom "they quickly ſubdued. They firſt took *Terina*, which they plun- "dered: after that *Harponia*, *Thurium*, and many other towns, and "founded a republic under the name of the *Brettii*, or *Bruttii:* becauſe "they had moſt of them been ſlaves; and this word, in the language "of the country, ſignified runaway ſlaves*."

* Diod. vol. ii. p. 93. ed. Weſſel.

Before

Before we arrived at Cotrone, we ſaw the little town of Strongoli, built upon a hill on the ſea coaſt. I think, with Swinburne, that it was the *Petelia* founded by Philoctetes. *Belcaſtro*, which is not built on the ſea ſhore, cannot be the place: though it was ſo ſuppoſed by Cluverius. *Petelia* was enumerated among the ſea ports.

Cotrone lies on the north eaſt ſide of the province of *Calabria oltra*: or of ſouth Calabria. The origin of this town is bewildered in fable. According to Diodorus, Hercules, on his paſſage through Italy, ſlew by miſtake a man of the name of Croton; and promiſed after him a celebrated town ſhould be named. Others tell us this town was founded by Croton, ſon of the King of Theſſaly and the judge of hell, *Æacus* *. Others again make *Micyllus*, or *Myſcellus*, to be its founder whom the ſatiriſt, Lucian, introduces as converſing with Pythagoras, whoſe ſoul had tranſmigrated into a cock. Croton however was undoubtedly a powerful and flouriſhing city at the time that Pythagoras, under the government of the tyrant Polycrates, left the iſland of Samos, his native country, and, about the year 570 before Chriſt, came to Italy. This great man found the Crotonians degraded, by too much proſperity, into voluptuouſneſs, and led them back to the paths of virtue. He lived to be very old, and reſided in Croton as a venerable ſage when the celebrated war was waged between that city and Sybaris; which was then the moſt powerful in Lucania, or in all Italy. Talys, a powerful demagogue of Sybaris, exerciſed thoſe political arts that were and are common to ancient and modern demagogues; and endeavoured to ſucceed by making himſelf reſpected among the people, and by exciting an antipathy in them againſt the grandees and the wealthy, that thus they might favour his uſurpations. He perſuaded his fellow citizens to baniſh five hundred of the richeſt perſons of the place, and to divide their property among themſelves. The fugitives ſought and found a refuge in Croton; and, by the advice of Talys, ambaſſadors were ſent thither, requiring thoſe men to be delivered up,

* Diod. vol. i. p. 270.

or

or menacing war. The people and the ſenate of Croton heſitated, between the ſhamefully relinquiſhing the ſacred rights of hoſpitality and undertaking a diſaſtrous war. The people inclined, as uſually happens, to that ſide which appeared to them leaſt dangerous; till Pythagoras excited in them a ſenſe of juſtice and ſentiments of heroiſm, and the fugitives were not delivered up.

Three hundred thouſand Sybarites were oppoſed to one hundred thouſand Crotonians, who were led by the famous wreſtler, Milo, a conqueror that had been ſix times crowned at the Olympic games. Adorned with his victor's crown, clothed in a lion's hide, and armed with a club, he led his fellow citizens againſt the effeminate multitude of the Sybarites *.

The Sybarites were put to flight; and moſt of them fell under the ſword of the enraged victors, who deſtroyed Sybaris †. This happened in the third year of the 67th Olympiad, 507 years before the

* The effeminacy and exceſs of the Sybarites became proverbial, among the ancients. If any man affected a courtly gait, they ſaid he walked like a Sybarite. They were famous for cookery. Like the nobility of France, they did not think it beneath their dignity to ſtudy this art. The moſt notorious among them was one Myndirides; who, when he went to demand the daughter of Cliſthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, took with him a thouſand fowlers, a thouſand fiſhermen, and a thouſand cooks; but he did not obtain the tyrant's daughter. This Sybarite uſed to ſleep on roſe leaves; and would complain of his reſt being diſturbed, if he happened to be moleſted by the doubling of a leaf. Seeing a labourer once with a hoe, raiſing his arm to hoe the earth, the ſight gave him ſuch a ſenſe of wearineſs that he commanded the man to be gone.

It is related of the Sybarites that they taught their horſes to dance to the ſound of the flute, at their banquets. The tale that the people of Croton profited by this, played the known tune during the battle, and thus ſuddenly made the horſes begin to dance, by which the ranks were confuſed and the riders thrown, is no doubt a pleaſantry, invented by ſome humorous ſatiriſt.

† The Count, in the true ſpirit of virtue and philoſophy, has declared himſelf an enemy to war. It was in a moment of forgetfulneſs, or he could not have praiſed the vicious, the unphiloſophical, advice of Pythagoras: to which thouſands fell victims; and in conſequence of which a mighty city was razed. T.

birth of Chriſt, and fifty-eight years afterward Sybaris was rebuilt by the Theſſalians. Six years after that, they were again driven away by the Crotonians; and ſought protection from Sparta and Athens. The Athenians liſtened to them, ſent a ſquadron of ten ſhips, and protected them while they built a new city; which was called *Thurion*, from the fountain *Thuria*, and by the Romans *Thurium**.

At the time that Pyrrhus invaded Italy, Croton was twelve Italian miles in circumference: that is, two common German, or three geographical, miles. After the war of Pyrrhus, the city was ſcarcely half inhabited; and the river *Æſarus*, which had divided Croton, flowed through uninhabited places †.

Eight years after the ſecond Punic war, when Scipio Africanus was again choſen Conſul and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus his colleague, the Romans ſent a colony hither ‡.

During one Olympiad, ſeven Crotonians obtained the prize for ſwiftneſs. It was a proverb that the laſt of the Crotonians was the firſt of the Greeks. As healthy as a Crotonian was another proverb: yet is this place, at preſent, notorious for its bad air!

In early times, Croton was an excellent ſchool for phyſicians. Democedes was a native of this city. Leaving his ſevere father, he went to Ægina; where, although he had brought no inſtruments of his art with him, he ſurpaſſed the beſt phyſicians: for phyſicians in thoſe days were alſo ſurgeons. In the ſecond year of his reſidence there, the Æginetæ rewarded him by a ſalary of a talent. He afterward went to Athens, for higher pay; and from thence to Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, for the annual ſtipend of two talents. Herodotus tells us that, in theſe times, the Crotonians were the people moſt celebrated for the art of healing.

Polycrates took him with him, when he ſailed to viſit the Perſian governor of Sardis, Oroetes; by whom Polycrates was treacherouſly put to death.

* Diod. † Liv. xxiv. c. 3. ‡ Strabo.

When Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, King of the Perſians, had put Oroetes to death, he afterward ſprained his foot as he alighted from his horſe, after hunting. The Egyptian phyſicians, by whom he was attended, for the Egyptians in ancient times were celebrated for their medical ſkill, gave him pain without relief. The King had ſeven ſleepleſs nights; and on the eighth day Democedes was recommended to him, who appeared before the King in the mean habit of a ſlave, and loaded with chains. Democedes long perſiſted that he was unacquainted with the medical art; for he feared that, if known, he ſhould not be ſuffered to return to Greece. Being however threatened ſeverely by Darius, and, after the royal manner of all ages, menaced with the torture, he acknowledged that he had been acquainted with a phyſician and had obtained ſome ſkill in the ſcience. Darius put himſelf under Democedes; who ſhortly reſtored the King, by the means of ſtrong fomentations. On this, he was preſented with two pair of golden fetters. "What," ſaid Democedes to the monarch, "will you double "my evils for having reſtored you to health?" The good-humoured King was ſo pleaſed with this ſally that he ſent Democedes to his women, by whom he was richly rewarded, and would have hanged the Egyptian phyſicians had not Democedes entreated for their pardon.

Soon afterward Atoſſa, the wife of Darius and the daughter of Cyrus the Great, ſent for Democedes; for ſhe had long concealed an abſceſs in her breaſt. The diſeaſe by this time was become dangerous. He promiſed a cure, provided ſhe would make an oath to ſerve him in return.

He kept his word, and, inſtructed by him, Atoſſa adviſed her huſband to make war upon the Greeks, that he might gain renown in his youth, and bring into captivity the women of Ægina, Attica, and Corinth. "Thou haſt a man," ſaid ſhe, "whoſe knowledge of the country "will do thee great ſervice: it is Democedes, who cured thy foot."

The converſation of Atoſſa produced its effect on Darius, and he ſent Democedes, with fifteen of the principal perſons of Perſia, to

Phœnice.

Phœnice. Here they armed two galleys, viſited many of the ſea ports of Greece, and landed at laſt at Tarentum. Ariſtophilides, who governed Tarentum and was a native of Croton, impriſoned the Perſians, as ſpies; and Democedes, who had formed this plan only to return to his own country, went to Croton.

When he was there, Ariſtophilides ſet the Perſians at liberty, and reſtored them all their effects. They ſailed to Croton, purſued Democedes, and found him in the public place. Some of the citizens, fearful of the power of the GREAT KING, would have delivered him up to the Perſians: but others fell upon and beat them, being warned by the ſufferers in vain.

When they were at laſt allowed to depart, Democedes accoſted them and bade them inform the King that he had married the daughter of the wreſtler, Milo, whoſe fame was not unknown to Perſia *.

Philolaus, a citizen of Croton, the ſcholar of the great Archytas of Tarentum, firſt taught that the ſun ſtood ſtill, and that the earth moved round it in an ellipſis.

Theocritus lays the ſcene of his fourth idyl in this country.

This city, one of the moſt powerful of Magna Grecia in the time of its proſperity, is now ſunk to a wretched little town, which contains about five thouſand ſouls. Its name, *Cotrone*, is an alteration of its ancient name; after the manner in which the Neapolitans, and the people of Sicily, are accuſtomed to arrange their letters. Thus the common people call the iſland of Capri *Crapi:* Capra, a goat, *crapa.* Inſtead of *padule*, a marſh, they ſay *palude:* and the *Grotta Minarda*, a place in Puglia, they call *Grotta Miranda.* They have derived this manner of arranging their letters from their Greek anceſtors.

Cotrone is ſupported by commerce; chiefly of grain, and cheeſe: though it likewiſe trades in oil, and ſilk.

On our arrival, a houſe was prepared for us, which is deſtined for an engineer; under whoſe ſuperintendance the haven is to be improved, and which it is hoped will render the air more healthy.

* Herod. lib. iii.

Scarcely had we taken poſſeſſion of this houſe before three different gentlemen of the town came, and entreated us to go with them. We accepted the invitation of Don Antonio Marzano; whoſe reception was warm and friendly. Neither he nor his friends, who, according to the cuſtom of the country, aſſembled to viſit the ſtrangers, were ſo exceſſively polite as the people of Puglia: whoſe civilities I ſometimes did not know how to interpret.

The good people, who had haſtily prepared the empty houſe of the engineer for our reception, refuſed to accept any compenſation for their trouble.

Don Antonio gave us a refreſhment of ice; and then became our guide through the city, where we beheld the formerly famous river of *Æſaras*, which is now called *Eſaro*. The ancients derived its name from *Æſarus*, a huntſman, who fell into the river as he was purſuing a hind.

The inhabitants ſay that it was formerly navigable; but that the greateſt part of its waters have found a ſubterranean paſſage, by which the ſtream has in part been dried up. I do not inſiſt upon the truth of this opinion: for, though an earthquake might have eaſily produced ſuch a change, if I do not miſtake, Pliny has remarked that this city never was viſited with earthquakes. Leſs ſtreams than this have exerciſed the vanity and patriotic prejudices of the Greeks; and have been deſcribed by them as mighty rivers.

The *Eſaro*, at certain times, riſes very high; and no longer ago than laſt Auguſt, ſwept away a lofty ſtone bridge, erected on arches, which is now rebuilding. It likewiſe laid waſte the gardens.

According to the probable opinion of Cluverius, the *Stomalimnon*, where the herdſman of Theocritus paſtured his cattle, is at the mouth of this river. The poet praiſes the fertility of the paſturage; and I have ſeldom ſeen a finer growth of graſs. I found canary ſeed, which we ſometimes rear in our gardens as food for the canary bird, growing wild. The aromatic odour of the plants and ſhrubs fills the air. The high red trefoil, which is reared in fields by the inhabitants of *Terra di Lavoro*,

here grows wild in abundance. But it is not ſo full in the ear as there; though it has larger flowers, and ſpreads over the ground like our yellow *lotus*: from which it is only diſtinguiſhable by its colour, and ſuperior ſize. The Italians call both this that grows wild, and that which is cultivated, *prato*; and prefer it to all other fodder, eſpecially for horſes. I will endeavour to procure ſeed of this valuable plant; for it is certainly worth making an experiment, to know if it will thrive in our ſoil.

The licorice root grows wild, and is made a branch of commerce, in this country.

The waters, left by the overflowing of the river and the decaying ſtate of the haven, have doubtleſs occaſioned the bad air of the place; which has been increaſed by the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the want of cleanlineſs in the inhabitants.

Near the town, we ſaw a large bean field, planted as it were in defiance of Pythagoras.

Charles the Fifth ſurrounded Cotrone with a ſtrong wall: but this town cannot ſtand a ſiege, for want of water. The fountain which ſupplies it riſes without the walls; and the mills ſtand at a certain diſtance.

Six Italian miles ſouth of the city, on the north ſide of the promontory of *Lacinium*, the temple of the *Lacinian Juno* ſtood; which, Livy tells us, was as celebrated as Croton itſelf. It was revered by all the neighbouring people. A lofty grove, ſurrounded by pines, contained the herds that were conſecrated to the goddeſs; and they paſtured there without a keeper. Not many years ſince, there were large remains of this temple; and the Italians call the promontory after the pillars of this temple *Capo delle Colonne*. The grove ſtill flouriſhes: but the ſtones have been taken to repair the haven; from which depredation not even the ſuppoſition that Pythagoras had taught there could protect them. The grove too is cut, for the burning of bricks. Riedeſel, a learned antiquarian, imagined he diſcovered a part of the ancient temple, in the ruins which were called *Scuola di Pitagora*: or, the

ſchool

ſchool of Pythagoras. There is only one pillar now ſtanding, which is ſo large that we could plainly ſee it from Cotrone.

As we were yeſterday intending to leave the place, I was invited with great kindneſs and cordiality, by Don Antonio, to ſtand godfather for the child of which his young wife is pregnant.

Almoſt the whole country between Cotrone and Catanzaro, a tract of forty Italian miles, conſiſts of hilly paſtures. The large growth of the thiſtle and the tilled lands, on which we ſaw excellent wheat, denote the fertility of the ſoil: yet theſe mild regions maintain few inhabitants. Neglect, the oppreſſions of government, and the high rents which the nobles exact from the peaſantry, prevent many from marriage; that pureſt ſpring of domeſtic felicity, that beſt ſupport of the power of a nation. For this reaſon the country ſwarms with beaſts of prey. Foxes are innumerable: and Don Antonio, who like Nimrod is a mighty hunter, vaunts of having killed three hundred foxes, and many wolves, with his own hand. The wolves are bold enough to ſeize on ſingle cows, and mares, at paſture: but if a cow, or mare, perceive the wolf, it utters a well-known cry, on which the whole herd comes in aid.

This beautiful province is likewiſe injured by the want of roads; for it does not poſſeſs one high road that is kept in repair. Nor is *Calabria citra* better provided. The high road from Naples proceeds no farther than the *Lago Nero*, in the province of *Baſilicata*. It is indeed to be continued to Reggio: but is one high road ſufficient for theſe noble provinces? The foot roads are only paſſable in ſummer; and then are wretched. The overflowing ſtreams leave large cracks in the earth; which we at firſt ſuppoſed to be the conſequences of the earthquake of 1783, by which this country was deſolated. We rode over the beds of waters that were now partly dry, and partly humid; the breadth of which, with the ſhagged and demoliſhed ſhores and the deep gaping crevices, prove how high they riſe at the end of ſummer, and in winter. An Italian gentleman ſaid to me, "A town ſituated at a diſ-

tance

tance might ſuffer dearth, after a bad harveſt, becauſe the people of our country have no means of tranſporting their ſuperfluity."

The roads are neither ſo dangerous as they are generally ſaid to be in Naples, where the caution given to travellers is very terrifying, nor yet ſo ſecure as ſome travellers have affirmed. We have travelled through all Puglia, contrary to the cuſtom of travellers, without an armed eſcort; and have ſuffered no attack from robbers. However, we met priſoners, who had been taken up for acts of outrage lately committed. The priſons indeed are full. There are now in this town more than three hundred priſoners, and moſt of them robbers: but it frequently happens that they lie years before they are brought to trial. A ſingle officer, called the *Scrivano*, undertakes the proſecution of all malefactors; and his favour is frequently to be bought. A ſum of money will induce him to varniſh over the greateſt crimes as trifles; and thus procure the liberty of the criminals: while others, for inſignificant offences, are kept many years in fetters, and, as guilty perſons, conſigned to the intercourſe of guilt.

Several of the *Scrivani* have been ſent to the galleys by the regent of Naples; who is of the family of the Medici, and Preſident of the Court of Juſtice. He labours with zeal and courage againſt theſe pernicious abuſes; and Naples itſelf may thank him for its ſafety: but he combats with a hydra, which rears its innumerable heads through the whole country; and, while they bend beneath his club, are not exterminated.

A prince, by whom as travellers we were entertained at Cotrone, yeſterday ſupplied us with an eſcort of four armed horſemen; whom we diſmiſſed after we had travelled half the way.

The high nobility had formerly the right of exacting a heavy tax upon travellers; for which if required it was their duty to furniſh an armed eſcort: but the King has lately demanded to examine the proofs on which they exact theſe tolls, and they are now aboliſhed. Thoſe

Baroni,

Baroni *, however, who could produce ſufficient documents received an indemnification; and they are now all releaſed from the neceſſity of furniſhing an eſcort, which is provided by the King. Formerly the men employed by the nobility for this ſervice received three or four times the pay of a ſoldier.

Our guide took us to a houſe on the road, which we ſuppoſed to have been an inn; but, as ſoon as we had diſmounted, the maſter came out with a friendly welcome. He is a gentleman of Catanzaro, who yearly reſides at his country ſeat in the month of May, and during a part of June. It is at ſome diſtance from the ſea; and the badneſs of the air obliges him annually to quit it ſo early. This bad air is entirely occaſioned by the want of cultivation: the unplowed earth, which is only uſed as paſture, gapes beneath the parching ſun; and injurious vapours riſe from the crevices. *Magna Grecia* was once a moſt populous country; aſtoniſhingly populous; and no leſs healthful: but it was when agriculture flouriſhed.

Our wretched horſes, and ſtill worſe ſumpter mules, obliged us to travel a part of our *way* (I ſhould have miſuſed the word had I called it *road*) by night. We frequently traverſed uneven ground, came to ſteep declivities, and paſſed along ſmall paths, where the earth was broken up and gaping, and ſometimes obliged to deſcend hills, down which it was impoſſible to go ſafely on foot without the utmoſt care. Yet we were only a league diſtant from the principal city of the province! Diſpleaſed as we were with our guides we diſmiſſed them at Catanzaro, in certain expectation of being better ſupplied with horſes for ourſelves and our luggage: but they are all gone to a neighbouring market, and here we muſt for the preſent remain; fortunate in having found an inn which, in this country, is of a very capital kind, though in Germany it would only be conſidered as an alehouſe.

* The title of *Barone* ſignifies, in both kingdoms, a landholder of the high nobility; whether prince, duke, marquis, or count.

Catan-

Catanzaro is built on a tolerably high ſummit, among mountains; and the proſpect from the city to theſe green ſhady heights is pleaſant. The dreadful earthquake of 1783 extended to this place; and the inhabitants whoſe houſes were thrown down, as well as thoſe who wiſhed to guard againſt future ſhocks, built ſmaller houſes on a woody height near the city. Theſe houſes, which the Italians call barracks, are of brick and wood; and generally have only one ſtory: though moſt of the houſes in Italy are lofty, and built of hewn ſtone. Theſe little habitations, being light and capable of yielding to the ſhock, are much leſs dangerous. They are pleaſantly ſituated, among gardens; and are very different from the city itſelf, the houſes of which are high, and the ſtreets narrow, and dirty.

Catanzaro may contain about twelve thouſand inhabitants. It is the reſidence of the preſident of the province; and is likewiſe the ſeat of the biſhop.

The principal people have country houſes on the ſea ſide, at the diſtance of a German mile from the city; where they reſide during May and a part of June, till they are driven away by the unhealthy air. Catanzaro is ſurrounded with hills; and to the neareſt valley there is a broad paved road, from which the owners of the country houſes proceed along the ſandy bed of a river, which is dried up in ſummer, and which ſerves them as a high road.

The chief ſupport of the city conſiſts in the manufacture of ſilks of various kinds.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Oppido, 24th May 1792.

WE left Catanzaro early on the morning of the 22d, just as the beams of day were breaking upon the tops of the ſurrounding mountains. We rode alongſmall foot paths, and paſſed the hills that were fragrant with the morning dew, and the flowery paſtures, the beautiful herbage of which rendered them delightful. The herds were grazing on the fruitful lands below us; and here and there, toward the ſea, we perceived a ſhady grove.

The cattle of this province are very fine, ſtrong, and numerous. The horſes are nimble, fiery, and well proportioned. Thoſe on which we were mounted actively climbed up the ſteep foot path.

Having aſcended the hill, we came to a large foreſt of oaks; of which trees there were ſeveral kinds that were unknown to us. The leaves of ſome of them were of a clear green, almoſt pointed in the middle, and ſeemed to load the branches. Between the oaks large cork trees grew; while the wild vine twined round the higheſt tops of theſe trees, and, in the rankneſs of their growth, dropped again quite to the ground, or intermingled with the ſprouts of the honey-ſuckles. Here too the tall myrtle ſpread out its branches, like our holly oak.

We had ſuddenly a view of the ſea, and of a mountain that towered amid the billows. At firſt, we imagined that it was Mount Ætna, and that we diſcovered its crater in the depth between its forked ſummits: but, on better information, we found it to be the volcanic mountain of the iſland of Stromboli. We likewiſe had a view of Lipari, and of another of the Lipari iſlands.

The mulberry trees are large, and ſpreading; and, among the wild flowers, I ſaw the odoriferous pea flower, *lathyrus*, of our gardens;

both

both the dark kind and the more odoriferous clear red. Here too was the ſmall blue iris: the large grows wild near Naples, and the yellow kind is very common in the iſland of Niſida.

At *Fondaco del Fico*, which Swinburne ſuppoſed to be the *Fundus Sicæ*, from which during his baniſhment Cicero wrote ſome of his letters to Atticus, we paſſed the mid day under a large poplar; beſide a ſpring, which forms a rivulet, that ran murmuring under alder trees. This beautiful tree is ſeldom ſeen in Italy.

In the afternoon, we ſaw five of the Lipari iſlands, advancing out of the clear blue flood like individual mountains; and on the ſide next us, the curving bay of *Santa Eufemia*, encloſed by ridges of hills riſing one behind the other.

We arrived at *Monteleone* as the ſun went down. This town gives its name to one of the moſt powerful vaſſals of the two kingdoms; and, if I doubt miſtake, to the moſt powerful of them all. The Duke of Monteleone it is ſaid, by the aboliſhing of the tolls which were exacted by the *Baroni*, will loſe a yearly revenue of fifteen thouſand ducats: equal to fifteen thouſand rix-dollars.

This town was founded by the Greeks of Locri; by whom it was called *Hippo*, or *Hipponium*. From them it was taken by the *Brutii*; and from the *Brutii* by the Romans, who ſent a colony hither and named it *Vibona Valentia*.

This charming country was the ſeat of love, in the fables of the Greeks: and here Proſerpine, as a virgin nymph, frequently came from Sicily, to gather the flowers of *Hipponium*. The town is ſituated on a gentle declivity of the ſea ſhore, on which Agathocles once built a pier. The ſurrounding country is ſhady, fertile, and hilly. It might well be ſaid that, when Proſerpine was the bride of Pluto, and had received Sicily from Jupiter as a marriage gift, ſhe conſigned the ſhores to her mother Ceres; for they every where abound in grain.

The town was almoſt deſtroyed by the earthquake of 1783; and it

now chiefly conſiſts of ſhops, built of wood, and houſes, built of wood, brick, and mortar. Theſe kind of barracks, as they are called by the Italians, are frequently more expenſive than ſtone houſes; in a country where wood is ſcarce, and ſtone abundant.

We yeſterday left this ill built charmingly ſituated place; round which we ſaw ſmall groves, paſtures, and rich corn fields.

We paſſed through *Mileto*; a ſmall town that was built by the *Mileſians*, after Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, had deſtroyed their city. This little place was likewiſe deſtroyed by the earthquake of 1783, and conſiſts at preſent of low barracks.

The woody Apennines now roſe on our left, the ſea was in our front, and beyond it the mountains of Sicily; appearing, as it were, to form one chain with the Apennines, while, at the back of the Sicilian hills, the naked head and interſected back of Ætna roſe. Its clouds of ſmoke ſunk downward; and, ſtretching out, darkened the horizon.

We did not loſe ſight of this vaſt mountain, as we paſſed through the fertile valley of Roſſarno; the woody hills of which concealed the mountains of Sicily on our right, and the Apennines on our left.

Roſſarno was called, by the Greeks, *Medama*; and this little town was likewiſe in part ruined by the earthquake. It is charmingly ſituated, between a broad river and a plentiful ſpring.

Large plantations of olive trees are met with between Roſſarno and Oppido; and the olive tree has a much finer appearance in this province than in other parts of Italy. Nor is it here grafted, but ſuffered to grow in all its native beauty. Thoſe that are grafted have the appearance of the mutilated village willow; but thoſe that are left unmoleſted look like the tall willow with ſpreading branches.

The olive tree will not only bear without grafting here, but it is affirmed that, though it only produces once in two years, its fruit is more abundant, and finer, than that of the grafted annual olive. I certainly never ſaw olive trees ſo full of bloom as theſe; and the flowers are much larger than thoſe uſually ſeen on other olive trees.

Theſe

Theſe ungrafted olives muſt not be confounded with the wild olive which is the ſpontaneous production of nature, in theſe provinces.

The preſent Oppido is built on a kind of broad terrace of the woody Apennines, three Italian miles diſtant from the former Oppido; which, on the fifth of February 1783, was entirely deſtroyed by the earthquake: or rather engulphed, by what may be called a whirlpool of the opening earth, for it was the centre of this terrible calamity.

A canon, who had been an eye witneſs of this horrible event, told me that the motion of the earth was like that of the billows of the ſea.

We were entertained in a friendly manner, yeſterday evening, by the Biſhop; who entered upon his office but a few weeks ſince. The reſidence of the Biſhop is not yet rebuilt, and he lives in a barrack; with which he has been furniſhed by one of the town's people.

This morning, we rode among the mountains by paths that were almoſt impaſſable, and over hills that formerly were valleys, and valleys that formerly were hills. When an earthquake happens to take but one direction, the mountains may ſhake from their roots to their very ſummits, yet ſuffer but little change; and, in ſome places, ſcarcely any; the earth ſeeming to repoſe itſelf, like the ſea after a ſtorm: but, if the ſhocks encounter each other in contrary direction, they form a conflicting motion, which dams up rivers and removes mountains. The earthquake was the more dreadful here becauſe the mountains, conſiſting of adheſive clay, reſiſted the ſubterranean ſtrife of contradictory motion. We ſaw mountains rent from top to bottom; the fallen half of which had filled up former valleys, and formed others in their ſtead. Beds of earth, in many places, were torn away with their whole plantations. Trees, with their roots half bare, ſtand on the brink of a precipice; while their fellow trees, tranſported to a diſtance, are now growing on the banks of other ſprings, by which they are watered. A man, a woman, and a mule, were, by one electrical ſhock, projected, with the ground on which they ſtood, acroſs a river without injury. A

man,

man, that was plucking lemons upon a tree in the little town of Seminara, was carried, with the tree and the earth in which it grew, and ſtill grows, and thrown to a great diſtance. Many, borne away by the billows of earth, as by the billows of ocean, were ſwallowed up and thrown back from the gaping gulph without injury. Rivers were impriſoned in their courſe, and their dammed up ſtreams were ſuddenly formed into lakes; which, now divided from their native ſtreams, ſend forth injurious exhalations from their ſtagnant waters.

Several of theſe lakes I ſaw; others are dried up, and ſome at the expence of Government. An outlet for one has been cut through the rocks. This earthquake gave birth to law ſuits of a new kind, between the proprietors of the overſhooting and the poſſeſſors of the overſhot earth, to know which of them had planted a tree, and on whoſe ſoil it afterward ſtood. Many trees were thrown between others; and who were the proprietors of them was an uncertainty. I ſaw a quantity of olive trees that were torn, with the earth where they grew, from the ranks in which they were planted, were preſſed together by the whirling motion, and now form one great clump.

Oppido that was, which Cluverius ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Mamertum*, and Italian antiquaries the ancient *Metaurum* *, is now changed into a heap of ſtones. Large ranges of wall, ſeized as it were and dragged away by the frantic earth, when the earth ceaſed its motion, did not fall flat, but were placed with the end upward: as if they had taken root, or were ſupported by a giant hand.

Penetrated by the aſpect, we ſtood with our guide, a youth of twenty, contemplating theſe ruins. We in aſtoniſhment and compaſſion, and

* They ground this opinion on the river near Oppido being ſtill called *Metauro*. But might not *Metaurum* have been built, as Cluverius ſuppoſes, at the mouth of the river *Metaurus*? Let me remark, this river muſt not be confounded with the great *Metaurus*, now called *Metaro*, that was famous for the battle in which the Carthaginians were defeated, and their leader Haſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, ſlain.

he

he bitterly recollecting that the houſe of his father was a part of the wreck, that he and his mother had been five hours covered by the rubbiſh, and that his brother and ſiſter lay buried beneath it.

As we came to Oppido, we had already been ſhewn, in one place, ſtones that had cruſhed men; and in another hills covered with the flouriſhing vine under which whole communities were entombed.

The former town contained three thouſand inhabitants; the preſent barracks only five hundred. About twelve hundred periſhed on the deſolating day. Some were burned alive, overtaken by the flames that ſpread through the tumbling houſes. The monks of a monaſtery became the prey of theſe flames. A woman, who now lives in Meſſina, remained eleven days under the ruins of her own houſe. Her child was with her; and they both fed on cheſnuts, which the mother, not improvidentially, had put in her pocket. She gave the child her own excremental water to drink: but, as ſhe had no ſupply of liquid for herſelf, even this wretched aid ſoon failed; and the child died, on the fifth day.

Numbers afterward died, partly from the miſeries and want to which they were ſubjected, and partly from the diſeaſes which the ſtagnant water, the newly turned up earth, and the putrid bodies of man and beaſt, occaſioned.

So remarkable were the effects of this earthquake on the human organs that, in the two following years, the women either did not conceive, were prematurely delivered, or brought forth dead children; and of thoſe that were born alive many immediately expired.

When the firſt account of this dreadful event reached Naples, the King was deſirous of viſiting the diſtracted province; and being prevented, he ſent the people money. The Queen, whoſe benevolence is always active, deprived herſelf of her jewels; and people of all ranks were at firſt contributors. The ſanguine Neapolitans are eaſily moved: but their emotion quickly dies away.

Some communities, that had ſuffered by the earthquake, generouſly

refuſed the aſſiſtance offered them; that it might be given to others, whoſe ſufferings were more ſevere.

The whole province beſtowed its bleſſings on Don Franceſco de la Vega, the ſuperintendant of the Muſeum at Portici, whom the King ſent with money and full powers into Calabria. He poſſeſſed the art of doing much with a little; and his conduct, as wiſe as it was humane, inſpired the terrified inhabitants with new courage.

The loſs of the province by death, including thoſe that were ſwallowed up, buried under the ruins, or killed by diſeaſe, has been eſtimated by ſeveral at two-and-thirty thouſand ſouls. No town ſuffered ſo much, according to its population, as Oppido. The fruitful fields lie uncultivated; and the ſtrong ſoil generates luxuriant plants, which humectate the air.

The inhabitants complain that the King has not provided new houſes for all the new cultivators; but I ſuſpect that the evil muſt be conſtitutional, and rooted in the people. Where fruitful lands may be had for ſmall rents, as in this country, there, unleſs peculiar obſtacles are to be overcome, cultivators will not be wanting, who will provide habitations for themſelves. This is the caſe in our country; where, though the climate be rude, the houſes are larger and more expenſive; and where the countryman tills a ſoil by the ſweat of his brow, which is not productive the whole year, nor does it encumber him with its ſuperfluity as in Calabria.

This province, one of the moſt favoured in Europe, and with which, Sicily and the ſhores of the bay of Naples excepted, no other perhaps can be compared, this province, where heaven, earth, and ſea united ſmile, was already depopulated before the depopulation of the earthquake. Its few inhabitants were previouſly poor. The whole ſyſtem of the country is ſtrikingly bad. The countryman is obliged to pay the King heavy taxes for the oil of his preſs, and the raw ſilk which his worms produce: though he has already paid his landlord for the ground on which the olive and the mulberry tree grew. The merchant cannot

cannot afford to give him much for his oil, becauſe he is obliged to pay a tax which is equally heavy and unjuſt for leave to export it. The argument that the foreign merchant pays this tax is abſurd. Is it not evident that the foreigner will pay the cultivator the leſs the more he is obliged to pay the King? Heavy taxes are likewiſe paid for wrought ſilk, and for ſilk ſtuffs. Beſide, it is ſurely evil ſufficient that the natives ſhould be obliged to yield the carrying trade to foreigners, from the want of protection againſt the Barbary corſairs.

If the peaſant be the vaſſal of a *Barone*, he is ſubject to tolls at the mill and at the oil preſs: beſide which he is obliged to pay a tax in kind, for the produce of the ſoil. To this we muſt add that the roads, unrepaired, daily become worſe; and whole communities are hemmed in and cut off from intercourſe, with town or country. The ſmall circulation of money is ſtill farther limited by the ſudden abolition of monaſteries.

Thus do the inhabitants ſuffer dearth in paradiſe. Thus depopulation increaſes; in a country where marriages are uncommonly fruitful, but where the dread of increaſing wretchedneſs deters the people from marriage. And truly it requires a paradiſe, ſuch as Calabria, to invite any inhabitants where ſuch numerous afflictions oppreſs a people who are habitually cheerful; where the ox-driver notwithſtanding plays on his bagpipe, and where the jocund youth, with ſongs, and ſprings, and bounds, leads his herd of goats among the mountains.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Reggio, 27th May 1792.

THOUGH the roads were difficult and bad, ſtill we had a pleaſant ride the day before yeſterday, on the 25th, from Oppido to *Scylla*. The paths, which lead up and down the mountains and through the foreſts, are narrow and frequently ſteep; and they were rendered very ſlippery by a heavy fall of rain. We rode through foreſts of oak, the trees of which even in Germany would be called large, and fine. After the rain, the atmoſphere became clear and the earth aromatic. The ſea was ſeen from the heights, with the Italian and Sicilian coaſts, the Lipari iſlands, and the Faro, or ſtraits, between Italy and Sicily; which, thus viewed, looked like a bay.

We rode along the zig-zag way, between ſteep ſhores with hanging ſhrubs, among which were the vine, and the *cactus opuntia*. This remarkable evergreen plant, with its broad leaves forming ample baſkets, is now in bloom; and bears beautiful flowers, of a high yellow colour.

Deſcending to the ſea ſhore, we reſted ſome hours at the little town of Bagnara; whoſe charming ſituation is increaſed by the high waterfalls, that embelliſh the town on each ſide.

The preſent Bagnara is built of barracks, above which are the ruins of the former town, among the rocks; which, in 1783, was nearly deſtroyed by the earthquake.

We continued our journey along the coaſt, ſometimes on the ſandy ſtrand, and at others among ſmall rocky paths up the ſteep ſides of the mountains, till we came to *Sciglio*: or *Scylla*.

The rock immortalized by Homer, on which the caſtle of the Prince of Scylla is built, gave the town its name. It lies in part immediately on the ſhore; but the greater part is above, among the rocks. The

ſtreets

ſtreets are narrow; and nine different rows of houſes are ſeen ſtanding immediately one above the other. Over the higheſt of theſe ſtraight rows, in ſomething of an oblique direction, there are ſtill ſix or ſeven other rows.

A waterfall ruſhes from the rocks; and this Cluverius ſuppoſes to be the *Cratais* of Homer: the fabulous mother of Scylla.

In the earthquake of 1783, ſome churches were thrown down, and others were damaged. The houſes were moſt of them ſpared: yet this little town ſuffered a great loſs of inhabitants; and, Oppido excepted, the greateſt.

Terrified by the ſhocks, moſt of the inhabitants fled to the ſea ſhore. The Prince of Scylla alſo left his high caſtle, and hoped, not improbably, to find greater ſafety on the ſtrand: but ſuddenly a whole mountain of the ſouth ſhore was torn up, and caſt into the ſea. The waves, by this prodigious force, being driven from the land, returned with redoubled violence, and carried away with them fourteen hundred and fifty men. Some ſought to eſcape in the boats that were on the ſtrand; but both boats and men were borne away, and neither body nor plank was ever more ſeen.

It was thus that the Prince of Scylla periſhed; one fiſherboy only having eſcaped from his boat. This boy muſt have been carried away by a high wave; for he was found ſtunned on a rock, at a conſiderable diſtance from Scylla, which rock and Scylla form together a ſmall bay.

So great was the power of the waves that they ſprung the ſtone vaulting of a houſe, and roſe to ſuch a height that a woman was thrown through a window into the third ſtory of this houſe. Another woman was left hanging by her hair to a high mulberry tree, and was ſaved. A whole company preſerved their lives in a boat that was moored to the ſhore, and the cable of which was ſufficiently long to reach the full height of the wave.

The women of Oppido, after the earthquake, were moſt of them

barren for two years; and, when they afterward brought forth children, the greateſt number of them died. In Scylla, a very oppoſite effect was produced by this dreadful viſitation of nature. Barren women, and thoſe who had left off child-bearing, again, became fruitful. Some of the former had married and had remained childleſs till they were nearer the age of fifty than of forty.

The opinion of thoſe who think that earthquakes may be aſcribed to electrical cauſes appears to me very rational: but, as I am no experimental philoſopher, my authority in favour of their reaſons ought to have little weight. Some of them are founded on the nature of the ſoil, where the ſhocks took place; and ſome of the learned aſſert that thoſe mountains which contained iron were ſpared: but that the places lying between ſuch mountains were dreadfully viſited. And are not ſimilar effects produced in little by lightning? Does not it paſs over iron cramps, in the walls, or chimnies, without injuring them; while it rends the intervening walls themſelves? Does not this account for the whirling motion of the earth, and for the meeting of the ſhocks in different directions, if you admit that interrupted veins of iron in the mountains may produce ſuch effects?

How ſhall we account for the effects produced upon the female organs without the aid of electricity? Shall we ſay that the mere effect of fear made the women of Oppido barren two years, after finding them in a healthy ſtate? Are there no terrors of another kind? Are not our women likewiſe ſubject to terror; and are the terrified more barren than the courageous? Was it terror which rendered the barren women of Scylla fruitful? It is known that the power of electricity is great over the animal organs; although theſe facts have not been long eſtabliſhed. Let it be granted that a certain quantity of this power is beneficial to the female organs, and we ſhall no longer be aſtoniſhed that an exceſs of this power ſhould be injurious; and the ſhocks at Oppido were much more violent than at Scylla.

I have ſince been informed that the barren women of Meſſina, as well

well as ſome who had left off child-bearing, became fruitful after the earthquake. I would avoid credulity; but I would equally avoid an oppoſite exceſs. "Whoever doubts the truth of theſe facts ſtands in "contradiction, probably in the ſupport of a ſyſtem, to the teſtimony of "three towns *."

The rock of Homer has a fantaſtic and terrifying form. We took boat and went to it as ſoon as we arrived. Let us hear the deſcription of the great poet, and wonder with what penetration he obſerved, and how much there was of reality in his daring imagery.

Circe warned Ulyſſes againſt the erratic or wandering rocks: πλαγκτας πετρας. Immediately in the front of the rock of Scylla, craggy cliffs advance out of the ſea; againſt which the foaming waves, more or leſs, continually daſh. The eye is deceived, and might be induced to aſcribe the motion of the ſea to the cliffs. A ſimilar accident happens in the Baltic; where people, as I have often experienced, miſtake the ſtones which the ſea now waſhes and now leaves bare for ſwimming ſea dogs.

Homer may have made the voyage on board a Phœnician or Grecian veſſel; or rather no doubt a Phœnician; and ſtill it is probable that the mariners of his age were ignorant enough of theſe coaſts to actually imagine that the cliffs floated.

Pliny himſelf, that great naturaliſt, believed that the rocky iſlands of the *Lago di Bolſena* floated. Homer, on this occaſion, called the ſea Amphitrite, with a dark blue countenance. The water here is very deep; and I never before, on an evening, ſaw a clear ſky of ſo dark a blue.

* The appearances, or facts, as the author calls them, may all be real: yet the deductions unfounded. Electricity ſeems to be made a kind of occult cauſe; to which its adherents would refer all the phenomena that they cannot explain. Philoſophy is anxious to enquire into and to record facts: but it is no leſs anxious to avoid ſtating conjecture as fact. A certain quantity of fear, and a certain exceſs of fear, will ſquare as accurately with the reaſoning of the hypothetic theoriſt, on fear, as a certain quantity and exceſs of electricity will with that of the hypothetic theoriſt on electricity. T.

The following is the poet's deſcription of Scylla:

Οι δε δυω σκοπελοι, ὁ μεν ουρανον ευρυν ικανει
Οξειη κορυφη, νεφελη δε μιν αμφιβεβηκε
Κυανεη· το μεν ουποτ' ερωει, ουδε ποτ' αιθρη
Κεινου εχει κορυφην, ουτ' εν θερει, ουτ' εν οπωρη·
Ουδε κεν αμβαιη βροτος ανηρ, ου καταβαιη,
Ουδ' ει οι χειρες γε εικοσι και ποδες ησαν
Πετρη γαρ λις εστι, περιξεστη εικυια.
Μεσσῳ δ' εν σκοπελῳ εστι σπεος ηερoειδες
Προς ζοφον, εις ερεβος τετραμμενον, ηπερ αν υμεις·
Νηα παρα γλαφυρην ιθυνετε, φαιδιμ' Οδυσσευ.
Ουδε κεν εκ νηος γλαφυρης ευξηιος ανηρ
Τοξῳ ὀϊστευσας κοιλον σπεος εισαφικοιτο.
Ενθα δ' ενι Σκυλλη ναιει, δεινον λελακυια·
Της ητοι φωνη μεν ὁση σκυλακαιος νεογιλης
Γινεται, αυτη δ' αυτε πελωρ κακον, ουδε κε τις μιν
Γηθησειεν ιδων, ουδ' ει θεος αντιασειεν.
Της ητοι ποδες εισι δυωδεκα, παντες αωροι·
Εξ δε τε οι δειραι περιμηκεες· εν δε εκαστη
Σμερδαλεη κεφαλη, εν δε τρισοιχοι ὀδοντες,
Πυκνοι και θαμεες, πλεῖοι μελανος θανατοιο.
Μεσση μεν τε κατα σπειους κοιλοιο δεδυκεν·
Εξω δ' εξισχει κεφαλας δεινοῖο βερεθρου·
Αυτοῦ δ' ιχθυαα σκοπελον περιμαιμωωσα,
Δελφινας τε, κυνας τε, και ειποθι μειζον εληισι
Κητος, ὁ μυρια βοσκει αγασσονος Αμφιτριτη.

HOMER, Odyſſ. xii. 73—97.

High in the air the rock its ſummit ſhrouds
In brooding tempeſts, and in rolling clouds;
Loud ſtreams around and miſts eternal riſe,
Beat its bleak brow and intercept the ſkies.
When all the broad expanſion, bright with day,
Glows with th' autumnal or the ſummer ray:
The ſummer and the autumn glow in vain;
The ſky for ever low'rs, for ever clouds remain.
Impervious to the ſtep of man it ſtands;
Tho' borne by twenty feet, tho' arm'd with twenty hands.

Smooth

Smooth as the poliſh of the mirror riſe
The ſlippery ſides, and ſhoot into the ſkies.
Full in the centre of this rock diſplay'd,
A yawning cavern caſts a dreadful ſhade:
Nor the fleet arrow from the twanging bow,
Sent with full force, could reach the depth below.
Wide to the weſt the horrid gulph extends,
And the dire paſſage down to hell deſcends.
O fly the dreadful ſight! expand thy ſails,
Ply the ſtrong oar, and catch the nimble gales!
Here Scylla bellows, from her dire abodes,
Tremendous peſt! abhorr'd by man and Gods!
Hideous her voice; and with leſs terrors roar
The whelps of lions in the midnight hour!
Twelve feet deform'd and foul the fiend diſpreads;
Six horrid necks ſhe rears, and ſix terrific heads!
Her jaws grin dreadful, with three rows of teeth:
Jaggy they ſtand, the gaping den of death!
Her parts obſcene the raging billows hide,
Her boſom terribly o'erlooks the tide.
When, ſtung with hunger, ſhe embroils the flood,
The ſea-dog and the dolphin are her food:
She makes the huge Leviathan her prey,
And all the monſters of the wat'ry way.
The ſwifteſt racer of the azure plain
Here fills her ſails, and ſpreads her oars in vain:
Fell Scylla riſes, in her fury roars,
At once ſix mouths expands, at once ſix men devours.

POPE, Od. b. xii. 87.

The poet, deſirous of creating a bold fable out of theſe rocks, was obliged to give them a terrific form. That figurative ſenſe which he has ſo frequently employed; and which ſo few of his commentators have underſtood, he made uſe of here; that he might envelop his object in clouds.

This rock in reality is not ſo high as to be covered with clouds on a clear day; but its form is ſtriking, and inſpires terror. At preſent, the rock

rock is not pointed, for a caſtle has been built upon it: yet, even now, had a man twenty hands and twenty feet, as Homer ſays, he would not be able to climb it. It riſes like a round tower; the breadth of which, compared to its height, may juſtify the epithet deformed; and, toward the ſea, it preſents a ſharp three-forked cliff. In this cliff we find the three rows of teeth of Homer.

The neighbouring cliffs too preſented themſelves to the creative fancy of the poet. The fiction of the ſea-dog, the dolphin, and the ſtill more huge monſters, which ſhe makes her prey, is founded on an admirable knowledge of the nature of this ſea; for it abounds in dolphins, and in a large kind of fiſh, which the Italians ſtill call *cane del mare:* or ſea-dog. It even occaſionally happens, of which there was an inſtance ſome years ago, that a kind of whale, of the ſpecies which the French call *cachelot*, is ſtranded on theſe ſhores.

There have been frequent conteſts concerning Charybdis; which, as deſcribed by Homer, is no longer to be found. He could not mean the lower rocks; for his deſcription has placed Charybdis oppoſite to Scylla. Theſe countries, ever ſubject to the grand phenomena of nature, may have ſuffered great changes from earthquakes. Is not even the opinion of ſeveral ancient and modern naturaliſts probable, which maintains that Sicily was anciently ſeparated from Italy by an earthquake?

It was the ſuppoſition of Cluverius that, according to the relation of Homer, which places Charybdis oppoſite to Scylla, it muſt have been at the promontory of *Pelorus;* now called *Capo di Faro:* but, as he could not find it there, he ſuppoſed the whirlpool, which is oppoſite the lighthouſe of Meſſina, to have been the true Charybdis, and accuſes Homer of an error. But how came he not to find the real whirlpool of Homer, which is known to every fiſherman of Scylla, of *Capo di Faro*, and of Meſſina, and forms itſelf between *Capo di Faro* and Scylla? The current runs from the north-eaſt to the ſtraits of Faro. There is a regular

a regular ebb and flow of the tide every ſix hours; and, when a ſtrong wind ſets in to oppoſe either the ebb or the flow, a whirlpool ſtill riſes before the promontory*.

This ebb and flow has been aſcribed by ſome to a ſubterranean paſſage, ſaid to exiſt between Mount Ætna and the ſea. By Ariſtotle it is aſcribed, like other ebbs and flows, to the influence of the moon; and this opinion is confirmed by the regularity of the ſix-hour tide. It is certain that, in the time of Homer, the tides, which are common to but few places of the Mediterranean, were very imperfectly underſtood. He therefore ſays that three times a day Charybdis engulphed the waters, and three times a day vomited them up again.

The navigator of a little packet boat, if unacquainted with theſe ſeas, might probably meet with the misfortune againſt which Circe cautions Ulyſſes, when ſhe warns him, while avoiding Scylla and her projecting cliffs, not to approach the whirlpool of Charybdis.

Seafaring people call this whirlpool and that near Meſſina *Galofaro*: they likewiſe call the laſt *La Rema*. The word *Galofaro* is doubtleſs derived from the Greek; and compounded of the Greek words *calos*, beautiful, and *pharos*, a light houſe. Both the whirlpools have light-houſes; one of which ſtands facing Meſſina, and the other *Capo di Faro*.

Early in the morning, before we left Scylla, we were invited, by a perſon of the place to whom we had brought a letter from Naples, to come on the ſea ſhore and view a *peſce di ſpada*, or ſword fiſh, which had been caught in a net during the night. This fiſh is larger than a man; and its under jaw is long, hard, and pointed, like the broad point of a lance: and its no leſs hard upper jaw extends the length of more than an ell and a quarter, like a broad two-edged but pointed ſword.

This fiſh wages remorſeleſs war againſt another kind of fiſh, called the *cane del mare*; but which has nothing in common with the ſea

* Αριστ. περι Θαυμ. Ακουσμ.

dog. A ſword fiſh and a *cane del mare* were laſt year both together caſt upon the ſhore. The former had run the latter through and through; but the victor could not diſengage himſelf from the vanquiſhed, and with him was obliged to die. The ſword fiſh is highly eſteemed, and we thought it peculiarly well taſted. The Calabrians fiſh for it at this ſeaſon of the year, and take great delight in the ſport. Little boats put to ſea, and a man is ſtationed either on ſhore, upon a rock or tower, or upon a maſt, where he watches the approach of a ſword fiſh. The moment he diſcovers one, he waves a napkin; and the fiſhermen row toward it, armed with hooked lances. If they are fortunate enough to ſtrike it, they keep it faſt by a running line, which is tied to the lance; till, at laſt, the fiſh, after much ſtruggling and bleeding, is brought to the boat. We ſaw a man ſtationed on a maſt, and the fiſhermen in their boats ſurrounding him full of expectation.

The princes of Scylla oblige their vaſſals to give them the beſt morſel of the ſword fiſh; and a tenth part of the other fiſh that they take. Loud complaints of this have long been made; and a commiſſion has once been appointed, to enquire into the right of this exaction: but it was ineffectual. The preſent prince continues to compel the poor fiſhermen to comply with his demands; although, occaſionally, ſeveral abuſes of this kind have been aboliſhed by the King.

The ſword fiſh is a fiſh of paſſage. It viſits the coaſt of Calabria in May, June, and a part of July; and afterward the coaſt of Sicily, where this mode of catching it is likewiſe practiſed.

We got under ſail early yeſterday, on our paſſage to Reggio; but, as we were ſo near the Sicilian promontory, we were not willing to leave it unviſited. By this means we gained time; for it would have coſt us a day to have performed this viſit from Meſſina.

The promontory of Faro is not remarkable for its height; as might have been conjectured from its Greek name, *Pelorus:* or prodigious: but the whole lofty range of mountains to which it appertains is called *Peloris:* or *Pelorias.*

The

The tale that Hannibal named this promontory after his pilot, whom he killed in anger and buried there, is abſurd. Not to mention how ridiculous it is to ſuppoſe that Hannibal, who had ſo long lain with his army in *Bruttium*, or South Calabria, ſhould be unacquainted with the ſhores of Sicily, and deceived by appearances ſhould have accuſed his pilot of ſteering him back to Italy, I would aſk what was the name of this promontory before that period? It is probable that the Greeks, who had lived here for ſome centuries, and in conſequence of its three promontories had called the iſland *Trinacria*, ſhould have left this promontory without a name? The Greeks, who left no little hill unnamed, no name uncelebrated! Did they leave the whole ridge of mountains called Pelorias unnamed? And was the promontory which was one of the three principal capes of Sicily left undiſtinguiſhed, till a general from Carthage came to give it a name!

We viſited two ſmall lakes, that contain ſalt water and ſhell fiſh, and that have a ſubterranean communication with the ſea. The leaſt is the ſalteſt, and produces good kitchen ſalt. Cluverius found a third, which is likewiſe mentioned by ancient writers: but it may have been dried up ſince his time; for, when I enquired after it, I could receive no ſatisfactory anſwer.

As the wind was againſt us on our paſſage to Reggio, our boatmen rowed to a cape of Calabria, which is called *Pezzo*, from which the boat was drawn by oxen. We went on ſhore, and viſited a perſon who, at the expence of Government, has taught the people of Calabria, by example, to rear ſilk worms after the manner of Piedmont; and to make wine after the manner of the French. Ignorant as I am of the cultivation of ſilk, I can ſay nothing of his merit in this undertaking. The wine is better than the common wine of Calabria; although the vines have only been planted ſix years, and the produce of older vines will be more excellent. The wine has ſome reſemblance to that kind of red burgundy which the French call *petit Burgogne*.

The place where this perſon lives is called *Villa di San Giovanni*, and

lies oppoſite to Miſeno. The undertaking has been begun by him and his three brothers, whoſe name is *Caracciolo.* They ſelect the beſt plants, pluck the berries from the ſtalk for the wine preſs, and reject the unripe and bad grapes.

Should they ſucceed in improving the culture of ſilk and the making of wine, they will open new ſources of wealth to a country already favoured by nature. The mildneſs of the climate and goodneſs of the ſoil render ſome of the wines of this province, much as the culture of them is neglected, excellent: particularly the wine of *Gerace*, the ancient *Locri*; and other places, where the earth has been turned up by the earthquake. Such kinds are called *Vino del Terremoto:* or earthquake wine.

The wine which is called red Calabria in Germany, nay in Italy itſelf as well as in Sicily, is the produce of Syracuſe. It is ſo noble a liquor that I have ſeen it drunk in Germany for red Cape wine; nay and that of the beſt kind, called *Conſtantia.*

The aſpect of Faro, or the ſtraits between Sicily and Calabria, is certainly one of the fineſt in the world. The wind had changed to our advantage while we had landed; and we ſailed, with a freſh gale, between the lofty ſhores of Calabria and Sicily. Behind three ridges of mountains, each more lofty than the other, we ſaw Ætna riſe in the clear blue horizon; and the iſland on which it ſtands; extending its right arm, in gentle declivities, for the ſpace of five German miles, as far as Catania.

The ſtraits of Faro were ſuppoſed by the ancients to be dangerous. During a public feſtival held at *Rhegium*, the preſent *Reggio*, the people of Meſſina once ſent a company of five-and-twenty dancing youths, with their chief dancer and a flute player, who all periſhed here on their paſſage. Pauſanias, who relates the ſtory, ſays that this ſtrait is more ſtormy than all the ſea beſide. Storms blowing from either of its mouths render it boiſterous: ſo that when there is little wind the waves are large, and their agitation is great. The exaggeration of this deſcription

ſcription would not have been ſo very evident, if Pauſanias had not added that the ſea monſters are in ſuch multitudes that the air is filled with their ſtench, and the ſhipwrecked can find no ſafety *.

Our attention was ſo much attracted by the contemplation of the ſea, and its two ſhores, that we were quite ſurpriſed to find we were arrived at Reggio.

The ancient Greek name of this place, *Rhegium*, or *Rhegion*, Diodorus informs us was derived by ſome from the Greek word Ῥήγνυμι, to break or tear: becauſe, according to ancient tradition, Sicily was torn from Italy. Some ſay this tearing of the iſthmus was effected by the ſea: and others that a change ſo great was produced by an earthquake.

The grand revolutions of nature, to which theſe countries are ſtill ſubject, the jagged forms of the ſhores, and the modern eruptions of the volcanello, one of the ſmall Lipari iſlands, all appear to favour this old opinion. Reggio is very ancient; and thoſe who will not truſt its poetic origin, which attributes it to *Jocaſtrus*, the ſon of that *Æolus* who reigned in Lipari and entertained Ulyſſes a month, muſt confide in hiſtory: which attributes its foundation to the *Chalcidians*, who came from *Eubœa* †. The territory of the *Rhegini* was free, ample, and powerful: but it had ſometimes the misfortune to be governed by tyrants. This city, and Meſſina, were both governed by Anaxileos; who died in the firſt year of the 76th Olympiad, 475 years before the birth of Chriſt ‡.

During the Peloponneſian war, the *Rhegini* ſuffered much from

* Pauſ. lib. v. c. 25.

† Cluverius is of this opinion, and founds it on the teſtimony of Strabo and Solinus: though he might much more probably have ſupported it by the authority of Thucydides, who expreſsly ſays that the *Rhegini* were of Chalcidian origin. It was this that made the Athenians hope they ſhould find aſſiſtance from the *Leontini*: whoſe anceſtors likewiſe came from *Chalcis*. Thuc. 406, ed. Duk.

‡ Diod. lib. xi.

their

their neighbours, the *Epizephyrian Locri*; and were diſtracted by internal contentions*. They were ſo powerful, in the time of the elder Dionyſius, that, to ſtrengthen himſelf, this tyrant demanded a daughter of the city: but the *Rhegini* nobly refuſed the alliance, in a general aſſembly of the people †.

When Pyrrhus waged war with the Romans, the latter ſent a legion for the protection of *Rhegium*: but the ſoldiers murdered the citizens, and ſeized on the city. After the war the inſurgents were taken by the Romans, and puniſhed with death, for their cruelty and treachery ‡.

The Apoſtle Paul, on his journey to Rome, paſſed through this city §; the ſituation of which is one of the moſt beautiful that I have ſeen. It is built on the ſhore of the Faro, in a fruitful valley, with its back toward the hills. Here we had a view of the coaſt of Calabria as far as the promontory of Scylla, and from the oppoſite high ſhore of the *Capo di Faro* to Mount Ætna; an object that dignified the proſpect.

Reggio was nearly deſtroyed by the earthquake of 1783: but a great part of it has been rebuilt, and the ſtreets now are wide, which formerly were narrow. A long row of houſes, which are only two ſtories high, have been built by the ſea ſide at the King's expence on the plan of the celebrated *Pallazata*, at Meſſina.

The gardens of Reggio are very extenſive, and produce more fruit of the varieties of orange and lemon than any other part of Italy. All theſe different kinds of fruit are included, by the Italians, under the general name of *Agrumi*. Dates are only produced here, and in ſome places of Sicily: but the trees do not bear every year, nor is the fruit ſo much eſteemed as the dates of Africa, and Aſia. A palm tree, of the date-bearing kind, in the court of the archiepiſcopal palace of Taranto excepted, I have no where in Italy ſeen this tree ſo large as at Reggio. It has a grand appearance; and the conſtant ruſtling of its leaves is charming. New twigs annually grow from the top, which bend

* Thuc. lib. iv. p. 238.
† Diod. vol. i. p. 678, ed. Weſſel.
‡ Liv. Epit. xii. and xv.
§ Acts xxviii. 13.

downward

downward on all ſides; while annually the under branches break off, and leave a ſcaly mark behind. From theſe ſcales the age of the tree may be known. Some Turks, who had viſited Taranto, eſtimated the palm tree there to be four hundred years old.

The mulberry and fig trees of Reggio are very large. Either I miſtake or I have ſomewhere read that none but theſe fig trees bear twice a year: however not only the fig trees of Reggio but of Sicily and of Naples have this virtue: ſome mountainous parts excepted.

The firſt figs, which ripen before the middle of June, are called *fiori di fichi*: or flowers of figs. They are far preferable to our figs; yet not ſo good as thoſe produced in both kingdoms in the months of July, Auguſt, and September. They are ſo ſucculent that the dripping juice hangs in pellucid drops, while the fruit is on the tree; reſembling honey, in clearneſs, colour, and ſweetneſs.

The Italians have a bad but general cuſtom of oiling the fig on the tree, that it may ripen the ſooner. They paſs a drop of oil through a reed, which from the ſtalk deſcends to the fig: but this fruit is not ſo healthy as that in which no ſuch artifice has been uſed.

We had letters to ſome people of the place, but did not find them at home; and I have ſince been informed that it is cuſtomary, among the people of Reggio, to be denied to travellers. This cuſtom is the leſs to their honour becauſe the Calabrians, of all the other towns, are hoſpitable in a high degree; and kindly invite, heartily welcome, and generouſly entertain, ſtrangers that have no letters of recommendation.

I would very willingly have made a trip from Reggio to *Gerace*, the ancient *Locri*; but I learned that it was a long day's journey by land, and that the road was difficult, and unpleaſant; and it requires much time to go by water: for the promontory of *Spartivento*, formerly of Hercules, on the ſouth-eaſt point of Italy, is dreaded by ſeamen becauſe of its boiſterous waves, and can only be paſſed when the wind is favourable.

Locri was built on the *Capo Burſano*; which was formerly called the promontory of *Zephyrium*: from which the people of the city acquired the name of the *Epizephyrian Locri*.

The *Locri Opuntii** founded this city in the ſecond year of the 24th Olympiad, at the time that Tullus Hoſtilius governed in Rome †.

The *Epizephyrian Locri* were famous for the laws given them by their fellow-citizen, *Zaleucus*; who was a ſcholar of Pythagoras, and whom they named their law-giver.

According to ſome *Zaleucus* was of noble birth: others affirm he was a ſhepherd, and poetically relate that he was inſtructed by Minerva. In oppoſition to theſe, ſome place the time in which he lived under the nine-and-twentieth Olympiad.

It is well proved, however, that he was the firſt among the Greeks who gave written laws; and his code was chiefly collected from the laws of Minos, of Lycurgus, and the Athenian *Areopagus*.

Diodorus inſpires us with a very high idea of the wiſdom of this law-giver.

"In the preface to his Code, he begins with diſcourſing on the Celeſ-
"tial Deities; to believe in whom was the firſt duty required of a good
"citizen. From a view of the heavenly bodies, and the order that
"reigned through creation, they were required to believe that the world
"was not the work of chance, but of the Gods. They were therefore
"to honour the Gods, as the authors of all that was good and beau-
"tiful among mankind. They were to keep the ſoul pure from all

* The Locri conſiſted of four tribes. The *Locri Opuntii* lived between *Phocis* and *Eubœa*: The *Locri Ozolæ* weſt of *Phocis*: ſo that this tract of land ſeparated the *Opuntii*, who were likewiſe called the *Eaſt Locri*, from the *Ozolæ* or *Weſt Locri*. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, or *Hypocnemidii*, inhabited, north of both the others, the mountain of *Cnemis*. The *Epizephyrian Locri* took their name from the *Zephyrian* promontory in Italy, which they inhabited. The *Epizephyrian Locri* were a colony of the *Locri Opuntii*; who were ſo called from their principal city, *Opus*.

† Cluv. Ital. Ant.

"guilt:

" guilt: for the Gods did not delight in the ſacrifices which were " offered them by the wicked, however coſtly, but rather in the juſtice " and the virtue of good men.

" After having exhorted the citizens to piety and juſtice in his pre- " face, he recommends brotherly love; and taught that he ſhould always " conſider his enemy as a perſon with whom it was poſſible he might " be reconciled, and become his friend: and whoever would not act " thus muſt be conſidered as a man of an unſanctified and ſavage ſoul.

" To thoſe who derived power from their office he recommended " rigid impartiality; and required that they ſhould neither be inſolent " nor oppreſſive.

" Other law-givers puniſhed luxury with fines; Zaleucus in a more " underſtanding manner. He forbade any woman to be attended by " more than one female ſlave, unleſs ſhe happened to be a little drunk. " She muſt not leave the city by night, unleſs ſhe went to commit " adultery: nor muſt ſhe wear golden ornaments, and embroidered " robes, unleſs her inclinations were unchaſte. In like manner, he " would not ſuffer the men to wear gold rings, or fine wool, like the " Mileſians, unleſs they were fornicators, or adulterers. The diſgrace, " annexed to theſe permitted exceptions, was more effectual than any " other penalty.

" His laws were famous for their clearneſs concerning contracts, " and perplexed caſes*."

Pardon this digreſſion, which criticiſm may tell me is blameable, becauſe I have not been at Gerace; but to me it appears intereſting, particularly in the preſent age, to remark how the wiſeſt of the ancient lawgivers founded law upon religion. How great too were their difficulties, from the ſpirit of the Pagan religion, and eſpecially of the

* Pindar ſays of the *Epizephyrian Locri* that Rectitude reſided among them.

Νεμει γαρ Ατρεκεια πολιν Λοκρων
Ζεφυριων. PIND.

Greeks: the Gods of whom afforded them examples of every vice. What muſt we think of our modern lawgivers, who, in the conflict of opinions, while they heap decree upon decree, agree only in the deſtruction of the true and holy religion of Jeſus Chriſt?

I left the moſt beautiful province of beautiful Italy with regret. More expoſed to the all vivifying ſun than their countrymen, the inhabitants are refreſhed by the breezes of the two ſeas, are ſhaded by their high mountains and foreſts, and are watered by numerous ſprings; which enliven the fields and clothe them with a ſhining and ever verdant herbage. All that the other parts of the world contain of the ſublime and beautiful is found collected in Calabria. Here the Indian may eat his date, and the Laplander gratify his eye with the ſnows of Ætna.

The Mediterranean, the coaſt of Calabria, and the coaſt of Sicily, the ſtraits of Meſſina here, and there the open ſea, the Lipari iſlands, each riſing like an individual mountain, and the lofty Ætna, which reigns in fearful beauty, continually attracting the eye back to Sicily and rendering Sicily itſelf inſignificant, all theſe grand objects, combined with the vivifying charms of ever blooming nature, nurſing man in her lap and pouring upon him her innumerable charms, filled me with a ſenſation which makes language, when attempting to expreſs it, bluſh at its own inſufficiency: a ſenſation which will ſweeten all the recollections and aſſociations of life; and which, while it purifies the feelings and renders them ſacred, expands and ennobles my exiſtence! Nor was it deſtroyed; it only took a new direction, at the thought that this paradiſe of fruits and flowers was the arſenal of the Almighty. Calabria is the focus of ſubterranean fire; which breathes and exhales through Veſuvius, through Stromboli, and through Ætna.

It is probable that there are few fruits in the known earth that are not found in the greateſt perfection, produced by this friendly ſoil.

Calabria teems under a fertilizing heaven. Earth, ſea, and ſky, conſpire to crown her: but ſhe bears a giant in her womb, by whoſe

convulſive throes ſhe has been frequently ſhaken. She groans while ſuffering under the pangs he inflicts; and theſe groans make the fixed earth tremble from pole to pole!

So be it. Happy are they to whom the voice of the Lord is welcome, though it ſpeak in thunder!

LETTER LXXXV.

Meſſina, 30th May 1792.

AMONG his other high merits, Homer poſſeſſes the additional one of having caſt a light over the knowledge of the countries, and people, that he had viſited; by which the darkneſs of the geography and hiſtory of antiquity has in part been removed, and in part left in a kind of twilight: through which, though the objects are not diſtinctly ſeen, they ſtill are diſcoverable. Or I might liken him to the moon; whoſe ſoft beams, ſhed over mountains, foreſts, and ſeas, pourtray their grand outline, but conceal their maſſes in ſuch a ſilver veil that an unexerciſed eye diſcovers only ſtrange incident, terrifying phantom, and ſupernatural enchantment: while a more experienced, a more penetrating mind delights in the multiplied forms, and indulges imagination in the half viſible, half concealed, gigantic ſpectres that dance before it; yet, though amazed, it is not confounded, but can reduce the viſion to congruity, to order, and to uſe.

The bold fables of Homer, concerning the Cyclops, favour and promote a tradition which certainly was not wholly groundleſs. That theſe early inhabitants of Sicily were giants no man can poſitively aſſert, or deny. As little is it known whether they were the firſt poſſeſſors of this iſland, or whether they drove the ancient inhabitants beyond the ſea, or obliged

liged them to retire from the coaſt and live among the mountains. The Cyclops certainly inhabited the weſt of Sicily: but to what extent is entirely dubious. From Homer we learn that they bitterly oppreſſed the *Phæaces:* till at laſt the latter fled from their tyranny, under the conduct of *Nauſithous*, the father of *Alcinous*, who entertained Ulyſſes when he landed on the iſland of *Scheria* *: the preſent *Corfu.*

The *Læſtrygones*, according to Thucydides, very early inhabited Sicily: but this great writer acknowledges, with dignified candour, that he knew nothing of the place from which they came, or of the people from whom they were derived. The *Læſtrygones* of Homer inhabited Italy: but the ſame people may as probably have ſettled on the continent as on the iſland. Thucydides himſelf ſays †, "The "*Sicani* maintained themſelves to be *Autochthones:* or the abori- "gines of the country: yet they were originally from *Iberia*, or Spain, "and were driven out of the country, to the river *Sicanus*, by the "Ligurians." The Ligurians lived between Piedmont and Genoa. From the *Sicani* the iſland was called *Sicania.* Its former name was *Trinacria.* Homer calls it *Trinacia;* and probably the Greeks changed the name to *Trinacria* becauſe of its three promontories. The Sicani continued to inhabit the weſt part of the iſland in the time of Thucydides; who lived about four hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. After the deſtruction of Troy, ſome Trojans, eſcaping from the Greeks, fled to Sicily, landed near the *Sicani*, and were called *Elymi:* or *Helymi.* Their towns were *Erix* and *Egeſta:* or *Segeſta:* for both names are found in books, and on coins. Thucydides and Diodorus write *Egeſta.* At the ſame period, the *Phocenſes*, who with the reſt of the Greeks had been at the taking of Troy, ſettled in Sicily: having firſt been driven to Africa, by a ſtorm. Some tribes had already fled from Italy to this iſland, who called themſelves *Siculi.* Thucydides ſays that there were *Siculi* in Italy in his time: but the aſſertion of Diodorus, that this nation with its whole power, παν δημει, withdrew to Sicily, appears to

* Od. b. vii. † Lib. vi. c. 2. p. 378. ed. Duk.

me

me more probable: at leaſt I do not remember to have found any later mention of the *Siculi* in Italy among ancient writers, Thucydides excepted; who was not perfectly well informed reſpecting the ancient tribes of Italy.

After the Cyclops, the *Læſtrygones*, and the *Phæaces*, the *Sicani* were the firſt people known in Sicily: a part of which they poſſeſſed while the other three tribes lived on the iſland; and the *Siculi*, when they came here, found it inhabited by all theſe different people.

The fear of pirates, a fear which has tormented theſe iſlanders for about three thouſand five hundred years, and which ſtill torments them, induced the *Sicani* at firſt to live in villages, κωμηδον, and build on ſtrong hills. Each of theſe diviſions had its own prince. At firſt, Diodorus ſays *, they ſpread themſelves over the whole iſland: but, as Mount Ætna cauſed much devaſtation, they forſook the eaſt ſide, and withdrew to the weſt. Many generations afterward, the *Siculi* came from Italy, and took poſſeſſion of the lands which the *Sicani* had left: but, as they continued to extend themſelves and the frontiers of each were ravaged, frequent wars aroſe between them; till the two people concluded a treaty, by which their reſpective boundaries were ſettled. In later times, Greek colonies arrived, and built cities on the ſea coaſt. Intercourſe occaſioned the Greek manners and language finally to prevail; and the people were then called *Sicilians* †. Theſe Greek colonies I ſhall occaſionally mention.

Thucydides tells us that the Phœnicians likewiſe had ſcattered ſettlements over all Sicily; and that they preferred the promontories, and ſmall

* Vol. i. lib. v. p. 334.

† The *Siculi*, Σικελοι, by accurate writers, are not confounded with the *Sicilians*, Σικελιωται; which laſt epithet is only applied to the Greeks, who inhabited Sicily. Their colonies, of which Diodorus ſpeaks above, arrived many centuries, ſix or ſeven at the leaſt, after the arrival of the Siculi in the iſland. Naxus, the firſt of theſe colonies, was inhabited by the Greeks ſeven hundred and thirty-three years before the birth of Chriſt: as was Syracuſe the following year. The more ancient Greeks, who ſettled in Sicily after the

ſmall neighbouring iſlands, as the beſt adapted for their trade with the *Siculi*. After the arrival of numerous Greek colonies, the Phœnicians abandoned moſt of their ſettlements, and retired to *Motya*, *Soloris*, or *Solus*, the preſent *Solanto*, and to *Panormus*, the modern *Palermo*, near the *Elymi*; depending upon their alliance with this people, and their vicinity to Carthage: becauſe this city was a Phœnician colony; and on the *Elymi* no doubt becauſe they were Trojans by deſcent, and conſidered as the natural enemies of the Greeks.

When the Carthaginians were in poſſeſſion of large tracts of the north and weſt parts of Sicily, their three principal places were *Motya*, *Soloris*, and *Panormus*. Probably they were ceded to them by the *Tyrians*, in conſequence of advantageous commercial ſtipulations: for commerce was the delight of the latter; while the Carthaginians delighted to govern, as well as to trade. It is certain that the Phœnicians were not expelled by the power of the Carthaginians; becauſe theſe towns remained in friendly alliance with their parent city, *Tyre*.

By the firſt Punic war, the Carthaginians were deprived of their territories in Sicily; and by the ſecond they likewiſe loſt Syracuſe: from which period the whole iſland became a Roman province.

On the partition of the Roman empire, Sicily became ſubject to the Emperors of the Eaſt. The iſland was conquered by Genſerick, King of the Vandals; and recovered by Beliſarius, for Juſtinian. Before the middle of the ninth century, it was ſeized on by the Saracens; who, two hundred and twenty-five years afterward, in the year 1070, were expelled by the leaders of the Normans, the two brothers, Robert Guiſcard and Roger: or *Ruggiero*. Roger the Second, in the year 1130,

the Trojan war, are not underſtood by ancient writers, when they ſpeak of Greek colonies, or Sicilians. From the Siculi, the iſland took and maintained the name of *Sicilia* among the Romans, or *Sikelia* among the Greeks. We ſhould no more confound the Siculi with the Sicilians than the *Itali*, Ιταλοι, with the Italians: Ιταλιωται. The firſt were the natives of the country, whom the Greeks called Barbarians; while their epithet for their own colonies in Italy was *Italians*.

took

took the title of King; and reigned over Sicily, and the Kingdom of Naples. Conſtantia, the daughter of William the Firſt, brought it as a bridal portion to the German Emperor, Henry the Sixth. From them it devolved on their ſon, Frederick; who, among our Emperors, is known as Frederick the Second. It was thus that Sicily was inherited by the houſe of Swabia.

After the death of Conrad the Fourth, who was the ſon of Frederick, Manfred, Frederick's natural ſon, ſeized on the two kingdoms; and Pope Urban the Fourth, and after him Clement the Fourth, conferred both the crowns on Charles of Anjou, brother of the French King, Lewis the Ninth. Charles rendered himſelf odious, and the people invited Conrad, whom the Italians call *Corradino*, the ſon of the Emperor Conrad the Fourth, to take poſſeſſion of the throne of his fathers; and Conrad was killed by Charles at *Taglia cozzo*; a little town in the province of *Abruzza oltra*. Frederick of Auſtria, his friend and couſin, was impriſoned *. Conradin had fled, diſguiſed as a follower of the camp, to Aſtura; where he went on board a boat, and promiſed the boatman his ring, becauſe he had no money, if he would bring him to Piſa. This ring, with the noble appearance and youthful beauty of Conradin, made him remarked by the man; who betrayed him to Charles, by whom he was ſent to Naples, and who, with the conſent of the Pope, condemned Conradin and Frederick of Auſtria to death. Frederic was firſt beheaded; and Conradin, taking the head from the ground, affectionately kiſſed it, and followed his friend. Charles and his Holineſs were playing at cheſs, when the news of the execution was brought them, and finiſhed their game undiſturbed.

The mother of Conradin was on board a veſſel, lying at the iſland of Capri, when her ſon was condemned. She ſet ſail to purchaſe his pardon, landed at Naples, and heard of his death.

Charles governed with deſpotic caprice; and the French, with whom he inundated the country, committed every crime of voluptuouſneſs,

* Fazello.

oppreſſion,

oppreſſion, and cruelty. John of Procida, a man of an enterpriſing ſpirit, who had been groſsly injured by the French in the perſon of his wife, made himſelf the chief of a conſpiracy. He travelled, diſguiſed like a monk, to Conſtantinople, to the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, to Pope Nicholas the Third, and to Peter King of Arragon, to whom the conſpirators offered the crown of Sicily. Peter was allied to the houſe of Swabia, by his marriage with Conſtantia, who was the daughter of Manfred, and who day and night excited him to revenge the wrongs committed on the race of *Hohenſtaufen*. Michael Paleologus and the Pope, who both hated Charles of Anjou, gave ear to Procida, and promiſed to favour Peter.

John made ſeveral journeys, always under the ſame diſguiſe, from one of theſe Princes to the other: but the death of the Pope and the election of Martin the Fourth, who was ſtrongly in favour of the French, appeared to render the execution of the plan impoſſible. Peter however armed, and anſwered the nuncio of the Pope, who queſtioned him on the ſubject, "I would burn my ſhirt, if it knew "my ſecrets."

Procida, in the mean while, engaged the grandees of Sicily in this dreadful conſpiracy; and, on the third day of Eaſter, in the year 1282, which happened on the 30th of March, while the bell was tolling to veſpers, the French were all murdered.

This day is an everlaſting ſtain to both nations. It is true that the French had rendered themſelves deteſted: but the manner in which they were maſſacred, ſparing neither ſex nor age, was no leſs hateful than were the crimes they had committed.

Fazello, a good Sicilian hiſtorian of the ſixteenth century, from whom I have extracted theſe particulars, adds that he had followed the common opinion in his narrative: but that, according to other accounts, which he had diſcovered in various annals and royal documents, this ſanguinary buſineſs was not the conſequence of a long conſpiracy, but apparently the work of chance. Several of the people of Palermo, on

the third day of Eaſter, as they were going to a church near the town, were attacked by the French; who ſearched the clothes of men and women, on the pretence of their having arms concealed. The French on this occaſion indulged themſelves in vile exceſſes, committed on the women and young virgins; and one of them, whoſe name was *Droſetto*, having thruſt his hand into the boſom of a noble matron, was ſtoned by the already highly enraged people of Palermo, whoſe concourſe was great. The rage of the people continued and increaſed, till the French were entirely exterminated: firſt in Palermo, and afterward through the whole iſland.

If this account be true, and it is ſaid to be founded on good authority, John of Procida may then be reckoned among thoſe great men who have freed their country from the yoke of foreign deſpotiſm: but, if he had any part in a maſſacre which ſpared neither ſex nor age, it muſt be allowed that his great qualities were ſullied by the worſt of crimes.

Peter of Arragon became King of Sicily; and, when Johanna the Second, Queen of Naples, in the year 1420, adopted Alphonſus the Fifth King of Arragon, Sicily was again in his perſon united to Naples. But, as the houſe of Anjou made new pretenſions, Johanna, being diſſatisfied with Alphonſus, adopted Lewis of Anjou in his ſtead; and, at her death, bequeathed the crown to his brother, Renatus of Anjou.

The Kings of Arragon remained in poſſeſſion of the two kingdoms; till, at the end of the fifteenth century, after the death of Ferdinand the Second, his paternal uncle, Frederick of Arragon was robbed of the crown by Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, and Lewis the Twelfth, King of France. The monarchs divided the two kingdoms; but Ferdinand ſoon acquired the ſovereignty both of Naples and Sicily.

From this time, theſe countries remained above two hundred years under the dominion of Spain; till, during the war of the ſucceſſion, in the year 1707, an Imperial army ſeized on the kingdom of Naples, in the name of King Charles the Third; who afterward became Emperor, under the title of Charles the Sixth.

At the peace of 1713, Sicily was ceded by France to Victor Amadeus the Second, Duke of Savoy: by whom it was held till the year 1718; when he reſigned it to the Emperor, Charles the Sixth, in exchange for Sardinia. During the five years that it was under the government of Savoy, Sicily was provided with many wiſe laws, and noble inſtitutions.

In the year 1734, Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, became poſſeſſed of both kingdoms, in conſequence of the battle of Bitonto; and two years afterward they were ceded to him and his ſucceſſors, by the Emperor.

In the year 1759, Don Carlos declared his ſon, Ferdinand the Fourth, King of Naples and Sicily: he having himſelf ſucceeded to the throne of Spain. Ferdinand, who is the preſent King, acceded to the government in the year 1762. The memory of Don Carlos is revered in both kingdoms; and a traveller every where finds proofs of his wiſe precautions, in behalf of the ſafety, convenience, and proſperity, of the people.

A complete hiſtory of Sicily is no part of my plan: but, as it appears to me that a brief account of the individual towns of an iſland, which has been the theatre of ſo many events, might be uſeful, I imagine that an abſtract of the hiſtory of the country will not be thought ſuperfluous.

On the 27th, we ſet ſail from Reggio to Meſſina. The ſituation of this town is univerſally and juſtly celebrated for its beauty. It is built facing the bay, and is covered by mountains; the intermingling heights and depths of which afford traces that appear to denote great convulſions. The bay, extending to the right, from ſouth ſouth-weſt to north north-eaſt, is in the ſhape of a ſickle, and the cape curves in ſuch a manner as almoſt to encloſe the haven. On the point of this cape there is a high lighthouſe. Diodorus mentions a tradition, according to which the fabulous Orion, at the requeſt of Zanclus, an ancient king of this place, is ſaid to have formed the haven by throwing up a dam *.

* Diod. vol. i. lib. iv. p. 327.

Whether

Whether it be, as Diodorus ſays, that Meſſina in early ages was called *Zancle*, after this King, or as Thucydides aſſerts, after the word *Zanclon*, which in the language of the *Siculi* was the name of a ſickle, in either caſe the antiquity of the town is proved.

According to Thucydides, its firſt Greek poſſeſſors were pirates, from *Cumæ* in *Campania*; the inhabitants of which originally came from *Chalcis*, in *Eubæa*. Its territories were afterward poſſeſſed by the Chalcidenſes, and other people of Eubœa. Theſe were baniſhed by the *Samii*, and other *Ionians*; who, flying before the Perſians, landed in Sicily *.

Herodotus relates this ſtory with circumſtances that may ſerve to throw a light over ages which we, from our love for the ancients, are prone to rate too highly.

"When Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, wiſhed to ſubdue the iſlands "of Greece, and the people of Samos ſaw that they could not reſiſt his "power, they determined to leave their country. About this time the "people of *Zancle* ſent ambaſſadors to the people of *Ionia*, inviting "them to found an *Ionian* town on their charming ſhores. Theſe "charming ſhores, as they were called, belonged to the *Siculi*; and "lay on that part of the iſland which was facing the *Tyrrhenian* ſea †.

"The *Samii* were properly *Ionians*; and, being joined by the *Mileſii*, "who eſcaped from Miletus after it had been deſtroyed by the Perſians, "accepting the invitation, ſailed for Sicily. When they had arrived "in the country of the *Epizephyrian Locri*, at the time that the people "of Zancle, led by their King Scythes, were beſieging a city of the "Siculi, which they intended to deſtroy, the Samii were perſuaded, by "Anaxileus the tyrant of Rhegium, who was the enemy of Zancle, to "think no more of the charming ſhores, but to ſeize upon Zancle now "that the men were abſent: and the Samii followed his advice.

* Thuc. p. 380.

† Toward the north, between Meſſina and Palermo.

" As ſoon as the people of Zancle heard that their city was thus poſ-
" ſeſſed, they haſtened to require aid of Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela;
" who took Scythes, the ruler of Zancle, and his brother, Pythogenes,
" put them in fetters, and ſent them both to the city of *Inycum*. The
" reſt of the citizens of Zancle he betrayed to the Samii; for which he
" had the half of the ſlaves, the chattels of the city, and likewiſe thoſe
" of the territory. Moſt of the people of Zancle he kept as ſlaves; but
" ſurrendered three hundred of the chief of them to the Samii, to be
" ſtrangled: which cruelty the Samii forbore to perpetrate*."

According to Thucydides, the Samii were expelled by Anaxileus: but this does not contradict the account of Herodotus. The compacts of the wicked have no bond, but their common intereſt.

Thucydides adds that, after Anaxileus had driven out the Samii, he called the city Meſſina: becauſe he came from the country of *Meſſenia*, in Peloponneſus†. Anaxileus died in the firſt year of the 76th Olympiad, 475 years before the birth of Chriſt, continuing till death the tyrant of Rhegium and Zancles. Mycithus, the tutor of his children, honourably governed in their name: but the ſons of Anaxileus, when they ſucceeded to the government themſelves, were expelled by the people of Zancle and Rhegium, who both aſſerted their freedom‡.

Juſt before the Peloponneſian war, a party in the divided Meſſina called in the Locri; who continued for ſome time in poſſeſſion of the city, but were afterward expelled.

Under the elder Dionyſius, Meſſina was taken and deſtroyed by the Carthaginians; and again re-peopled by Dionyſius. It then groaned under the yoke of two tyrants; Hipparcus, and Hippo. Timoleon the Corinthian, who was always victorious and always the victor of freedom, beſtowed the bleſſings of liberty on Meſſina. It was likewiſe diſturbed by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily; and was afterward conquered by the people of Campania, from Mamertum, and many of the

* Herod. lib. vi. no. 22, 23. † Thuc. lib. vi. p. 380. ‡ Diod. vol. i. p. 440, 454, 461.

citizens were maſſacred. The Carthaginians and Hiero the Second, King of Syracuſe, marched againſt the aſſailants; and the people of Mamertum aſked and, to the eternal ſhame of Rome, obtained aid of the Romans, which gave occaſion to the firſt Punic war.

Under the Roman dominion, Meſſina long enjoyed peace. The rapacious Prætor, Verres, ſpared this city; which diſgraced itſelf by furniſhing him with a ſhip, for the tranſportation of the wealth he had acquired by plunder. In the war between Octavianus and Sextus Pompeius, Meſſina took part with the latter.

It was not till two hundred years * after the Saracens had been poſſeſſed of Sicily that they could gain poſſeſſion of this place; into which they carried fire and ſword, and where they only remained two years. The nobles of Meſſina invited the Norman chiefs, who drove the Saracens out of Sicily. In the year 1060, Meſſina was taken by Roger, Count of Calabria; who, after the conqueſt of the iſland, called himſelf Count of Calabria and Sicily.

After the Sicilian veſpers, Meſſina once more endured a ſevere ſiege from Charles of Anjou. Young and old, layman and prieſt, united to oppoſe this enemy; by whoſe pride they had been oppreſſed, and whoſe enflamed rage they dreaded. The noble matrons afforded an example to the women, took part in defence of their country, and, diſagreeable as it may be to ſee this gentle ſex forgetful of their fine ſenſations, and neglecting their houſehold duties, regardleſs of fear or ſhame to mingle thus among contending multitudes, yet, in this caſe, they muſt not be ſo condemned: for there was no injury, no diſgrace, which they might not juſtly dread from a cruel and licentious foe, whoſe laſcivious exceſs would have been exerciſed upon them and their children. They ſupplied their huſbands, fathers, brothers, and ſons, with arms and ſtones; carried them refreſhing beverage, and preſented the infants at their boſom, exhorting them to pity and protect

* Fazello: the end of the ſixth book.

the

the helpleſs and the innocent. The citizens heard, and courageouſly defended themſelves, till Peter of Arragon came to their relief *.

The Kings of Arragon were as kind to Meſſina as were the Kings of the Norman race; by whom it had been eſpecially favoured. In the year 1673, when Charles the Second governed, Meſſina was diſturbed by factions; one of which was ſo mad as to betray the town to Lewis the Fourteenth, by whom however it could not be maintained.

It was ſeverely chaſtiſed by Spain. The King deprived it of its privileges, and the council of its former authority. The city fell to decay; but it once more recovered under Victor Amadeus the Second.

In the year 1741, Meſſina was dreadfully viſited by the plague; which was ſoon followed by a deſtructive kind of ſmall pox. At this time, the population was reduced from about ſeventy to twenty thouſand ſouls. It is affirmed that, in the laſt century, it contained a hundred thouſand inhabitants.

It was half deſtroyed in 1783, by the earthquake: but it has in great part been rebuilt, and the ſtreets are now more ſpacious and handſome. Their houſes are palaces: yet they have wiſely built them only two ſtories high, from the fear of future ſhocks; when the higheſt houſes are always in the greateſt danger. The earthquake, in general, deſtroyed only the upper ſtories: the lower parts of the building were moſt of them left ſtanding. Experience has taught that this is frequently the caſe: for which reaſon thoſe people who can preſerve their preſence of mind, amid terror ſo ſudden, ſeek ſafety under the doors, and windows, rather than in the ſtreet.

The undermoſt ſtories of the new houſes are built upon arcades, in moſt of which there are ſhops.

The earthquake had the ſame effect here on the women as in Scylla. Some, who had been ſixteen or eighteen years married and childleſs, conceived and brought forth. Of thoſe who were pregnant, when the

* Fazello: the end of the eighth book.

terror

terror of the ſhocks ſeized them, none miſcarried. I yeſterday converſed with a woman of Naples, who has much courage and animation, who was pregnant when her houſe was thrown down, and who remained ſixty-five nights without a bed to ſleep in. This too was from the 5th of February; yet ſhe was delivered, at her proper time, of a healthy child, and was well herſelf.

The *Palazata*, which, following the gentle curvings of the ſhore, was built the whole length of the city, muſt have been the moſt beautiful ſtructure of its kind. It conſiſted of a row of ſimilar palaces, that were four ſtories high; and its preſent ruins are ſufficient proofs of its former grandeur.

The reaſon that it has not been rebuilt is the deſire of the King that it ſhould be as high as before; from a ſuppoſition that it protected the haven againſt the wind: but the citizens, taught by experience, dreaded a building of four ſtories high. They were certainly right; and, ſhould the King at laſt accompliſh his often intended and as often diſappointed viſit to Sicily, his own eye would convince him that the haven, protected as it is by the mountains immediately behind the city, has no occaſion of any ſhelter from the wind which the palaces could afford.

This haven, which Charles the Sixth made a free port, is certainly one of the fineſt in Europe. The long and broad open place, between the *Palazata* and the ſea, ſerves the inhabitants as a walk; from which there is a grand proſpect toward the Faro, and the coaſt of Calabria. A grove of elms and poplars is planted here, which extends to the ſemicircular cape. At the extremity of this wood the citadel is built; and in the middle of the haven the great light-houſe and the *Lazaretto*, where the mariners that come from the Levant perform quarantine*.

The

* This reſtraint of performing quarantine, which is not always of forty days duration, but is ſhortened according to circumſtances and ſeldom increaſed, is ſo injurious to the trade of the Levant as frequently to be its deſtruction. What gain can the merchant receive

The citadel was built ſoon after Meſſina was again in the poſſeſſion of Spain, when it had reſigned itſelf to Lewis the Fourteenth. There is likewiſe a ſtrong fortreſs on the extreme point of the ſickle, or cape; and the city is overlooked and defended by three others.

The mountains which riſe behind Meſſina in the form of a half moon, belong to the mountains which the ancients ſometimes called *Pelorium*, and ſometimes the mountains of *Neptune*. They extend from *Taormina* to *Capo di Faro*.

Early yeſterday, we took boat at the haven and went to the great light-houſe; by the ſide of which is the whirlpool, ſuppoſed to be the Charybdis of Homer: the whirlpool of *Capo di Faro* having been overlooked. Both of theſe whirlpools are occaſioned by the conteſt that happens, when the winds and currents oppoſe each other. Our ſeamen were well acquainted with the other whirlpool, and ſaid it was much the ſtrongeſt; becauſe the ſtrait there was much the ſmalleſt.

The *Agrumi* are as excellent, in the gardens of Meſſina, as they are at Reggio. The ſweet kind of citron, which is called *valenziana*, is as large as a ſmall melon. There is likewiſe a kind of citron here, and in Calabria, which is nearly round, but ſuddenly pointed at the end. This too is a ſweet ſort, is more odoriferous than the other, and is called *limonella di Spagna*: the little Spaniſh lemon.

Meſſina trades largely in the products of the iſland; which is ſo bountifully gifted by nature. The principal articles are corn, oil, wine, ſilk, raw and wrought, fruits, and pot aſh.

The preſent population of Meſſina, according to different accounts,

receive who is obliged to keep his whole crew inactive at the *Lazaretto*, or in a veſſel beſide the *Lazaretto*, from a fortnight to five and ſix weeks? The Venetians reckon the quarantine from the day on which the ſhip left the place ſuſpected of the plague; which is evidently more rational. It is alleged that the ſeamen might have had intercourſe with infected people: but can no dependance be placed on the uniform teſtimony of the crew? Could no penalty be inflicted, on falſehood, which they neither all would wiſh nor all would dare to incur; and by which prevarication would not only be attended with ſhame but puniſhment?

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is eſtimated at leaſt to be ſix-and-thirty thouſand. The air is very healthy; and, compared to the reſt of Sicily, is cool.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Palermo, 5th June 1792.

WE left Meſſina early on the 31ſt of May, and ſoon came to the ſteep winding road of a mountain, which the ancients called *Eunes*, and *Senes**. Like the neighbouring country, it is covered with broom, bruſhwood, and fern; and would afford little pleaſure were it not that, on one ſide, there is a proſpect from it toward the ſea and Meſſina, whoſe circular bay and cape are remarkably charming, which atones for the barren uniformity of the other ſide.

We left this height in the neighbourhood of the ſea, and ſoon came to a diſtrict in which the induſtry of the people appears to vie with the excellence of the ſoil. Among the tall grain ſtood the mulberry, the fig, and the pomegranate tree, as high as any that we had ſeen in the fineſt parts of Calabria. Many people were employed in ſtripping the leaf from the mulberry tree. Like the wiſe proviſion made for the camel, which kneeling while it is loaded has a peculiar ſkin to guard the knee, and the back of which, that it may bear the better, is gifted with a kind of natural ſaddle, ſo the growth of the mulberry tree, which here is uncommonly large, forms itſelf in a manner that women and children can eaſily climb to its topmoſt boughs. The ſilk-worm will now ſoon begin to ſpin; and they give it leaves in plenty, that its produce may be the greater. Both the kingdoms have two annual harveſts of ſilk; an early, and a late. The early ſilk worm ſpins at

* Cluv. Sic. Ant.

the end of May, or the beginning of June: the late at the end of July. The ſilk of the laſt is the fineſt. The culture of ſilk was not introduced to Italy and Sicily by the ancients.

The fig tree here attains a great ſize. I ſaw a large flock of ſheep lie at their eaſe under the ſhade of a ſingle tree.

We ſaw barley reaped. Other barley, nay and oat fields were already again prepared, and ſowed with Turkiſh wheat *(maize)* which they here call *grano d'India*, Indian corn, and *granone*, or great corn. We ſaw grain of this kind, in ſome fields, which already was half an ell high. The earth was turned and the clods broken with the hoe, as well on theſe fields that were again ſowed as on thoſe that had been lately ploughed. It is a troubleſome labour, but much more uſeful than our harrow; the uſe of which, if I do not miſtake, is unknown in Naples and Sicily*. The rye, which here as in Italy is called *grano Germano*, or German corn, is ready for the ſickle. Beſide the kinds of wheat known to us, there are ſeveral others here, of which I mean to be better informed. Moſt of the wheat and the rye are ſown in February, and reaped in June.

The fields in general are planted with the Indian fig: *cactus opuntia*. This remarkable plant is at preſent ornamented with yellow flowers. The trees of the two ſexes are different: the male is armed with large prickles, but the fruit of the female is preferred. They grow to ſuch a height that horſemen may ride under them. In order to propagate them, you need but bury a leaf in the earth. Theſe leaves ſerve not only to burn (particularly for killing the ſilk worm) but they are likewiſe roaſted, ſoaked, and given to the hogs.

In the *Terra d'Otranto* and in Calabria, I have ſeen a particular kind of *ſolanum*, or nightſhade, which here is very common. The ſtem is tolerably high, has jagged prickly leaves, bears clear violet flowers with a yellow horn in the middle, and its fruit is a yellow berry

* I afterward ſaw a harrow in the kingdom of Naples.

of

of the ſize of a wild apple; which berry is full of kernels, that are uſed in medicine as a healthful diuretic, although the fruit itſelf is poiſonous. Our *ſolanum dulcamara*, which grows in marſhy places and ſprings with tender branches clinging to other ſtems, having a ſmaller darker coloured violet flower, and a rather arched thin yellow horn, from which a little ſhining red berry riſes, appears to me much more beautiful than this larger kind. It is found in both kingdoms; but more ſeldom than in the north of Germany, and in Denmark.

The numerous wild plants and flowers which, with us, require the utmoſt care, and then can ſcarcely be produced, gratify the eye in a delightful manner. The *ricinus*, from which the celebrated American oil is extracted, grows in great quantities beſide the oleander. The artichoke, the licorice, and the horned yellow poppy, all grow wild. The wholeſome quality of the licorice occaſions it to be a branch of trade. The ſeamen of this country chew the licorice, as the ſailors of the north do tobacco.

The praiſe which Horace has beſtowed upon Tarentum is peculiarly due to the ſouth of Italy, and Sicily; for the ſpring is long, and the winter mild. I here ſtill ſaw the white *ornithogalum*, with tender purple ſtripes, and the elder tree, in bloom; both of which I had ſeen blowing, on the 3d of February, at *Terracina*. Spring and ſummer reſide together in the fields, bud and bear on the ſame tree, and ſometimes extend their hoſpitable friendſhip to autumn. What a country is this for the botaniſt, who here may find unknown plants in flower and in ſeed at the ſame time! For theſe four months, I have continually ſeen the orange and citron tree, bearing their aromatic buds and their golden fruit.

On my firſt day's journey from Meſſina, I ſaw a grove of *agrumi*; the trees of which excelled in ſize all that I have met with in Italy, nay in Sorento, Taranto, and Reggio. The pomegranates were numberleſs, tall, and in bloom; and the beauty of their flowers is no where ſurpaſſed. The charms of theſe ſmiling regions are increaſed by the

proſpect of the ſea, on one ſide, and of lofty mountains, on the other. Over theſe Ætna is occaſionally ſeen lordly to riſe. We diſcovered, on the right, the ſmall cape on which *Milazzo* ſtands. It was firſt built by the *Meſſenii*; and its ancient Greek name was *Mylæ*: Μυλαι.

In the evening, we took up our abode with a canon of *Pozzo di Gotto*; to whom we had a letter, and who received us kindly. He has a large garden, in the cultivation of which he delights.

On the 1ſt of June, we paſſed at one time through fruitful plantations, and at another along the ſandy ſhore of the ſea; which ſand itſelf produces numberleſs plants: particularly the yellow poppy, and the oleander. About noon, we aſcended the mountain *Tindaro*; leaving the monaſtery of *Santa Maria di Tindaro* on a height, by the ſea ſide. Here ſtood a Greek town, which was founded by the *Meſſenii* in the time of Dionyſius, the tyrant of Syracuſe. Dionyſius granted them land to till, and they called the town *Tyndaris*; after *Tyndarus*, an ancient King of Sparta; becauſe they maintained that, in very ancient times, Meſſina had appertained to *Lacedemonia* *. This town gained great reſpect. Cicero calls it a very noble city; and its people the allies and friends of the Romans.

On the left, we ſaw the mountain caſtle of the little town of *Tripi*; which is held to be the ancient Greek town of *Abacæon*, the Latin *Abacænum*. It lies on the river *Oliveri*, the bed of which is dry in ſummer. We paſſed it juſt before we aſcended the hill. It empties itſelf into the ſea, below the promontory of *Oliveri*. The Greeks

* This account, from Strabo, contradicts the more worthy teſtimony of Thucydides; according to whom, Meſſina was a colony from *Chalcis*, in *Eubœa*, was firſt called *Zancle*, and had the name of *Meſſena* given it by the tyrant Anaxeleus: becauſe he affirmed he was himſelf of *Meſſenian* origin. Tyndarus was King of Sparta, the huſband of Leda, and father of Caſtor and Pollux, Helena and Clytemneſtra. The fable ſays that Zeus viſited Leda in the form of a ſwan; and that Caſtor and Helen were produced from two eggs: Pollux and Clytemneſtra were the children of Tyndarus. The antiquity of this fable is great, and the tale is differently told: Pollux is now the ſon of Zeus, and now Caſtor. Homer calls Helen the daughter of Zeus; ſagaciouſly omitting the egg.

called this river *Helicon*. Moſt of the rivers of Sicily are dry in ſummer, or reduced to very ſhallow ſtreams: but to travellers in winter they are very inconvenient, and often dangerous.

In the afternoon, we rode along the heights of the promontory of *Carava;* which, though ſteep, is cultivated for the vine on its heights, and corn below. Its point is a ſteep rock; againſt which the waves break and foam. We proceeded along rough paths to a row of rocks, on the topmoſt of which a tower is built. Nature here has formed for herſelf a wall of rock in the ſea; over which no path leads, and through which a hollow way has neceſſarily been cut. This place is called *Torre di Ciavoli:* or *Caſtello di Liago*. Here I met with as beautiful a valley as I have ever beheld. I might indeed ſay the moſt beautiful.

We went to a little fortreſs called *Brolo*, which belongs to the *Marcheſe Lungarini*. We had a letter to the ſteward of the caſtle, given us by a perſon of *Pozzo di Gotto*, whoſe name I do not know, who had ſeen nothing of us, and without our knowledge, at the requeſt of our *vetturino*.

This caſtle ſtands on a rock, beſide a gently curving bay of the ſea, that is formed by two promontories: the *Capo Carava*, and the wide ſtretching *Capo d'Orlando*. The neighbouring valley extends toward the ſea, and is ſurrounded by ſeveral mountains in the form of a creſcent. Behind the leſſer heights mountains more lofty tower; the ſides and ſummits of which are ſhaded with foreſt trees above, and with fruit trees and vineyards below. Refreſhed by the mountain winds and the ſea breezes, the valley abounds with corn fields, gardens, vineyards, and groves. Here grew the largeſt poplars I ever met with; and there a cluſter of mulberry trees. Gardens ſeem to loſe themſelves in the ſoft and balmy lap of nature; which the ſcarceſt and moſt delightful plants and flowers of our greenhouſe, ſpontaneouſly ſcattered, render enchanting, and perfume the air; while they preſent the moſt rapturous variety to the eye, when, having contemplated the ſublime proſpects that the mountains and the ſea afford, it is in need of this repoſe.

The

The man who, after the aſtoniſhment which objects ſo magical excite, does not ſeek this relief, and does not thus recruit the eye, enabling it again comprehenſively to riſe, but ill underſtands the ſovereignty of nature. Here the changeable objects and forms ſupply all the relief, all the repoſe, that can be deſired.

The wine of this valley is generous. Many little towns are built on the tops of the hills. The proſpect toward the ſea is ſtill farther enlivened by the high Lipari iſlands. The eye loſes itſelf among the mountains, between which lie numerous valleys, and dark dales, that, from their diſtance and the deep mountain ſhadows, appear buried in night. The rivers *Naſo* and *San Angelo* flow on the two ſides of the valley toward the ſea.

This lovely vale is called *Piano di Brolo:* or the plain of Brolo. Excluſive of its other advantages and charms, it abounds in clear ſprings; which, with the ſea breeze that blows from the north, and the mountains that protect it from the noon-day heats, preſerve in it the coolneſs of eternal ſpring.

On the 2d of June, we heard the nightingale; among the blooming myrtles, and lofty oaks, of the mountain *Naſo*. We ſoon turned our backs on the promontory of Orlando*, and proceeded for ſome leagues, between the ſea and the mountains, among valleys which all of them were ſimilar to the vale of *Brolo*. The heights are ſhaded with foreſts; and their ſides are clothed with vineyards, fruit-trees, and corn. The whole narrow plain is bedecked with blooming and fructiferous plants.

* Godofredo of Viterbo affirms that this promontory, and that of *Oliveri*, were called after the two famous knights of Charlemagne, Orlando and Oliver: Sicily being the laſt theatre of their ſupernatural feats. His Latin verſes are in the taſte of the middle ages; a taſte which has extended its vitiated uniformity over all literature, from Portugal to the Poles, from Italy to the kingdoms of the North.

Mons ibi ſtat magnus | qui dicitur eſſe Rolandus,
Alter Oliverius | ſimili ratione vocandus;
Hæc memoranda truces | conſtituere Duces.

The

The ſhining waves of the ſea broke upon the ſhore, and bold projecting cliffs added to its beauty.

The chain here belongs to the great mountains, which the Greeks called the mountains of *Here*; or of Juno *. It extends in length from the middle of the iſland to this place; and then enlarges in breadth till it unites with the *Pelorus*.

Diodorus Siculus praiſes this country for its mountain heights, cooling airs, freſh ſprings, and numerous trees.

" Large oaks yield acorns that are twice the uſual ſize. Many fruits, " vines, and apples innumerable, grow of themſelves. They once fed " a large army of the Carthaginians. Here is a woody vale of godlike " beauty, conſecrated to the Nymphs, in which Daphnis, the ſon of " Hermes and of a Nymph, was born. He was called Daphnis from " the laurel tree. Educated by the Nymphs, he here kept his flocks, " in which he dearly delighted, and was called the herdſman: Βυκολος. " Born with the gift of ſong, he invented paſtoral poetry, and of a " kind that ſtill is delightful to Sicily. He was a pleaſant huntſman " to *Artemis* †; and gave her delight with his flute, and ſhepherd's " ſongs ‡."

It is not known where this woody vale conſecrated to the Nymphs was: but what place could have been more delicately ſelected than the vale I have deſcribed, the *Piano di Brolo*, protected as it is by the ſea and the mountains, abounding in ſprings, and bordered by two ſtreams? Where could the Goddeſs of the chace have found a more enticing reſidence than among theſe foreſt-clothed heights? What paſturage ſo welcome, to the youthful ſhepherd, as this valley; rich in wood and

* Cluv. Sic. Ant.

† Diana.

‡ Diod. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 327. ed. Weſſel. In Greek, the laurel is called Daphne; which name it received after the metamorphoſis of Daphne, who fled from Apollo. Paſtoral poems were called *Bucolics*, from the ſhepherd Daphnis; becauſe *Bucolus* ſignifies a herdſman in Greek.

water,

water, and clothed with the brighteſt verdure of ſpring? Where could the young ſon of Hermes feel inſpiration ſo fully as in this vale; where ſea, iſlands, rocks, mountains, groves, vineyards, fields, ſprings, rivers, and the mildeſt of climates combine to form a perfect paradiſe: a place which, as far as my knowledge extends, is the moſt beautiful that the world affords?

The love of this valley you ſee has led me back to it; and I now quit it reluctantly, though but deſcribing it in a letter; for the whole ſhore, as far as the mountain *Fratello*, which lies on this ſide *Santa Agatha*, is enchantingly delightful.

We here paſſed *San Marco*; which place, according to Cluverius, was the ancient *Agathyrnon*: or *Agathyrna*: but *Amico* * places this ancient town in the vicinity of *Capo Orlando*; and is of opinion that *Aluntium*, which was likewiſe a very ancient town, ſtood here. The founding of *Agathyrna* was aſcribed to a ſon of Æolus, the ruler of the winds. Conſiderable remains of an aqueduct are here found.

Nearly facing *Santa Agatha*, we rode over the bed of the river *Roſmarino*: ſo called becauſe the roſemary grows on its banks, with the oleander and myrtle. A pair of turtle doves took flight juſt before me out of a myrtle in bloom, where probably they had their neſt.

We remained ſome hours in *Santa Agatha*; where about forty ſailors aſſembled round us, with whom we entered into converſation. The youths among them had the beautiful Grecian form. About ten of them placed themſelves in a circle, as if they would dance. The others continually endeavoured to puſh one of them out of the row; and if they ſucceeded all the reſt followed. They then exerciſed themſelves at leap frog, ſtanding in a row. If any one as he leaped touched the bonnet of him who ſtood up, he muſt then ſtand in his place. If any one fell, he was teaſed with perſevering mockery; yet did not loſe his good temper.

In the afternoon, we rode from the *Fratello* through leſs delightful

* Lexic. Topographicum Siculum.

countries,

countries, but ſtill among blooming and odoriferous herbage. A thiſtle, bearing a large high-yellow flower, grows in great quantities in Sicily; and is worthy of being received among the flowers of our gardens.

On a circular inlet of the ſea lies the little town of *Caronia*. This place, becauſe of its ſituation, was called by the Greeks Καλη ακτη; the beautiful ſhore; and it was here that the fugitive *Samii* were invited to ſettle, by the people of Meſſina. Of the treachery of theſe ſettlers I have before ſpoken. About forty years afterward, a town was founded here by Deucetius, the Sicilian; a man of noble birth, who ſucceeded in collecting the diſperſed tribes of the Siculi under his banners. He built ſeveral towns, and became formidable to the Greeks who were in the iſland; but was overcome, after a ſevere battle, by the people of Syracuſe. As his followers continued to forſake him, and he believed himſelf no longer in ſafety among thoſe that remained, he eſcaped from them by night, proceeded immediately to Syracuſe, ſtationed himſelf while it was dark beſide an altar which ſtood in a public place, and, as a fugitive, made an offer of himſelf and his country to the citizens. The chiefs of Syracuſe aſſembled the people; and ſome of the turbulent adviſed that Deucetius, the enemy who had done them ſo much miſchief, ſhould be puniſhed: but wiſer citizens replied, "It was not a "queſtion of him or his deſerts, but of how it became the Syracuſans "to act? It became them to reſpect the ſtranger, and the unfortu-"nate, and to leave vengeance to the Gods." Accordingly, it was unanimouſly determined to ſpare him, and he was ſent to Corinth; where he was ordered to remain, and where he was publicly provided with all that was neceſſary for his maintenance *.

Under the pretext that he was commanded by the oracle of Apollo to people the beautiful coaſt with new inhabitants, Deucetius left Corinth, contrary to his word, and took ſhip with a ſwarm of adventurers. Many of thoſe that joined him were Siculi; and, among others, there was *Archonides*, Prince of the *Erbitæi*: or *Herbitæi*.

* Diod. lib. xii. vol. i. p. 474.

We arrived in the evening at a little town called *San Stefano*; where we were taken to an inn, the poverty of which terrified us, and its want of cleanlineſs ſtill more. The inns of Italy have not rendered us ſpoiled children. Our vetturino, who is a good and an active fellow, procured a reception for us in the palace of an abſent Prince. The town is built on a verdant height, by the ſea ſide, and above it ſtands the palace.

On the 3d, we rode through the river Tuſa; leaving the ſmall town of the ſame name, and the caſtle built on higher ground, on one ſide. Here, or not far diſtant, ſtood the Greek town of *Alæſa*: or *Halæſa*: Ἄλαισα: Ἅλαισα: which was ſo called after the river *Alæſus*: or *Halæſus*. The town and the river are now both called Tuſa. The ancient town was founded by Archonides, Prince of the *Herbitæi*; after having, in the ſecond year of the 94th Olympiad, four hundred and three years before Chriſt, concluded a peace with Dionyſius: becauſe he wiſhed to free his town from the multitude of ſoldiers, and mixture of foreigners, that were drawn thither in expectation of war. Many likewiſe of the *Herbitæi* inſcribed themſelves as citizens of this colony. Archonides gave it the additional name of *Archonidium*; to diſtinguiſh it from other towns of Sicily, that were likewiſe called *Halæſa*. In later times, when, by their maritime ſituation and the freedom which they enjoyed under the Romans, the people were become conſiderable, they denied their origin; being aſhamed of their little mother town: though the inhabitants of both the towns continued to intermarry, as late as the time of Diodorus.

A tradition is mentioned by this writer, according to which *Himilco*, the leader of the Carthaginians, after he had made peace with Dionyſius, founded the town. As the whole coaſt conſiſts of bays and promontories, and the narrow road leads continually from hill to hill, theſe hills and coaſts afford inceſſant variety.

A boatman told us, with animated pride of heart, that Sicily is

called the verdant iſland. The lofty ſhores are generally green, and blooming, to the very edge of the ſea.

When we firſt landed on the iſland, we were amazed at the freſh foliage of the woods and hills: for the deep ſhades, which the mountains caſt over the vallies, had at a diſtance given it a gloomy appearance; and it ſeemed to ſuffer in compariſon with the ſmiling coaſt of Calabria. This heightened our pleaſure, when, approaching, we beheld its groves, fields, vineyards, mountains, verdant valleys, and purling brooks.

Among the numerous trees, we ſaw plantations of the round-leaved aſh, and cork tree: the aſh was every where ſmall and ſlender. Whether none but thoſe trees in which inciſions are made in the bark for the ſap to exude, which thickens, becomes what is called manna, and conſtitutes a great article of the royal revenue of the King of Naples, yield this manna, or whether, as I ſuſpect, theſe horizontal inciſions, which are cut cloſe above each other, prevent the growth of the tree, I have not been able to diſcover. Neither can I tell whether the manna in Sicily belongs excluſively to the King. I think I have heard of a plantation which was the property of a Baron.

So luxuriant is the growth of numerous plants, that the rank ſcions of various kinds twine round the neighbouring tree, conceal its trunk, and cling about it ſo entirely, with their twigs and ſprouts, that leaves, flowers, and fruits, of different kinds, all mingle together in the moſt lovely and playful confuſion. You imagine you ſee a *Chriſtbaum* *, which the creative care of a tender mother has hung with numerous fruits, and flowers. They moſt luxuriantly preſs upon each other where, under a rock, or among the branching roots of trees, a ſpring bubbles; and this luxuriance appears the greater becauſe the protracted ſeaſon of ſpring continues to produce buds, and bloom, on the very

* I cannot diſcover what tree this is, if it be not a tree or perhaps a pole decorated as the author deſcribes at Chriſtmas; probably after the cuſtom of Germany. T.

twigs that have for months been covered with fruit. Two mornings ago, in the garden of *San Stefano*, I ſaw an apple tree, which, while it bore tolerably large apples, was at the ſame time in bloom. The wide ſpreading myrtle, and the *lentiſcus*, were remarkable for receiving the ſcions and ſhoots of other plants among their branches; and, in addition to their native beauties, bedecking themſelves with foreign charms.

As we traverſed the winding ſhore, the proſpects toward the ſea, and the proſpects of the mountains, continually changing, ſeemed to vie with each other. At one moment, we could diſcover a ſmall dark blue, or emerald green, opening of the ſea; and at another we overlooked the whole coaſt, from promontory to promontory, till the objects were loſt in the azure floods of the horizon.

The promontory of *Cefalu* appeared at a diſtance, like the *Capo d' Orlando*, to be a high iſland, and to increaſe the number of the Lipari iſles. It is formed of a ſteep rock. The Greeks, who ſuffered no reſemblance to eſcape them, called the town which they built upon it *Cephaloedis*, or *Cephaloedium*: becauſe of its reſemblance to a head: from the word *Cephale*, the head.

Cluverius remarks that the moſt ancient account of this town is found in Diodorus; according to whom Himilco, the Carthaginian, allied himſelf with its citizens in the firſt year of the 96th Olympiad, or 396 years before Chriſt. It is now the ſeat of an Archbiſhop; and, in the year 1760, its inhabitants were eſtimated by Amico at five thouſand four hundred *.

Cefalu is a place of trade. The fiſhery on its coaſt is very productive. Veſſels, even of three maſts, are now ſeen on the coaſt of Sicily, as deſcribed by Homer, drawn upon rollers on ſhore, and ſupported on each ſide by ſtakes.

Round the town and beſide the road, as we left it on the 4th, we ſaw many olive trees: nay the hills were almoſt covered with them. To

* Lex. Top. Sic.

the

the left, we had a view of the mountain *Madonia*; and before us was the high hill of *San Calogero*.

We rode through the river *Grande*, that divides the province of *Val Demone*, which we now firſt quitted, from the province *Val di Mazara*. On the banks of all the rivers of this coaſt, we ſaw tall ſtems of the oleander, with its charming red flowers.

Sicily is divided into three provinces: the names of which are *Val Demone*, *Val di Mazara*, and *Val di Noto*.

We found the country people already buſy with their wheat harveſt, and in thraſhing; which they perform after the manner of the ancients. Two oxen, horſes, or mules, are driven in a circular direction over the ſheaves, and tread the grain from the ear. The ſheaves are ſpread about a quarter of an ell in height: for, were they ſpread thinner, the grain would be cruſhed. By this means the ſtraw becomes ſoftened; and, though it is of a much ſtronger texture than with us, yet from this kind of thraſhing it affords pleaſant fodder for cattle.

Among the wild plants, I ſaw the dark red *ſcabioſa* of our gardens, and a whole field of hyſſop growing. The day before I had ſeen, at *San Stefano*, wild cucumbers in bud, which were not eaten. The flax likwiſe grows wild in both kingdoms. Great quantities of a beautiful clear red pink *, of the ſame colour as our little wild pink †, but as large as the ſingle garden pink of this ſpecies, are now in flower.

About noon on the 4th, we arrived at *Termini*; and, as we left the town, we paſſed over the bridge of the river *Termini*. Cluverius ſuppoſes this to be the *Himera*; after which the ancient town of *Himera* was ſo called.

We were deſirous to diſcover the ſpot on which it ſtood. Cluverius places it on the left bank of the river Termini: but the ground conſiſts of ſteep rocky hills, on which it would have been difficult to build a

* *Feldnelke.* † *Grasnelke.*

large

large town like *Himera;* which Pindar calls the mighty. The ſpace ſeems inſufficient. Neither do I find any height on which the army of the Carthaginians encamped. I was led to believe for a moment that the town was built in the valley through which the river flows, and where the gardens of the people of Termini now are: but I was ſoon informed that this valley is ſubject to great inundations. I therefore think the opinion of Amico probable, who ſuppoſes the river *Grande* to be the *Himera*, and the ancient town to have been built on its banks.

This writer likewiſe ſupports the opinion of the ancients; which held the river *Salſo*, that empties itſelf into the ſea near *Alicata*, and that was likewiſe called the *Himera*, to have ariſen from the ſame ſource as the other Himera. This ſource, he adds, riſes out of the high mountains of *Madonia:* where it divides itſelf into two branches. The mountains of Madonia are very high: whence you may eaſily ſuppoſe the river to be divided into two branches. The Rhone, the Reuſs, and the Teſin, all riſe out of the Gothard, near each other: although the Rhone empties itſelf into the Mediterranean, the Reuſs through the Rhine into the North ſea, and the Teſin through the Po into the Adriatic. Thus, likewiſe, the Adda, which mingles with the Po, riſes in the glaciers of Bernini, in the country of the Griſons, near the Inn; which, running into the Danube, empties itſelf into the Black ſea; and, if I do not miſtake, a third ſtream was pointed out to me, ſeventeen years ago, which, flowing to the Rhine, is thus emptied into the North ſea.

The ancients appear to have been ſurpriſed that the waters of the ſouth Himera ſhould be ſalt, and thoſe of the north freſh: but there is nothing wonderful in it, if we may believe Amico; who tells us that there are ſalt ſprings, which run into the river Salſo near the ancient *Enna* *: the preſent *Caſtro Giovanni.*

According to Thucydides, *Himera* was peopled from *Zancle:* or

* Lex. Top. Sic.

Meſſina.

Meſſina. The coloniſts, who followed Euclides, Simos, and Saco, were joined by others from Syracuſe; from which city many were driven by an oppoſite faction. The language of Himera was a mixture of the Chalcidenſian and Doric dialects. Meſſina was a colony from Chalcis, in Eubœa, and Syracuſe from Corinth: but the Corinthians were of Doris, and the Doric laws prevailed in Himera.

The poet Steſichorus was a native of Himera: to whom we are indebted for the beautiful fable of the horſe, that loſt his freedom becauſe he called on man for help againſt the ſtag. It has been charmingly given by Horace, and La Fontaine: each in his peculiar way. It was invented by the Greek poet, to exhort his fellow citizens to concord; and to warn them againſt the ambitious deſigns of Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum. According to the teſtimony of the ancients, Steſichorus was a great poet; and his daughter inherited his talents.

It was in the time of Phalaris that the people of Himera, being called on for aid by a party of the divided Rhegium, treacherouſly ſeized on this town.

Himera was ſubject to different tyrants. It was beſieged by the Carthaginians, when governed by Theron the tyrant of Agrigentum. As one of the moſt famous victories of Greece was gained under its walls, by which the fate and the freedom of Sicily were favourably decided, permit me to give you the account of it from Diodorus.

"The Carthaginians promiſed Xerxes that, at the time when he "ſhould invade Greece, they would ſeize on the Greek towns of Si-"cily. Having armed themſelves for the war, they ſent Hamilcar, a "very conſiderable leader, on this expedition *. He took ſhipping "from Carthage with three hundred thouſand ſoldiers, two thouſand "galleys of war, and above a thouſand tranſports; and loſt his cavalry

* This Hamilcar muſt not be confounded with the great Hamilcar Barcas, the father of Hannibal. The Hamilcar here mentioned lived above two hundred years before Barcas.

"and

" and chariots by a ſtorm. Having reached the port of *Panormus* " (the preſent Palermo) he gloried in having ended the war: fearful " till then that the ſea would ſave the Sicilians.

" When he had reſted three days, to refreſh his army and repair his " ſhips, he marched againſt Himera; while his fleet proceeded along " the coaſt. He encamped before Himera, and drew his ſhips on " ſhore: where he ſurrounded them with a deep moat, and a wall of " wood. He fortified his camp exactly facing the town, and extended " it from the ſtation of his ſhips to the hills which overlook the town; " of the weſtern ſide of which he was thus wholly poſſeſſed. He em- " ployed the flower of the army in repelling the ſallies of the beſieged; " many of whom he killed, and threw Himera into great conſterna- " tion.

" Theron, who ruled in Agrigentum, and who defended Himera " with a conſiderable force, began to be alarmed; and ſent to Gelo, his " ſon-in-law at Syracuſe, for immediate aid. Gelo had already armed; " and, when he heard that the courage of Himera was ſunk, he marched " with fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe to its relief. For " the ſecurity of his camp, he profited by the ſituation of the country; " and ſent all his cavalry againſt the diſperſed foragers of the foe, of " whom he made more than ten thouſand priſoners.

" The fame of Gelo revived the courage of the beſieged; and he " ſought a favourable opportunity when he might ſurpriſe the Car- " thaginians, and deſtroy them by ſtratagem. He learned that Ha- " milcar had ſet a day apart for a ſolemn ſacrifice, to Neptune; and " that this ceremony was to be performed at the ſtation of the ſhips. A " horſeman likewiſe brought him a meſſenger, whom he had taken " priſoner, who bore letters from the *Selinuntii* to Hamilcar; in which " they promiſed him that the cavalry he deſired ſhould be ſent, on the " day he had appointed.

" This day was the ſame on which the Carthaginian general was to " perform his ſacrifice; and Gelo ſent a body of horſe, which at break

" of

" of day was to ride immediately into the ſtation of the ſhips of Ha-
" milcar, as if they were the expected *Selinuntii*: commanding them,
" as ſoon as they were within the wooden wall, to kill Hamilcar, and
" ſet fire to the ſhips. He likewiſe placed ſpies on a neighbouring hill,
" who were to give a token, as ſoon as the cavalry had entered the ſhip
" ſtation; and this token early in the morning he waited for, at the
" head of his army.

" The cavalry was admitted without ſuſpicion, by the Carthaginian
" guards, and killed Hamilcar at the ſacrifice, and ſet fire to the fleet.
" The ſpies gave the ſignal, Gelo led his whole army againſt the
" enemy's camp in battle array, and the Carthaginians faced him
" boldly, and fought courageouſly. The trumpets of the Sicilians,
" and of the Carthaginians, and the war cry of both armies, reſounded
" with emulative din. Victory remained doubtful: but, when the
" flames of the ſhips began to riſe, and meſſengers announced that Ha-
" milcar was ſlain, the increaſing courage of the Syracuſans raged
" anew againſt the diſpirited enemy, who took to flight. Gelo com-
" manded that all ſhould be put to the ſword; and above a hundred
" and fifty thouſand Carthaginians were ſlain. The remainder with-
" drew to a favourable ſituation, and eſcaped being ſeized by the
" Sicilians: but the want of water obliged them to ſurrender to the
" victors.

" The fame of Gelo reſounded after a victory ſo famous, from the
" ſubtlety of the ſtratagem employed, the multitude of the ſlain, and
" the great number of the priſoners. He was equalled to Themiſtocles:
" nay ſome maintained that the Greeks were indebted to Gelo for the
" victory of *Salamis*; for that the battle of Himera had raiſed the cou-
" rage of the Greeks, and had taught them not to be terrified by the vaſt
" multitudes of a barbarous enemy. The vanquiſhed Xerxes with-
" drew, with many of his thouſands. Of the Carthaginians ſcarcely a
" meſſenger eſcaped.

" On the very day that Gelo gained this great battle, Leonidas, with

" his heroic band of Spartans, fell at Thermopylæ: as if ſome God " had ordained that the moſt famous victory and the moſt glorious de- " feat of which the Greeks could boaſt ſhould happen at the ſame " time *."

This battle was fought in the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, 497 years before the birth of Chriſt.

Theron governed Himera in the perſon of his ſon, Thraſydæus, and ruled oppreſſively. The people ſent to Hiero, the firſt of the name, who, after the death of his brother Gelo, had ſucceeded him in power: promiſing him to ſurrender the town, and fight with him againſt Theron; who intended to make war on Hiero. But Hiero, being reconciled to Theron, betrayed to him the offers of the people of Himera: many of whom, after Theron had learned the truth, he put to death.

To repeople the town, Theron gave the right of citizenſhip to the Dorians, and others, whoſe inclinations led them thither. Thraſydæus ſucceeded his father, in the government of Agrigentum and Himera; which, with his life, he ſoon loſt †.

The people of Himera were only ſuffered to live fifty-eight years in concord and proſperity, with their new aſſociates, before they were again beſieged by the Carthaginians; under a leader named Hannibal, who had taken and deſtroyed Selinus, ſeventy-one years after they had been delivered by Gelo. They defended themſelves with great courage; though many of the citizens had fled, with their wives and children, to Syracuſe.

A fleet of five-and-thirty galleys from Syracuſe, that was coming to their aid, appeared in ſight, juſt as a part of the walls fell before the battering rams of the Carthaginians; and the town was taken. The Carthaginians maſſacred them without pity, till Hannibal commanded them to preſerve their priſoners. Himera was then plundered; and

* Ὡσπερ ἐπιτηδες τε δαιμονια περι τον αὐτον καιρον ποιησαντος γενεθαι την τε καλλιστην νικην, και την ἐνδοξοτατην ἡτταν. Diod. lib. xi. vol. i. p. 420.

† Diod. p. 144.

Han-

Hannibal ſuffered the temples firſt to be ſtripped and then burned, after he had emptied them of the fugitives. Thus Himera was razed to the ground, in the 4th year of the ninety-ſecond Olympiad, 409 years before Chriſt, after it had been built 240 years. The women and children were diſperſed among the army: but the men impriſoned, to the number of three thouſand, were led by Hannibal to the place where Hamilcar, his grandfather, had been killed, and there they were ſcourged and put to death*.

Two years afterward, at a diſtance from the late Himera, the Carthaginians founded a new town; which, from the warm ſprings that riſe there, was called *Therma-hydata:* warm water: and *Therma-hydata-Himeræa:* warm Himerian water. In one of his orations againſt Verres, Cicero informs us that, after the deſtruction of Himera, the remaining citizens, meaning no doubt thoſe who had fled with their wives and children to Syracuſe, repaired to this new town. After the conqueſt of Carthage, when Scipio reſtored to different towns of Sicily the things of which they had been plundered by the Carthaginians, he likewiſe ſent back the Thermatanian ſtatues, which had formerly embelliſhed Himera; and, among others, the ſtatue of the poet Steſichorus.

The ſprings, from which the town took its name, are very hot; and were remarkable for their healthy effects. According to the fables of the ancients, the Nymphs, at the deſire of Minerva, had given them their origin, for the benefit of Hercules.

The town, Termini, did not acquire the rank which Himera had maintained: yet it was early eſteemed one of the conſiderable towns of Sicily. Amico ſtates the number of its inhabitants to be eight thouſand ſeven hundred.

On our preſent journey, toward the land, inſtead of woody mountains, we generally ſaw naked heights; between which and the ſea corn, wine, and oil, are cultivated. The high budding branches of the

* Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 588.

aloe were unfolding their gaudy flowers. This plant is as common here as the *cactus opuntia;* both of which, in Sicily, ſerve to encloſe and hedge the lands.

The promontory, *Monte Gerbino*, poſſeſſes picturesque beauties, which would be greater were it not ſo naked. The wine that is produced at its feet is generous; and, forbidden as it is to Muſſulmen, it muſt have met with their approbation: for the name *Gerbin*, which the Saracens gave the promontory, in Arabic ſignifies a wine caſk. It is likewiſe called the promontory of *Zaffarana.*

Before we reached the promontory, we ſaw a multitude of fiſhing boats in the ſea, that were employed in the tunny fiſhery. We deſcended, rowed toward them, and went on board one of the boats, that we might view this ſpectacle. Numerous fiſhing boats, in four diviſions, had ſtationed themſelves round a large and ſtrong net. One large boat, in which there might be about a hundred fiſhermen, took in a whole ſide of the net. Theſe men were all employed at once in drawing it toward their ſide, and in gradually approaching the boats that were ſtationed oppoſite to them. No fiſh at firſt were heard in the yet deep nets: fear no doubt occaſioned them to be quiet: but by degrees their alarm increaſed, and they ſwam fearfully and rapidly round in a circle. Their terror was heightened by the fiſhermen; who ſhouted, to prevent any of them from ſpringing over the net and eſcaping between the boats. As they felt themſelves more impriſoned, their diſtreſs became more boiſterous. They ſprang, ſplaſhing up, filling the mouth of the net with white froth, and daſhing the water over the boats with a loud noiſe.

Among theſe tunny fiſh ſome were as large as dolphins. The fiſhermen ſtruck the uppermoſt with long poles, that were armed with iron hooks; and, when they had drawn their booty near the boat, they ſtruck others with the ſhort pointed hooks, and thus drew them on board; ſo that the water was tinged with blood. At laſt, juſt as the net was drawn up, ſeveral of the fiſhermen jumped into the cham-

ber of death; for ſo they call the net at this moment; and began to kill the remainder. They ſuppoſed they had taken about a hundred fiſh; the weight of which they eſtimated at a hundred *cantari* *.

The fiſhing being over, we were rowed toward the inn to which we had ſent our mules. A hot ſcirocco wind blew, the inn was wretched, and we were very glad at receiving an invitation, from a ſteward of the *Marcheſe Santa Croce*, to dine in the neighbouring palace of the abſent poſſeſſor. He gave us ſome of the country wine; of which that which had been kept a year was good, but that which was nine years old was excellent. He likewiſe ſupplied us with beds, and cool chambers; where we repoſed during the heat of the day.

In moſt of the palaces of the grandees in Naples and Sicily, there are large chambers that are unfurniſhed. Theſe great buildings are left empty, and deſolate, becauſe they are ſeldom inhabited by their owners. Many a *Barone* dies without having viſited his eſtate. This palace was beautiful, and handſomely furniſhed: for it was frequently viſited by the poſſeſſor.

Adjoining the promontory of *Monte Gerbino*, on the eaſtern ſide of the hill *Alfano*, the fortreſs of *Solanto* ſtands. Here once ſtood the ancient town of *Solus*: or *Solentum*: Σολοεις, Σολους. It was firſt a principal colony of the Phœnicians; and afterward of the Carthaginians. It is mentioned by Hecatæus; a writer of the time of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes†. About thirty years ago, a Sicilian nobleman, named *Lancelotto Caſtello*, deſcribed the remains of *Solus*; and about two hundred years before him Fazello did the ſame.

A German mile on this ſide Palermo, or thereabout, we came to the palace of Prince Palagonia; ſo celebrated for its fantaſtic decorations‡.

* The *cantaro* contains 100 *rotoli*: the *rotolo* is, to a Hamburgh pound, as 6677 to 10,080; and, to the pound of Cologne, as 6677 to 9728. The weight of the largeſt tunny fiſh of the preſent draught was ſuppoſed to be 3 *cantari*: but, according to the fiſhermen's account, a tunny fiſh will frequently weigh from 6 to 7 *cantari*.

† Cluv. Sic. Ant. ‡ See Brydone's Tour: vol. ii. letter 22. T.

Its

Its former poſſeſſor is dead; and his ſucceſſor, the preſent owner, was his half brother and ſon-in-law. Though many of the monſters are removed, yet the whole of the flat roof and the encloſed court are diſfigured by odious abſurdities. In the language of Horace, they may be called the dreams of the ſick; and the dreams of the ſick cut in ſtone, you may well ſuppoſe, are very diſguſting: eſpecially as the imagination of the inventor was as barren as his taſte was depraved. As he was denied the merit of variety in unity, by which the beautiful is characterized, he was deſirous to ſatiate his inordinate caprice by the number of its objects. His wretched ideas have been executed by artiſts worthy of their employer.

Within the walls there are only ſome chambers remaining furniſhed as they were in the time of the late prince. It grieved me to ſee the houſe inhabited, eſpecially by children: for it may well be ſuppoſed that an early familiarity with ſuch nauſeous abortions, of a limited and lunatic brain, muſt produce an injurious effect on the tender organs of childhood.

The ſituation of the palace and its garden is very gloomy: as likewiſe are the ſituations of ſeveral palaces and gardens that we ſaw on the road. The gardens did not become pleaſant till we approached Palermo.

We had a broad high road from Termini to this principal city of the iſland; but the duſt and heat were diſagreeable. We had a ſtrong wind; but it came loaded with the hot vapours of Africa.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Palermo, 9th June 1792.

PALERMO is built on a cape that unites the weſtward mountains with the promontory of Pelegrino; which extends itſelf and, with the promontory of Zaffarana toward the eaſt, forms a bay. It is remarkable that moſt of the promontories of this north coaſt of Sicily conſiſt of hills, that are connected with the mountains by inferior capes; and that they appear at a diſtance as detached mountains; and frequently like thoſe of the Lipari iſles, that riſe out of the ſea.

The founders of the ancient town are uncertain. Panormus, the former name of Palermo, ſignifies in the Greek a great haven; and, as the haven of this place is large and excellent, there can be little doubt but that it was thus named by the Greeks*: though it has been differently interpreted, and it is uncertain whether the Greeks, and of what tribe, were its firſt inhabitants. I conjecture that the Phocenſes, who, as Thucydides tells us, after having beſieged and taken Troy with the other Greeks, were firſt driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Africa and afterward ſailed over to Sicily, either founded this town or, after having expelled the ancient inhabitants, gave it the name it bore†.

Thucydides adds—"After many of the Greek ſhips had arrived, the "Phœnicians forſook moſt of their places; and ſettled in *Motya*, *Solus*, "and *Panormus*, near to the *Elymi*; depending on their alliance with "theſe people, and their vicinity to the Carthaginians."

It was between four and five hundred years after the deſtruction of

* Diodorus ſays of Pyrrhus: Ἐνθυς ἦκεν ἐπι την τῶν Πανορμιτων πολιν, ἐχουσαν λιμενα καλλιστον τῶν κατα την Σικελιαν, ἀφ' ὃ και την πολιν συμβεβηκε τετευχεναι ταυτης της προσηγοριας.

Pyrrhus landed at the city of the Panormites, which had the beſt haven of all the towns of Sicily; whence it derived its name. Lib. xxii. vol ii. p. 498, ed. Weſſel.

† Thuc. lib. vi. p. 378.

Troy

Troy that the firſt Greek colonies came to Sicily; and the Phœnicians gave place to them as their numbers rendered them powerful. They might at that time have been ſome centuries in poſſeſſion of Solus, and Panormus; and have taken them from the Phocenſes. It was a hundred and ſixty years after the founding of Naxus, the firſt of the Greek colonies, and in the fiftieth Olympiad, before Motya was inhabited by the Greeks of Cnidos, from Caria*. But it was ſoon afterward taken poſſeſſion of by the Aſiatic, and African, or Carthaginian, Phœnicians in common. We learn, from the orations of Cicero againſt Verres, that Panormus enjoyed great privileges under the Romans. In a letter from this city to the Emperor Adrian, it calls itſelf a republic; and though this word does not always ſignify complete independance, for Tacitus likewiſe calls Neapolis a republic, ſtill it denotes extraordinary privileges. Under the Arabs, this place was the reſidence of the *Emir Chbir:* that is the chief governor of the Sultan of Egypt. The other *Emirs*, or Governors, were at all times ſubject to the *Emir Chbir.* The Arabs called this city *Balirmu.*

Palermo is regularly built. It is divided into four nearly equal parts by two principal ſtreets, that croſs each other, that are equal in their breadth, and that would be beautiful, if the houſes were better built.

According to an excellent cuſtom of Italy and Sicily, each window has its balcony, with an iron railing. In warm climates, it is not merely agreeable, it is abſolutely neceſſary, to enjoy the cool of the evening. But theſe balconies do not give the ſtreets a good appearance: eſpecially when, as is generally the caſe, they are ſloped without taſte. In long ſtreets, which at the farther end appear narrow, you ſeem as if you were ſhut up in an iron cage.

The city contains above a hundred thouſand inhabitants. Thirty

* We ſhould remember that, when the ancients ſpeak of the Greek colonies in Sicily, they always mean thoſe who, in conſequence of the anſwer given by the oracle of Apollo, ſettled in Naxus, and Syracuſe; and not of the Greeks of a much earlier age.

years

years ago, the people were numbered at one hundred and two thouſand one hundred and ſix *; and, ſince then, the population has increaſed: but the uſual eſtimate of Palermo, which ſtates the population at a hundred and ſixty thouſand, is exaggerated.

Palermo is the ſeat of the viceroy, of the archbiſhop, who is primate of the kingdom and chief of the *Braccio Eccleſiaſtico*, or ſpiritual court, and of the *Giudice della Monarchia;* which is the title of a principal eccleſiaſtic, who is the vice legate of the Pope, and nominated by the King. Roger the Second Count of Sicily, about the end of the eleventh century, was appointed by Pope Urban the Second as the Papal legate in Sicily. When in the year 1129 he aſſumed the title of King, he continued in this ſpiritual office; and his ſucceſſors followed his example. It was the character of the times for Kings to conſider themſelves as honoured by being legates of the Pope; and the Popes were flattered by ſuch officers. In later times the Popes would willingly have deprived them of this honour: but the Kings of Sicily maintained it, in diminution of the power of the Pope, whoſe office they ſo well know how to exerciſe as to leave his Holineſs but little influence.

The ſcirocco is felt in no town in Italy ſo intenſely as here. Theſe hot guſts from the ſandy deſerts of Africa, in paſſing the ſea, loſe much of their power, before they reach the ſouthern parts of Sicily: but they collect new ſtrength in croſſing the iſland. About midday a cooling ſea breeze ſprings up: for which reaſon the morning in Palermo is hotter than the noon.

The heats felt are increaſed by the hill *Pellegrino;* which ſtops the burning vapours of the ſcirocco in their courſe.

This mountain by the Greeks was called *Ercta:* ἡ Ερκτη: likewiſe ἡ Ἐιρκτη: and from it Hamilcar Barcas, the father of Hannibal, oppoſed the Romans nearly three years, during the firſt Punic war; although no town in Sicily took part with the Carthaginians.

* Amico, Lex. Top. Sic.

The proſpect toward the ſea, the *Pellegrino*, and the verdant plain of *Sfera di Cavalli*, which ſeparates the promontory from the mountains and on the north-eaſt ſide of which is the promontory of *Zaffarana*, adds charms to the city. Many gardens, which appear to be better laid out than thoſe at a diſtance from Palermo, afford agreeable and cooling ſhades; and particularly the large gardens on the eaſtern ſide of a row of country houſes, on the way to Termini, which are called *La Bagaria*. They cheer the eye; which, bold as the contour of the mountainous ſhore is, does not willingly repoſe on thoſe naked heights.

From the terrace of an Arabian palace, which was built in the ninth century, the whole city, the ſea, the promontory, and *La Bagaria*, are overlooked. This palace is called *Ziza*; after *Aaziza*, daughter of an *Emir* of Palermo; to whom the other *Emirs* were ſubject. The daughter, *Aaziza*, married another *Emir*; and the letter in which he demanded her in marriage, and the anſwer returned by the father are ſtill extant. Aaziza lived in the ninth century; and the palace was repaired during the laſt.

Another palace, called *Cubba*, is likewiſe of the Saracen times; and now ſerves as a garriſon for cavalry *. The æra of the government of the Arabs, and of their ſucceſſors the Normans, is ſhortly to be elucidated. Six Italian miles from the city, in the library of the monaſtery of *San Martino*, an unknown treaſure of the hiſtory of this country lay; till, about eight years ago, the library was viſited by an ambaſſador from Morocco: who, taking up a manuſcript, diſcovered it to be the hiſtory of the government of the Arabs. The Abbate Vella, a Malteſe, who reſides here and who being learned in the Arabic accompanied the ambaſſador, mentioned this diſcovery; and, on command, publiſhed the manuſcript, with an Italian tranſlation †.

There

* *Geſchichte der Araber in Sicilien*, iii. th. f. 9. 10. 11.

† This work is likewiſe now publiſhed in German; under the title of *Geſchichte der Araber in Sicilien, und Siciliens unter der herrſchaft der Araber: in gleichzeitigen urkunden von dieſem volke ſelbſt: aus dem Italiäniſchen, mit anmerkungen und zuſätzen: von Philipp Willhelm.*

There is likewiſe the laſt volume of another manuſcript, publiſhed by him; which contains the letters of information ſent by an Arabian ambaſſador, during the Norman period, with the anſwers of the Caliphs of Egypt.

Theſe intereſting documents will indubitably afford you pleaſure. What then will be your feelings, when I inform you that this Abbate Vella poſſeſſes an Arabic tranſlation of ſeventeen of the loſt books of Livy? the books ſixty to ſeventy-ſix incluſive; in the laſt of which only there are ſome imperfections!

But how came he poſſeſſed of this manuſcript? The ſtory is thus told. Favray, a French painter, who was a *Cavaliere Servente* of the order of Malta, through the medium of the French ambaſſador, obtained permiſſion to meaſure and take a plan of the moſque of Selim at Conſtantinople; which was formerly the church of Saint Sophia. While employed in this work, as he ſtepped upon a cornice, he ſet his foot on a roll, looked at it, ſaw it was a manuſcript, and put it in his pocket.

When he returned to Malta, he preſented it to the then Grand Maſter: who gave it to the Abbate with theſe words—"Accept this book, it will one day render you famous." Vella was aſtoniſhed when he diſcovered what were the contents of the work. A diſorder on the lungs occaſioned him to make a voyage to Sicily; and unwillingly, at the command of the Grand Maſter who had been applied to by the King, he undertook the tranſlation of the two Arabic hiſtorical works, which has hitherto prevented him from tranſlating Livy.

Several perſons believe the tale of finding Livy to be a romance; and accuſe Vella of having purloined a manuſcript from the library of a monaſtery in Girgenti. They ſay that, when he was employed in

Willhelm Gotlieb Hausleutner. In vier bänden. That is: A hiſtory of the Arabs in Sicily, and of Sicily under the government of the Arabs; from contemporary documents of the people themſelves: tranſlated from the Italian, with additions and remarks: in four volumes. By Philip Wil. Got. Hausleutner.

tranſlating his Arabic hiſtory, the monks in Girgenti were commanded to furniſh him with all the Arabic manuſcripts of their library. Among theſe, he diſcovered a large fragment of an Arabic tranſlation of Livy, and ſecured it for himſelf: adding that the ſtory of Favray as well as of the Grand Maſter, who are both dead, is all invention. They likewiſe allege that this manuſcript was bound in the manner that different other manuſcripts of theſe times, to be met with in Sicily, are bound. It is known too, that the learned Arabs of all ages were better inſtructed in Greek than in Roman literature; and that philoſophy, natural hiſtory, and phyſic, were highly eſteemed by them: but that they held ancient hiſtory in little eſtimation, their own excepted.

Be that as it will, Vella gives hopes that the ſixtieth book will ſoon appear in an Italian tranſlation: but that he will not publiſh the whole of the manuſcript, till he has obtained a ſufficient number of ſubſcribers to ſecure him from loſs.

I have ſeen the manuſcript, but, as I do not underſtand even the Arabic character, I can form no judgment concerning its authenticity. I adviſed him to publiſh the Italian tranſlation, and then to ſell the Arabic manuſcript to ſome Prince, or public library: but he is undetermined.

Livy muſt have ſuffered much by any tranſlation; and how much more by being retranſlated! No writer poſſeſſed the grand talent of preſerving a noble and elevated ſtyle, and, as the ſubject varied, to vary his colouring without departing from his dignity, in a higher degree than Livy. Ever the ſame, yet ever different, he appears as if inſpired by the very ſpirit of the times and the events he has to record. He has no peculiarity of manner: he riſes above ſuch petty conſtraint; and, like Raphael, poſſeſſes this grand peculiarity that he has no manner.

Far as the tranſlation which this, or any other work after the Arabic, muſt be below the original Latin, yet, if the manuſcript have full juſtice done it, it will be of great value. The events of a nation, whoſe

whoſe deſtiny had ſo powerful an influence over the whole globe, arranged by Livy, muſt deſerve our ſerious attention. Many a fine Roman feature, it is true, muſt be concealed under the double drapery firſt of an Arabic and then of a modern dreſs: but, in deſpite of theſe foreign folds, the noble ſtep, and the free motions, will be diſtinguiſhable, as the delighted reader is led from event to event, and confidentially, like friend converſing with friend, is conducted over the wrecks of ancient days.

A building, which was formerly a monaſtery of the Jeſuits, is deſtined for the uſe of the Academy; and the library, which has only been eight years in collecting, already conſiſts of about forty thouſand volumes. Father Sterzinger, the librarian, a German, is a man of underſtanding, worth, and literature. The library is daily open for ſome hours to the public; and we found many young people making extracts. Father Eliſeo, from Naples, is a man of merit, as a teacher of experimental philoſophy. Father Piazza, from the Veltelin or Valteline, an Italian province of the Griſons, the teacher of aſtronomy, is the friend and correſpondent of Herſchel and De Lalande *. Aided by the celebrated mechanic and aſtronomer Ramſden, of London, he has diſcovered an inſtrument which has all poſſible advantages for obſerving the ſtars by day, as well as by night. He is publiſhing a deſcription, with engravings, of this excellent inſtrument. My entire ignorance of aſtronomy, which I contemplate at an awful diſtance, diſables me from communicating any idea of this inſtrument.

The anatomical theatre, and the cabinet of natural hiſtory, I conſi-

* This famous aſtronomer wrote to father Piazza, *Nous venons de déclarer la guerre; ce qui n'empêchera ni nos obſervations ni nos calculs.* "We have juſt declared war; but this will neither impede our obſervations nor our calculations."

On the day that the people ſtormed and deſtroyed the Baſtile, De Lalande was at work from eight in the morning to three in the afternoon, without intermiſſion; undiſturbed by the tumult which, like an electric ſhock, was felt through the whole kingdom. This trait will remind you of Archimedes—"Take care of my circle!"

der

der as being yet in their infancy: though the latter is remarkable for its collection of fiſhes, which are ſo excellently preſerved as to ſeem alive.

Signor Carelli, the ſecretary of the Viceroy, poſſeſſes an excellent collection of ancient coins: among which there are ſeveral that have hitherto been unknown. Thoſe of the Greek towns in Sicily, and among the reſt of Syracuſe, are remarkable for their beauty. There is one of Syracuſe, which has never before been diſcovered, having on one ſide the figure of Apollo, and on the other of Diana, of excellent workmanſhip.

There are likewiſe Punic coins in this collection; which probably were ſtamped either in this city, in *Solus* or in *Motya*. They contain on one ſide the Carthaginian horſe-head.

Among thoſe of *Panormus*, there are ſome that have Greek inſcriptions; which probably may be of the period between the end of the firſt Punic war and the reign of Auguſtus. This Emperor ſent a Roman colony here; and I doubt whether, after that epocha, great as the remaining privileges of the city were, it was ſuffered to coin its own money.

Several coins are found the inſcriptions of which are half Greek, and half Punic; and theſe were probably coined ſoon after the expulſion of the Carthaginians, when the Greek language began to prevail on this ſide of Sicily.

A ſimilar accident has happened to the Sicilian coins of the Swabian æra: on which the inſcription upon one ſide is Arabic, and upon the other Greek. The Norman princes, who immediately ſucceeded to the Saracens, permitted Arabic inſcriptions on all coins.

It is remarkable that all the coins of the elder Dionyſius have Punic inſcriptions.

Some miles from the city, the little town of *Montereale*, which was formerly the ſeat of an Archbiſhop, is built upon a hill. After the death of the laſt Archbiſhop, the King joined this ſee with that of Palermo;

Iermo; and, greatly reducing the revenue, applied the remainder to the royal treaſury. The preceding Archbiſhop made a fine high road between the two towns; which is ornamented with fountains, and ſtatues.

The cathedral of Montereale is an old Gothic building; the altar of which, at the expence of the ſame Archbiſhop, Teſta, is richly embelliſhed with ſilver ſtatues, and ſilver medallions of emboſſed work.

The road enjoys a very pleaſant proſpect of the gardens among the hills, which form a circular valley, and of the ſea.

A large botanical garden has been planted, ſome years, on the eaſt ſide of Palermo; in which I became acquainted with the *papyrus*. The *Muſa Paradiſiaca* blooms and bears fruit; and its flowers reſemble thoſe which we call the great imperial crown. I here for the firſt time ſaw ſeveral beautiful plants.

A ſtructure is now building, under the inſpection of the architect Du Fournay, which is deſigned for a public ſchool of botany. It is almoſt finiſhed; and is, in many of its parts, an imitation of the ancient Greek architecture in Sicily. Whether this high ſtyle be proper for a ſmall building, whether the pillars and the cupola are in proportion, and whether pilaſters which like pillars are tapered toward the extremity produce a good effect, are doubts which my want of knowledge will not permit me to decide upon.

Near this is another public garden called the Flora; where there are ſhady walks and charming ſhrubs, with a proſpect toward the ſea. It embelliſhes the *Corſo*; which is held between this garden and the ſea. Here I firſt ſaw the *Patientia*; a beautiful tall tree, which ſeems to me greatly to reſemble the aſh *.

On the ſpot where now this pleaſant garden flouriſhes, formerly, the poor wretches that were condemned by the Inquiſition were executed.

The reigning King has delivered Sicily from this horrible tribunal. It is to the honour of the kingdom of Naples that the people, though

* *Melia Azedarach foliis bipinnatis.*

very

very religious, have ardently and obſtinately reſiſted the introduction of that court.

Under the word *Palermo*, in the *Encyclopédie*, we read the following account of this great city.

PALERME, ville détruite *en Sicile, dans le val de Mazzara, avec un archevêché et un* petit port. *Palerme*, avant ſa déſtruction *par un tremblement de terre, diſputoit à Meſſine le rang de capitale. Elle* étoit *ſituée ſur la côte ſeptentrionale* *.

I think I may be permitted to throw a little light on this *ſagacious* paſſage.

Palermo was ſcarcely ever a larger city than it is at preſent: for its inhabitants are at leaſt a hundred, and probably a hundred and twenty, thouſand in number.

Its haven, the capaciouſneſs of which the Greek word *Panormus* denoted, has been rendered a *little* haven by no earthquake; and this *fearful* earthquake, which *deſtroyed* the town, can be no other than that which happened in 1726; when a few houſes fell.

Palermo maintains the rank of the principal city: although Meſſina has at all times contended, and will contend for this rank; and has for centuries been ſtyled by the King, in his official documents, *Meſſina, Capo del Regno:* or capital of the kingdom.

Palermo is not only, without doubt, the largeſt city in Sicily but is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful cities of Europe: although the *Encyclopédie* denies its exiſtence.

Our friends, the Meſſieurs Von Droſt, from Münſter, with whom we became acquainted at Naples, are arrived in the packet boat that regularly paſſes between Naples and Palermo; and will contribute to enliven our delightful journey through Sicily.

* PALERMO. A *deſtroyed city* of Sicily, in the valley of Mazzara; with an archbiſhoprick, and a *ſmall* haven. Palermo, *before its deſtruction* by an earthquake, diſputed the rank of capital with Meſſina. It *was* ſituated on the north coaſt.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Trapani, 12th June 1792.

LEAVING Palermo two days ago, our road led us, contrary to our expectation, through Montereale; and we now regret that, inſtead of viſiting this place, we did not take a trip to *Monte Pellegrino*: or to the monaſtery of *San Martino*.

The ſame Archbiſhop Teſta, at whoſe expence the magnificent high road from Montereale to Palermo was made, has continued that road, though at leſs coſt, and made it paſſable for carriages as far as *Sala di Partenico*: which is eighteen Italian miles from Palermo.

Leaving the verdant Montereale, we aſcended among the naked heights till the proſpect at once became beautiful. We beheld a ſpacious valley before us, with the bay of Caſtelamare; on the north-eaſt ſide of which a pictureſque promontory projects: while the bay is formed by two inferior capes, that extend like the prongs of a fork into the ſea.

The fertility of the valley juſtifies all that has been related of Sicily by ancient writers. Waving corn, vineyards, and fig and olive trees, embelliſh theſe fortunate fields: where the eye is ſtill more enraptured by the blooming orange and citron. The lands are hedged round with the aloe, and the Indian fig.

Above this bay, on the Palermo ſide, is the town of *Hyccara*, τὰ Ὑκκαρα, the birth place of Laïs, too celebrated for her beauty and its abuſe. When a child, ſhe was publicly ſold among other priſoners by the Athenians; when, led by Nicias, they had conquered this little place, and brought the inhabitants to Athens. The town, which now ſtands where *Hyccara* was built, is called *Carini*.

Sala di Partenico, a well built little place, by its name points out the traces of the ſmall Greek town called *Parthenicon*. It is ſituated at the entrance of a charming valley.

In the evening, we ſaw the diſtant iſland of Uſtica; which for centuries, from the fear of African pirates, was only inhabited by wild goats. The King cauſed a citadel to be built here, in the year 1765, furniſhed it with a garriſon, and ſent a colony to Uſtica; which flouriſhes, although the iſland is in want of freſh water: the water they have being kept in ciſterns. This muſt not be confounded with the leſs and now nameleſs iſland which, after a terrible occurrence, the ancients called *Oſteodes*: the place of bones: and to which the Carthaginians, under a warlike pretext, ſent a large army of mercenaries, to whom they were in arrears for pay, and here ſuffered them to periſh of hunger.

We reached Alcamo in the evening; a well built town, that contains above eight thouſand inhabitants. It was built in the year 828, on the fruitful hill *Bonifacio*, by the Saracen *Adalcamo*; or *Halcamo*; who came from Africa: but its ſite was removed by the Emperor, Frederick the Second, to the plain in which it now ſtands.

Alcamo boaſts of having produced famous men; and, among others, *Ciullo del Camo*: who is generally called *Vincentio di Alcamo*. He was the contemporary of Frederick the Second; and is ſuppoſed, by ſome, to be the firſt who wrote poetry in the Italian language: at leaſt, he was one of the firſt Italian poets. As it was Sunday, we were not ſurpriſed to ſee a great part of the inhabitants tumultuouſly crowding the ſtreets: for this is a cuſtom through all Italy. They begin on the Saturday evening, after the labour of the week is over, to collect in the market places, and ſtreets. He, who ſhould be unacquainted with their manners, would imagine that ſome extraordinary event or inſurrection had cauſed them to aſſemble: for they uſually ſpeak all together, with loud voices, rapid articulation, and animated geſtures. In the midſt of their violent contentions, you every moment expect they will

will ſeize each other by the throat, and are agreeably ſurpriſed to hear them end in a loud laugh.

Thus it was at Alcamo, where the ſtreets ſeemed to be in an uproar till after midnight, when ſinging and muſic began: yet, as early as three in the morning, the people were going about, crying aloud the bread and meat, which they ſold to the workmen that were preparing for their labour in the fields. The Sicilians, like the Italians, need but little ſleep; and willingly part with that little for any diverſion. Hence the cuſtom of ſerenading ever has and ever will prevail. Horace, in the ninth ode of his firſt book, ſpeaks of the ſerenades of his days. He has been hitherto miſinterpreted, by ſome commentators; and, although the manners of the ſouth of Italy and of Sicily might have pointed out what the poet intended to deſcribe, yet, I ſhould probably ſtill have miſunderſtood him, if a lucky accident had not informed me of the true meaning of the verſe.

A volume of the *Gazette Litteraire de l'Europe* fell into my hands at Naples; a journal which gave extracts from the commentator, Abbate Galiani; a writer who died ſome years ago at Naples, a man of underſtanding, and famous for his numerous works*. I do not believe that the whole of his commentary has yet been made public.

The ode of which I am ſpeaking begins

Vides ut alta ſtet nive candidum
Soracte———

HOR. l. i. od. 9.

Behold Soracte's airy height.

FRANCIS.

The verſes

Leneſque ſub noctem ſuſurri
Compoſita repetantur hora—

An aſſignation ſweetly made,
With gentle whiſpers in the dark—

FRANCIS.

* See different numbers of the above journal, for the year 1765.

have generally been underſtood as if the poet ſpoke of ſocial friends, who met together in the evening. But why ſhould they ſpeak in whiſpers? And why at an appointed hour? Is not the unexpected viſit of a friend often the moſt pleaſant?

Others came nearer to the meaning, without attaining it. They ſuppoſed the poet had ſpoken of two lovers converſing together. Let us hear our acute Neapolitan.

"Theſe *Lenes Suſurri*," ſays Galiani, "are not the ſoft whiſpers of two "lovers: they are ſerenades. To elucidate my meaning, it will be "neceſſary for me to enlarge a little on the manners of the ancient Ro- "mans: manners which are ſtill preſerved, in the lower parts of Italy, "Spain, and the Eaſt. Love, that ever powerful, but ever hypocri- "tical paſſion, ſuffers itſelf to be fettered, and conſtrained, as long as it "can endure: but, when it gathers ſufficient ſtrength, it breaks its chains "and recovers its freedom. In Spain and Italy, where the climate will "permit, the lover declares his paſſion in the ſtreet, and at the win- "dows. In France and Germany, where the winds are more rude, "love is obliged to open the door, and tell his tale by the fire ſide. In "the country of Horace, the door was impaſſable, and the houſe con- "ſidered as ſacred: particularly if it contained a young maiden that "was marriageable.

"But let us not deceive ourſelves: neither Arab nor Turk firſt in- "troduced the jealouſy of the ſeraglio, to Greece and Aſia. The "cuſtom is much older: it is attached to the ſoil: it ſtill exiſts in "Italy; or rather did exiſt, till, at the end of the laſt century, French "manners prevailed over all Italy. In the ſouth however this ancient "cuſtom ſtill remains in full force*. The doors there are yet impaſſ- "able

* This extreme reſtraint originates in a miſtruſt of women, and the ill opinion which prevails of the ſex. A prudent and chaſte education honours and ennobles the fair: who are moſt injuriouſly debaſed by oriental confinement. The German and Engliſh women are the moſt virtuous of their ſex. No where are unmarried women ſo innocent; or the married ſo happy. No where are wives ſo honoured, and ſo full of worth, as among

" able to lovers. Watched, as they are in Turkey, the girls ſpend a " great part of their time at the window, eſpecially by night, liſtening " to the ſongs which the lovers ſing in a low voice, that they may not " diſturb the neighbourhood. The maiden conceals the light of her " chamber; and her lover only knows that ſhe is preſent by her ſoft " whiſpers, which he hears from the balcony. I have a thouſand times " witneſſed the ſcenes which Horace deſcribes. On a ſudden the girl " is ſilent, and returns no more anſwers to the diſcourſe of her lover; " who, being in the dark, knows not whether ſhe ſtill liſtens or is gone. " He ſpeaks again, again waits to hear, and at laſt receiving no re- " ply is perſuaded that his beloved is retired to reſt; or that, fright- " ened by a noiſe in her mother's chamber, ſhe has thrown herſelf un- " der the bed clothes and counterfeited ſleep.

" Theſe accidents of fright are ſo common that the lover is not aſto- " niſhed if he be ſuddenly left in the middle of his nightly colloquy. " Dejected, he puts his mandoline in its caſe, and is about to be gone; " when, in an inſtant, his young miſtreſs, who had retired to a corner " of her chamber, gives a loud laugh to inform him that ſhe ſtill liſtens, " and that ſhe had only been ſportively playing him a trick. Over- " joyed, enraptured, he returns and again begins his amorous endleſs " tale.

" This agrees with the deſcription of Horace:

Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ riſus ab angulo,
Pignuſque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinaci.

The laugh that from the corner flies,
The ſportive fair one ſhall betray;

---

among the Germans, and the Engliſh. Neither have our women that cold reſerve which is frequently the lot of an Engliſhwoman. What Galiani ſays of the hypocriſy of love is in part explained by the text, and in part muſt be underſtood only of this paſſion in the South.

Then

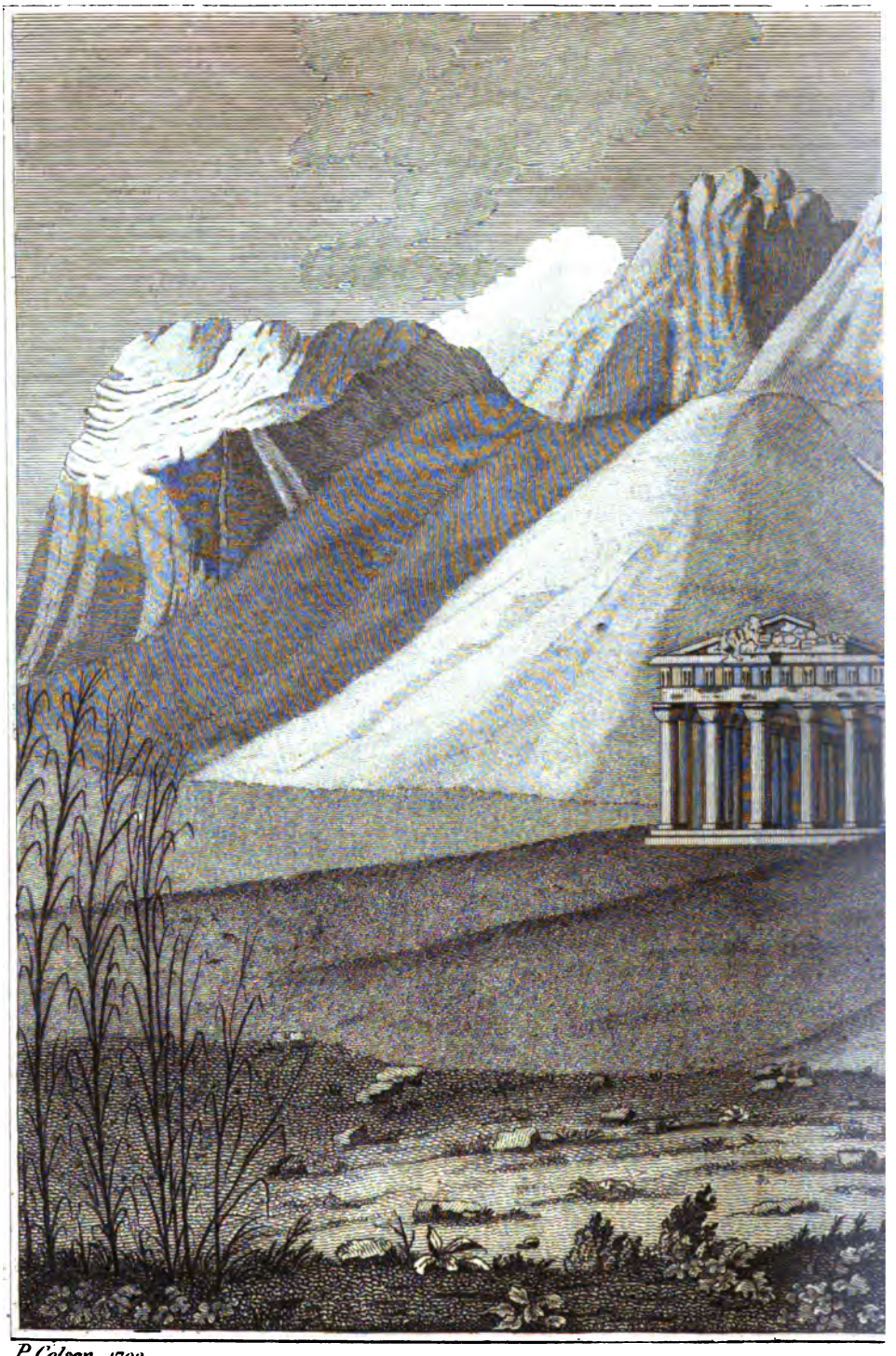
Then boldly ſnatch the joyful prize;
A ring or bracelet tear away:
While ſhe not too ſeverely coy,
Struggling ſhall yield the willing toy.
FRANCIS.

"In the two laſt lines, Horace gives us a picture of what happens at a "houſe door. In Italy, the young girls are permitted to ſtep to the "door, for a moment, eſpecially at the beginning of night. The lover "is careful to paſs and repaſs, that he may catch the inſtant in which "he may remind his miſtreſs of the hour of their nightly meetings, "preſs her to obſerve her promiſe, and endeavour to obtain a token. "The laſt is generally no more than a pretext, that he may ſqueeze "her hand, and take a ring from her finger which is weakly defended."

Thus far Galiani; and I have no difficulty in admitting that the two laſt lines explain what actually happens. The girl has played tricks with and laughed at her lover; and, being inclined to be reconciled, runs down to the houſe door. She quarrels with him only for the pleaſure of making it up. Our vetturino, a lively young man, who has ſeveral times travelled over all Sicily, was not ſo weary by riding in the heat but that he willingly touched the ſtrings of his inſtrument nightly before many a window. Abſent from home and in want of a more tender object, he ſometimes gave us a ſerenade.

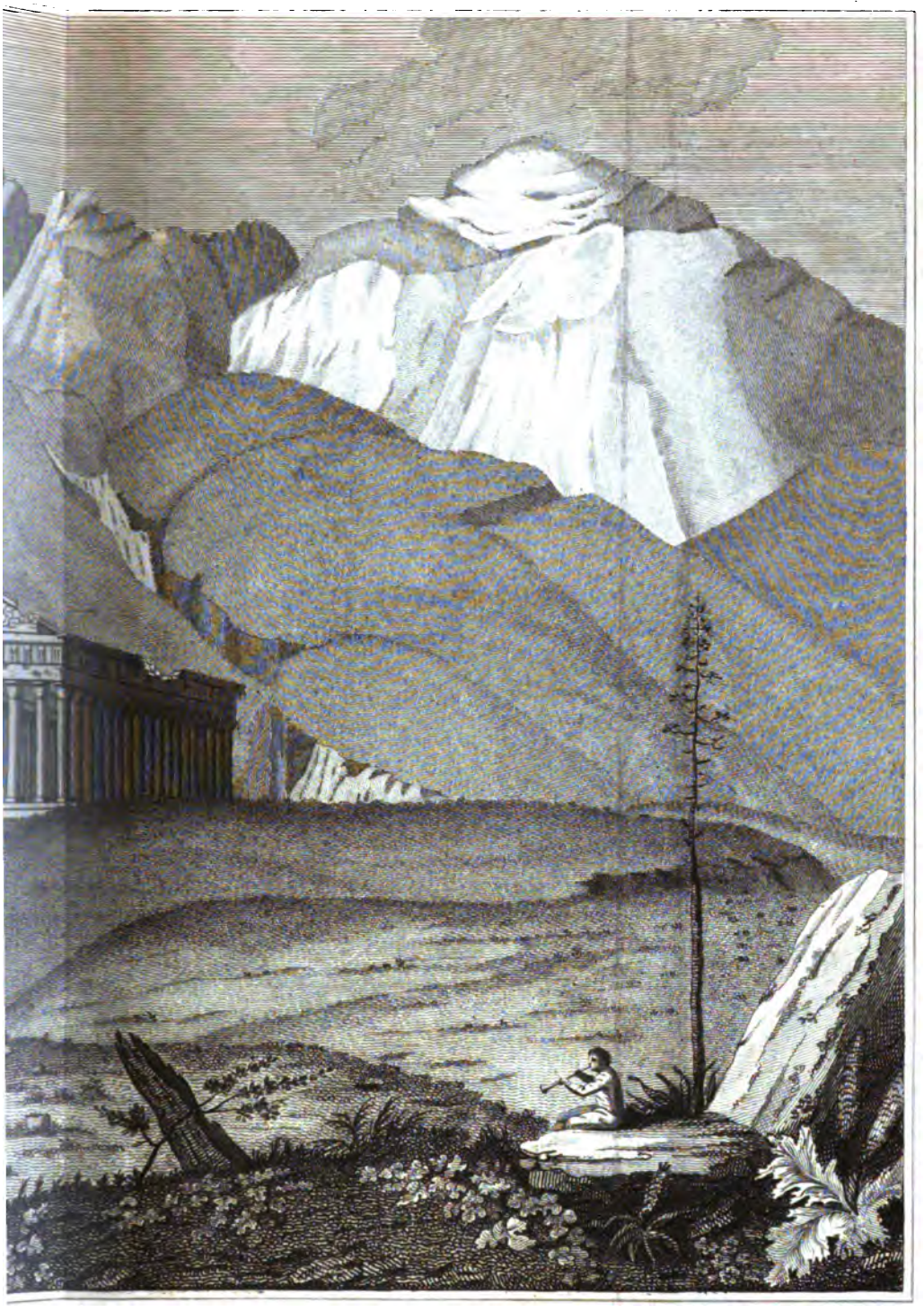
Yeſterday, we rode through an open, and, in general, an ill-cultivated country. There are two large remains of the ancient town of *Egeſta*, nine Italian miles from Alcamo: one of which is a temple, that is in as good preſervation as the temple of Pæſtum. It has ſix-and-thirty pillars; and is fourteen pillars in length and ſix in breadth. They are of the Doric order, and of the travertine ſtone: no doubt from the rocks of the country. The pillars ſtand upon ſocles: which ſingle circumſtance ſeems to prove them of a later æra than that in which the temple of Pæſtum was built; the pillars of which have no ſocles. The architrave and the two frontiſpieces have withſtood the ravages of time.

Some



P. Colson 1792.

Ruins of a Grecian Te



Temple in Egesta: or Segesta.

Letter LXXXVIII

Some pillars have been repaired by the preſent King; and a Latin inſcription, which points them out, diſfigures theſe remains of antiquity. The pillars are ſo large that three of us could not within an ell and a half encircle one of them. Contrary to the Grecian manner, they are poliſhed: but probably they have been fluted; for they are ſomewhat broader than the chapiters, and, below, where they reſt upon the ſocles, they have each an inciſion of about three inches in height and two in depth, which is carried round them, and appears to ſhew the intended ſize of the complete pillar. It is as difficult to determine whether this temple had an inner row of pillars, an inner wall, and a cell, ναος, as to diſcover the deity to which it was dedicated. The ancients mention ſeveral temples of this town. Neither can it be known whether the great flat ſtone, in the middle, was placed there as an altar, or as an idol.

This temple, like that of Pæſtum, is encircled by two ſteps. Within, the building is ſeventy-one paces in length, and twenty-ſix in breadth; and without, not including the ſteps, ſeventy-eight paces in length, and thirty-three in breadth.

There are likewiſe, on a hill, large ruins of an ancient theatre; which ſhew the whole circumference of what was properly the theatre: that is, that part in which the ſemicircular ſeats of the ſpectators roſe, one above the other. It is conſtructed of large hewn ſtones; but there is no trace of the ſtage. Beſide being ſpectators of the performance, the audience had a fine proſpect toward the ſea.

On the right of theſe remains the river meanders; which the founders of Egeſta, who were fugitive Trojans, called the *Scamandrus*: to remind them of the river of their own country.

South of the town the *Simois* empties itſelf into it; which was likewiſe ſo called by them, after another Trojan river. I do not know its modern name. The *Scamandrus* is now called *Bartolomeo*; and, near its mouth, *Fiume Frigido*.

Virgil gives the ancient names of theſe rivers, when Iris, under the form

form of old *Beroe*, comes, at the command of Juno, and excites the Trojan women to burn the ſhips.

Nullane jam Trojæ dicentur mœnia? nuſquam
Hectoreos amnes, Xanthum et Simoenta videbo?

ÆN. v. 633.

Shall we no more the Trojan walls renew,
Or ſtreams of ſome diſſembled Simois view?

DRYDEN, v. 825.

Xanthus and Scamandrus are names of the ſame river.

Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκαμάνδρον.

Xanthus his name, with thoſe of heavenly birth:
But called Scamander by the ſons of earth.

POPE, Il. b. xx. v. 101.

The women followed the counſel of Beroe, four of the ſhips were burned, and Æneas, obliged to leave as many men behind as theſe ſhips had contained, aided by his hoſt, Aceſtes, the ſon of the river Crimiſus and a Trojan woman, founded this town: which Virgil therefore did not call *Egeſta*, but *Aceſta*.

That Æneas governed the Trojans, after the deſtruction of Troy, is beyond all doubt. Homer makes Neptune thus ſpeak in the aſſembly of the Gods.

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

On great Æneas ſhall devolve the reign;
And ſon ſucceeding ſon the laſt in line ſuſtain.

POPE, v. 354.

I believe that he rebuilt the walls of Ilion, and that he reigned there: but this much is certain that, according to an ancient tradition, he travelled to Sicily and Italy. Virgil, as a Roman poet, profited by this flattering popular tale, and thus derived the Romans from the Trojans. It was likewiſe acceptable to him, becauſe the family of Cæſar boaſted of their deſcent from a ſon of Æneas.

However this may be, the towns of Eryx and Egeſta, according to the teſtimony of the ancients, were founded by Trojans, who had eſcaped from the Greeks*.

Egeſta, which was likewiſe called *Ægeſta*, and *Segeſta*, was a mighty city. It twice induced the Athenians, during the Peloponneſian war, to make an attack upon Sicily. The Egeſtians, or *Aceſtæi*, were at war with the *Selinuntii*; as well concerning confines as becauſe of a marriage. The *Selinuntii*, who had aſked aid of Syracuſe, preſſed upon their enemy by land and ſea. The Aceſtæi reminded the Athenians of the alliance they had made with them during the laſt war, requeſted naval aſſiſtance, and, which was a more powerful motive, led the Athenians to ſuſpect that, ſince the people of Syracuſe had not been puniſhed for driving out the Leontini from their city, they would ſoon rule all Sicily; and, perhaps, as Dores, aſſiſt the Dorians of Peloponneſus, and thus aid them to deſtroy the power of Athens. It would therefore be wiſe in them to join the confederates againſt Syracuſe; and the more ſo as they, the Aceſtæi, would ſupply money ſufficient for the war.

The Athenians firſt determined to ſend ambaſſadors to Egeſta; who ſhould enquire how far it was provided with the promiſed ſums, which the Aceſtæi pretended to have in the treaſury, and in the temples; and likewiſe to inform themſelves of the ſtate of the war between the Aceſtæi and the Selinuntii †.

The ambaſſadors returned with ſixty talents of unwrought ſilver from Egeſta, as the monthly pay for ſixty ſhips. Theſe ambaſſadors and the Aceſtæi themſelves both told many untruths, concerning the riches of Egeſta, in a public aſſembly of the people; and war was declared in Athens and ſixty galleys were ſent.

They afterward diſcovered that the ambaſſadors had been deceived, by the people of Egeſta; who had firſt taken them to the temple of Venus, on Mount Eryx, and there had diſplayed its wealth in flagons,

* Thucydides. † Thucyd. lib. vi. p. 381.

goblets, cenſers, and other veſſels; with their remaining no ſmall treaſure in ſilver, which appeared greater than it was in reality. They next invited the Athenians to their banquets; and, on theſe occaſions, produced gold and ſilver veſſels, the greateſt part of which had been borrowed from the Phœnicians and Greek towns of Sicily. As theſe veſſels were exhibited wherever the Athenians were invited, and on each occaſion were ſuppoſed to be the property of the hoſt, the ambaſſadors formed a magnificent idea of the wealth of the Aceſtæi, which they reported to Athens*.

In the afternoon, we rode twenty-one miles, the heat being rather ſevere, through an open flat country, covered with grain. The farmers were buſied with their wheat harveſt. The country near Trapani became more pleaſant; in which town we met a kind reception at the houſe of a merchant, to whom we had a letter of recommendation.

Before we entered the town, we ſaw a fire burning on a tower by the ſea ſide. Similar fires are kindled every evening, along the whole coaſt of Sicily: which cuſtom of fire ſignals is very ancient. It is mentioned by Homer, in the eighteenth book of the Iliad.

Αὐταρ Ἀχιλλευς ὠρτο Διϊ φιλος· ἀμφι δ' Ἀθηνη
Ὠμοις ἀφθιμοισι βαλ' ἀιγιδα θυσσανοεσσαν·
Ἀμφι δε οἱ κεφαλῃ νεφος ἐστεφε δια θεαων
Χρυσειον, ἐκ δ' αυτοῦ δαιε φλογα παμφανοωσαν.
Ὡς δ' ὁτε καπνος ἰων ἐξ ἀστεος ἀιθερ' ἰκηται
Τηλοθεν ἐκ νησου, τὴν δηϊοι αμφιμαχονται,
Ὁιτε παυημεριοι τυγερῳ κρινονται ἀρηϊ·
Ἀστεος ἐκ σφετερης· ἀμα δ' ηελιῳ καταδυντι
Πυρσοι τε φλεγεθουσιν ἐπητριμοι, υψοσε δ' αυγη
Γινεται ἀϊσασα, περικτιονεσσιν ἰδεσθαι,
Ἠμεν πως συν νηυσιν ἀρεως ἀλκτῆρες ικωνται.

Hom. Il. xviii. 203.

——————The hero roſe;
Her ægis, Pallas o'er his ſhoulders throws.

* Thucyd. lib. vi. p. 408.

Around

Around his brows a golden cloud ſhe ſpread;
A ſtream of glory flam'd above his head.
As when from ſome beleaguer'd town ariſe
The ſmokes, high-curling to the ſhaded ſkies;
(Seen from ſome iſland o'er the main, afar,
When men diſtreſt hang out the ſign of war)
Soon as the ſun in ocean hides his rays,
Thick on the hills the flaming beacons blaze;
With long projected beams the ſeas are bright,
And heaven's high arch reflects the ruddy light:
So from Achilles' head the ſplendors riſe,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, againſt the ſkies.

POPE, Il. b. xviii. 241.

Such fires are likewiſe mentioned by Æſchylus; and Cicero tells us the Sicilians had the ancient cuſtom of giving notice, by theſe tokens, of the approach of pirates. Among the documents of the thirteenth century, we find an order of King Peter, of the houſe of Arragon, to kindle theſe fires; and, in the year 1329, a ſimilar command was iſſued by his ſon Frederic, to the univerſity of Palermo. In the year 1579, the Parliament of Sicily laid a tax upon the inhabitants of ten thouſand *ſcudi*, for the maintenance of ſuch fires; which tax has ſince been increaſed. Every evening, at the time when the Italians ſay their *Ave Maria*, which is a cuſtom among the devout, that is, once in twenty-four hours, about half an hour after ſun ſet, one of theſe fires is kindled on a tower at Meſſina. As ſoon as it is perceived at the next tower toward the ſouth, the ſame token is likewiſe there kindled; and ſo, from tower to tower, along the whole coaſt round the iſland, with ſuch expedition that, in a quarter of an hour, the neighbouring token to the weſtward is ſeen at Palermo. If, after a ſhort time, the fires are extinguiſhed, it is a mark of perfect ſafety; but, if pirates are diſcovered, the fire is ſuffered to burn all night at the place from which they were ſeen.

Trapani derives its ancient name, *Drepanum*, from the form of its haven; which reſembles a ſickle. The Greek word, δρεπανον, ſignifies

a ſickle. It is an ancient city; which, according to Virgil, had exiſtence as early as Æneas.

Diodorus tells us that Drepanum was fortified during the firſt Punic war by Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, who had built the city and peopled it with inhabitants from Eryx *: but others are of opinion that it was only repeopled by him. Had it been built no more than two hundred and fifty years in the time of Virgil, he would ſcarcely have attributed a poetical exiſtence to it of ſuch great antiquity.

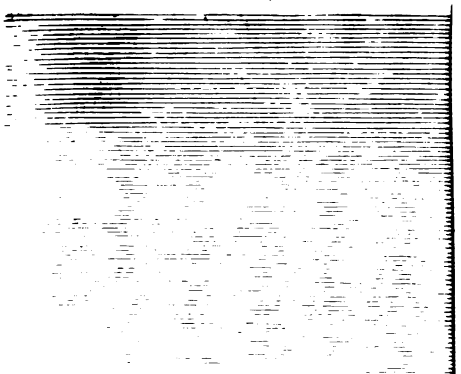
The Carthaginians were always deſirous of poſſeſſing and preſerving this place; becauſe of the excellence of its haven. It is a large and well-built city, and its ſtreets are in a right line. About thirty years ago, it was ſuppoſed to contain ſeventeen thouſand five hundred inhabitants; and the number has probably increaſed to twenty thouſand. It is built on a peninſula; and, during the winter, is entirely ſurrounded by the ſea. Excellent ſea ſalt is made here. The ſun is ſufficient to bake and bleach it: it is therefore cheap, and taken in great quantities by foreign nations, eſpecially the Engliſh; though the tax they pay for permiſſion to export it is equal to half the price.

Facing the city, there is a fortreſs on a rocky iſland, which is called *La Colombara*. It had a name of the ſame ſignification in the times of the Greeks: Πελειας νησος: the iſle of doves.

This morning we rode over the hill *San Giuliano*: the famous mount Eryx of the ancients. According to the fable, Eryx, the ſon of Venus and King Butes, lived here; and poſſeſſed a part of the iſland. Hercules, on his paſſage through Sicily, was challenged to combat by Eryx; who ſtaked his lands againſt the cattle brought from Spain and the immortality of Hercules. The latter was victorious, and left the lands to the inhabitants; on condition that, if any of his deſcendants ſhould require it, they ſhould be reſigned to them. Dorieus, the Spartan, one of theſe deſcendants, came, as ſome ſay in the 70th, others the 78th Olympiad, and built Heraclea: or rather took poſſeſſion of Minoa from

* Diod. lib. xiii.

the



Designed after Nature by Nicolovius.

the Cretans (who, after the death of *Minos*, built the town of *Minoa)* and called it *Heraclea.* This town rapidly increaſed, but was deſtroyed by the Carthaginians*.

The fable ſays, that Eryx built a temple on this mountain, and conſecrated it to his mother, Venus. "Few temples," ſays Diodorus, "were equally celebrated. It was founded by Eryx, and richly endowed by Æneas. The Sicani paid it great honours: ſo did the Carthaginians, when they governed a part of the iſland; and ſtill more the Romans, who conſider themſelves as derived from the Goddeſs, and to her aſcribe their grandeur. The conſuls, prætors, and other commanders, here paid public homage; and, in obedience to the Goddeſs, ſtripping themſelves of the gloomy pomp of power, here recreated themſelves with ſports, and the intercourſe of women. The ſenate decreed that the citizens of the ſeventeen moſt faithful towns of Sicily, in honour of the Goddeſs, ſhould adorn themſelves with gold, and maintain a guard of two hundred men for her temple †."

The goddeſs was ſerved by young women; who dedicated themſelves to her, and to the ſhameful cuſtom of proſtituting themſelves for money, which they ſhared with the temple.

People ſay that the women of the little town of *San Giuliano*, which is on the eaſtern ſummit of the hill, are very beautiful. I know they are very fearful. I ſaw none but old women: but they bore no marks of beauty in decay. The timidity of the young women of *San Giuliano* has been remarked by other travellers.

Prodigious foundations, on which the Saracens erected a caſtle, indubitably denote the place where the temple ſtood; and are remains of greater certainty than the fountain, which is called the ſpring of Venus: although I will not deny its antiquity. I rather believe it to be of thoſe times. We ſee ſome pillars in the wall of the caſtle, placed horizontally, which the Saracens uſed merely as aiding to raiſe the

* Diod. lib. iv. † Diod. lib. iv. p. 326.

wall;

wall; but which certainly belonged to the temple of Venus. There is a wall, which has cavities for nesting doves; and many doves were kept at the temple: but its architecture appears to me to denote a later æra. Numerous wild pigeons nest there at present. The fable says the doves of the Goddess were sometimes accustomed all to fly away; and that they then followed her to Africa. This fable is founded on a truth. A kind of wild pigeons, like other birds of passage, annually fly in great numbers to Africa; from whence they in like manner return, at a stated time.

Trapani is supplied from this mountain with water; which passes through a very long and beautiful aqueduct, into which three different springs empty themselves. As the country people frequently injure the pipes, by watering their fields and gardens, the towns people keep cisterns in their houses, which are filled with the water of the aqueduct.

The inhabitants of the mountain town *San Giuliano* have gardens, and small fields, on the hill itself. Most of their tilled lands lie below the town; to which the men, early every Monday, go, and do not return till Saturday evening. Some of them take their wives and children; but in general they live with their families only on Sundays, and festivals. As jealousy is common to them, probably they commit their wives to the strict guard of old matrons; which may be the reason that both wives and young women are so timid.

On this coast, and among these mountains, the Cyclops of Homer lived; who were afterward transported to Ætna, by later mythologists.

——————— ὑψηλων ὀρεων ναιουσι καρηνα.
Ἐν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι ——.

Od. b. ix. 113.

But high on hills, on airy cliffs, they dwell:
Or deep in caves, whose entrance leads to hell.

Pope, v. 129.

I saw

I ſaw a cavern in the rock of the mountain, which reminded me of this paſſage of the great poet.

The hill of *San Giuliano* is likewiſe called *Monte di Trapani*; and we ſaw from its top a large tract of Sicily, though the horizon was miſty: by which Ætna was concealed.

The three iſlands, called the *Ægates*, or *Ægades*, lie adjacent to Trapani: their preſent names are *Leranzo*, *Maritimo*, and *Favignana*: which is likewiſe called *Favognana*. The two firſt are the higheſt; and probably Homer, comparing the laſt with the others, called it low; and indeed, ſome few excepted, all the iſlands of this ſea are much higher. *Favignana* has a convenient port, and good anchorage. It was uninhabited in the time of Homer; and only ſerved as the haunts of wild goats. It is now peopled, and affords paſturage to cattle. Its cheeſe is much eſteemed; and it produces corn, but not in abundance. The haven, which Homer mentions, is a ſmall ſafe bay.

Favignano is ſo very full of ſprings that the horſes and aſſes, pawing with their hoofs on the ſea ſhore, will occaſion the freſh water to bubble out of the ſand. Its figs and wine are good; and its pomegranates, which have no kernels, are famous. Homer regrets that it was not cultivated: it being naturally ſo fruitful:

——————— φεροι δε κεν ὡρια παντα—
Hom. Od. ix. 131.

All things in ſeaſon 'twould produce—

and I have heard people ſtill regret that it is not cultivated as it ought to be. Homer calls it woody; and it ſtill has a ſmall grove of the aſh and poplar. We are told, by a modern Sicilian author, that it breeds rabbits, and chamois; which laſt, are the wild goats of Homer.

It was here that Ulyſſes was driven by night; and, on the next day, hunted the wild goat. Here he left his ſhips; one excepted, in which he ſailed to the Cyclops, and met with his famous adventures. The

two rocks are ſeen, facing Trapani, which gave occaſion to the fable of the two enormous ſtones, hurled by the Cyclops after the ſhip of Ulyſſes. The firſt, falling beyond the ſhip, drove it back toward the ſhore: the ſecond, falling ſhort, impelled it toward the little iſland.

Great latitude muſt be allowed to the text, and an iſland that does not exiſt muſt be raiſed out of the ſea, and again be ſuffered to diſappear, if we would allow thoſe authors to have reaſon who place the Cyclops of Homer on Mount Ætna. Here, on the contrary, the moſt trivial circumſtances accord with each other; and do honour to the poet, who, as a traveller, at a time when travelling was attended with almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, had been ſo accurate in his obſervations.

It was one of the rocks in this ſea which Virgil has deſcribed, as the goal for the ſhip race; when, in the fifth book of the Æneid, he ſo beautifully pictures the games that were given in honour of his dead father, Anchiſes.

In the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, there was a ſecret community at Trapani, which called itſelf *La confraternità di San Paolo:* the fraternity of Saint Paul. Theſe people, when aſſembled, paſſed ſentence on their fellow citizens; and, if any one was condemned, the way laying and putting him to death was allotted to one of the members: which dreadful office he was obliged without murmuring to execute.

This fraternity will remind you of our German ſecret tribunal, of the middle ages: a court which we now juſtly hold in abhorrence. In theſe ages of anarchy, when in truth the power of our Emperors and Princes could ſeldom reſtrain the exceſſes of the great, this horrible cuſtom might perhaps be neceſſary: that open oppreſſion might be counteracted by an oppreſſion of a ſecret and therefore of a more dreadful kind.

It appears that our ſecret tribunal maintained the reſpect in which it was held chiefly by its rigid impartiality. The free ſpirit of the

Germans

Germans would not have endured the capricious exercise of ſecret injuſtice.

The country round Trapani abounds with large fields of the kali plant; or ſoda; which is uſed for the producing of the alkali, that is ſo neceſſary to the glaſs manufactories. The quantity of pot aſh which this plant annually yields for exportation, through the whole kingdom, is eſtimated at two hundred thouſand *cantari*.

Coral in great quantities is found in the haven of this town, and forms a conſiderable branch of trade.

Small figures in baſſo relievo are here cut on ſhells: but this ingenious work is much more neatly performed at Rome.

Trapani has a gymnaſium, but no bookſeller. A city that contains twenty thouſand inhabitants without a bookſeller!! A German, from time to time, ſupplies them with books from his ſmall itinerant library. Thoſe who do not need or will not wait for his aſſiſtance muſt write for books to Palermo.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Girgenti, 17th June 1792.

WE rode, on the 13th, through a flat and open country, from Trapani to *Mazzara*; and ſaw the iſland *Pantaleone*, in the forenoon, on our right. Unlike the reſt of the iſlands of the Mediterranean that I have ſeen, it is low: except indeed the two ſmall iſlands of the Tarantine bay, the ſhores of which are flat.

This iſland, and the town it contained, were called by the ancients *Motya*. The town was founded by the Phœnicians, was inhabited in the 50th Olympiad by the Greeks, from *Cnidus* in *Caria*, and was ſoon again taken, in common, by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians.

In early times, this iſland was united to the ſhore by a mound: but it was afterward deſtroyed by the inhabitants, to cut off the enemy on the land ſide.

Soon after we had left the ſmall iſland behind us on the right, we arrived at the town of Marſalla; which, according to the eſtimate of the year 1775, contains from fifteen to ſixteen thouſand inhabitants.

Here ſtood *Lilybæum*: Λιλυβαιον: famous for its haven among the ancients, and not unfrequently noticed in hiſtory. Thucydides does not mention this town, though it muſt have exiſted in his time. Diodorus, in one place, ſays that it was built by the Carthaginians, after Motya had been deſtroyed by Dionyſius; yet he appears only to mean that it was peopled with new inhabitants; for he elſewhere tells us that, in the third year of the 81ſt Olympiad, 452 years before Chriſt, the people of *Lilybæum* were at war with the *Aceſtæi* concerning the lands on the banks of the Mazzara: which was above fifty years before the deſtruction of Motya, by Dionyſius.

The people of Lilybæum muſt have been powerful, when they were at war with the Aceſtæi; for, according to Diodorus, many on both ſides were ſlain in a battle *. Several ancient writers likewiſe relate that one Strabo, a ſharp-ſighted man, ſaw a Carthaginian fleet from a watch tower ſail out of the haven of Carthage; and that he even counted the number of ſhips: but I conſider this tale as fabulous. When the ſcirocco blows, and then only, the African promontory of *Capo buono* may be ſeen: but this is at leaſt from thirteen to fourteen German miles nearer than Tunis; and Tunis occupies the place where Carthage ſtood. Beſide, the globular form of the earth makes it impoſſible to diſcover a ſhip at the diſtance of thirty German miles: and Marſalla is no leſs from Tunis.

Before we arrived at Mazzara in the evening, we ſaw many ſingle houſes newly built.

During the whole day, we met with many palm trees, which,

* Diod. vol. 1. p. 469.

beautiful as they are, we always here find planted ſingly: or two together, at the moſt.

The weſt coaſt of Sicily is not ſo well watered as the north, and it is therefore poor in *agrumi*; but the figs are excellent, and in abundance. Yet they ill ſupply the want of the heart refreſhing ſweet orange, which cools the blood, and of which you cannot eaſily eat too many. Thus it is preſcribed, both in Sicily and Italy, by the phyſicians, as the beſt remedy for various diſeaſes: as likewiſe are ice fruits, and water cooled by the ſnow.

Mazzara may contain about eight thouſand inhabitants. According to Cluverius, it belonged to the *Selinuntii*.

Juſt before our arrival at Mazzara, we thought we ſaw the ſun go down behind the African promontory, *Capo bruno*: but it was the iſland *Pantellaria*, formerly called *Coſſyra*, which is ſix German miles from Africa. The Phœnicians ſent a colony hither; and it afterward belonged to the Carthaginians. It is very hilly, and abounds in woods, corn fields, wine, oil, fruits, vegetables, and cotton. The inhabitants likewiſe breed many cattle, and goats.

This iſland is characterized by its extraordinary caverns. The people make a peculiar kind of oil, from the berry of the *lentiſcus*: but the cotton is their principal branch of trade. It is ſix German miles in circumference: but it is only inhabited on the north-weſt ſide, becauſe it is ſo much expoſed to be plundered by the corſairs. For this reaſon, the King maintains a garriſon of a hundred and forty men in the principal town; which is fortified, and provided with artillery. The inhabitants however do not entirely depend on the ſoldiers, but on their own circumſpection and courage; for they keep watch by turns on ten towers that are built on the ſhore.

The air of the iſland is healthy, and its inhabitants are ſtrong. A ſulphurous ſpring ſupplies them with beverage; and they employ the rain water for other purpoſes, kept in ciſterns. They as diligently cultivate as they boldly defend their little country. Even the women

partake of these qualities. Acquainted with female duties, exceedingly industrious at the loom, the distaff, and the bleaching ground, they will frequently forsake these occupations, and handle the oar. They boast of understanding the art of fishing, and of managing their vessels, equal to the men; and it is even affirmed, in Sicily, that they have frequently been seen, on the approach of the Africans, to run to the shore with arms in their hands *.

This warlike ardour and animated love of their country, for which the inhabitants of small islands are remarkable, is cherished by the aspect of the enemy's coast, by the remembrance of the times when they were governed by the Saracens, from whose yoke Count Roger released them, and by later misfortunes. In the year 1553, Dragut, Captain Pacha of the Porte, landed with a hundred galleys, took the fortress, and made a thousand prisoners †.

Its present population consists of more than four thousand souls. The language of the people is a mixture of the African and the Italian ‡.

On the 14th, we saw the little towns of *Salsemi* and *Partanna* on our left. Salsemi is the ancient *Halicyæ*: Ἁλικυαι. Its Sicilian, like its Greek, name is derived from salt springs. According to the newly published Arabic documents ‖ from Palermo, it was called *Saleiman*, by a Saracen general, after his beloved son; who was wounded in battle, and who died the next day.

In *Castellvetrano*, a letter of recommendation opened to us the palace of the absent Duke of Terranova (of the Pignatelli family) which contains a considerable collection of old armour. The number of the inhabitants of this place is about eleven thousand.

In the church of St. John, there is a beautiful marble statue of John the Baptist. The countenance, in particular, is full of dignified expression. It was executed in the year 1522, and is the work of Gagini; an artist of Palermo.

* Amico, Lex. Top. Sic. † Fazello. ‡ Amico, Lex. Top. Sic.

‖ Geschichte der Araber in Sicil. 1. th. s. 52.

On

On the 15th, the heat began ſo early in the day that, at ſix o'clock, we were obliged to uſe our umbrellas. Yet we heard the nightingale, near Caſtellvetrano, in a garden of *agrumi* and pomegranate trees: though in Germany it is uſually ſilent in the heat. During the forenoon, we rode through an open country. Great quantities of a low ſhrub are ſeen, through the whole *val de Mazzara*, which, becauſe of its reſemblance to the palm branch, is called the dwarf palm. Its botanic name is *palma chamærops;* and *chamærops humilis:* the Sicilians call it *giumarra.* Its leaves reſemble the ſticks of an open fan. Before theſe leaves open themſelves, they adhere to each other; and have the form of a long boat, which will hold water: as I have frequently proved. This ſhrub with us is only about the height of the fern: but here I have ſeen it of the height of man. It is uſed for brooms, and ſent to Italy.

Some imagine that Virgil, from this plant, called Selinus *palmoſa Selinus.* At preſent, the palm tree no longer grows in that country: but is this any proof that it never grew there? This argument would only have weight if the palm tree were a native of the iſland; which it is not. Palm trees in Sicily, as in the kingdom of Naples, are reared by man. The wild parſley, or *apium*, grows here in great quantities: after the Greek name of which, σελινον, and σελινος, the town of *Selinunt*, or more properly *Seloeinis*, and as commonly abbreviated *Selinus*, was named.

Here it was that Timoleon, by an admirable preſence of mind, removed a diſagreeable impreſſion made upon his army; which might have been dangerous. When he was about to pitch his camp, the country people came with mules that were loaded with parſley; which was intended to ſerve the ſoldiers inſtead of ſtraw: but, as this was the plant with which the Greeks decorated their graves, they conſidered it as an unpropitious token, and began to murmur. Timoleon ſeized the parſley, wove it into a garland for his temples, and congratulated his

his ſoldiers, reminding them that the victors at the Iſthmian games were crowned with parſley; and thus ſo greatly exalted their courage that they all followed his example. The recollection was the ſtronger in their minds becauſe a part of them were Corinthians, who had frequently been ſpectators of theſe games in their own country, and part Syracuſians, who were originally of Corinth. The following day, Timoleon gained a great victory over the Carthaginians, obtained much booty, and erected a trophy *.

The remains of Selinus conſiſt of the ruins of three Greek temples; which, for their wild, deſolate, and confuſed, aſpect, I never ſaw equalled. An earthquake only could have ſported thus with maſſes ſo cumbrous. The huge ſhafts of pillars, with their Doric chapiters, lie tumbled together: ſome few only ſtanding, and thoſe not more than half their height. The higheſt, at a diſtance, looks like a watch tower. It was not without difficulty that we could arrive at it, by clambering over the ruins. We could not come at it below, but were obliged to take its meaſure ſome ells above the ground; and found its circumference to be twenty-eight Pariſian feet: *pieds de Roi.* They muſt have been at leaſt a foot larger below in circumference: for theſe pillars, according to the old Doric manner, are very much tapered. It ſtands in the foremoſt temple, in which all the pillars are poliſhed, and that probably was dedicated to Zeus: who was held in great honour, by the *Selinuntii.* The pillars of the two other temples are fluted: that with the poliſhed pillars is the largeſt. From theſe poliſhed pillars, and from the ſtones which I ſaw that were only half wrought, I conjecture that this great temple was building at the time of its deſtruction. This is the more probable becauſe I am told that, in the neighbouring *latomiæ*, or ſtone quarries, ſtill ſeveral unfiniſhed ſhafts of pillars are found.

Selinus was founded a century after the building of the *Hyblæan Me-*

* Plut. Life of Tim.

gara,

gara, by citizens from this place; which lay between *Leontium* and Syracuſe. This happened in the firſt year of the 38th Olympiad, 627 years before Chriſt, under a leader called Pamilus*.

In the firſt year of the 91ſt Olympiad, 414 years before the birth of Chriſt, the *Aceſtæi*, who were at war with the *Selinuntii*, ſent to Athens for aid: to which likewiſe the people of Leontium, having been driven from that city by the Syracuſians, ſent the celebrated Gorgias.

The Athenians, who only ſought an opportunity to ſubject all Sicily, complied with their requeſt †.

You know how unfortunate this war was to Athens. The *Aceſtæi* were obliged to yield the conteſted lands to the *Selinuntii*; but, as the latter were ſtill unſatisfied, the *Aceſtæi* ſent to Carthage, offering their city to the Carthaginians. After various embaſſies, in the 4th year of the 92d Olympiad, 407 years before the birth of Chriſt, the Carthaginians ſent Hannibal, the grandſon of Hamilcar, who fell before Himera, with a powerful army againſt Selinus.

It had been long ſince the Selinuntii had ſuſtained a ſiege. During the former war, which the Carthaginians waged againſt Gelo, about ſeventy years before, the Selinuntii were the only Greeks in the iſland who had been their allies, and little expected ſuch a return. Each age and ſex took a part in the defence of their city, and their freedom; and Hannibal encouraged his troops by the promiſe of plunder. Battering rams were placed againſt the walls, and the moſt valorous vied with each other in the attack, while the trumpets and ſhouts of war of the beſieging army reſounded at the onſet. A part of the walls fell before the battering engines, the Campanian ſoldiers preſſed forward and were driven back by the Selinuntii, and the battle ceaſed as night approached.

In the morning, Hannibal renewed the battle; which raged for nine days, the women hurling tiles from the roofs on the foe. At length, the Selinuntii were driven from their narrow ſtreets, and collected in

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 380. † Diod. lib. xii. v. i. p. 537.

the

the public place; where, while they ſtill continued to fight, they were all put to the ſword.

The Carthaginians plundered and ſet fire to the city; many of the inhabitants of which were burned in their houſes, the reſt were murdered without regard to age or ſex, and the dead were mutilated, and their heads borne on pikes.

The women, who with their children had fled to the temples, were commanded to be ſpared: not in compaſſion, but from the fear that they would conſume themſelves and the temples by fire, and thus deprive the victors of their expected ſpoil. At the approach of night, the city was plundered, a part of the houſes were burned, others were pulled down *, and blood and death filled the ſtreets. Sixteen thouſand of the ſlain were found, above five thouſand priſoners were taken, and during the night the Carthaginians exerciſed the moſt fiend-like cruelty, and luſt. Two thouſand ſix hundred of the Selinuntii eſcaped, and fled to Agrigentum, where they were maintained at the public expence; and the citizens, who were ſufficiently diſpoſed to befriend them, were exhorted to afford them every aid.

At this time, three thouſand choſen Syracuſians, who had been ſent to aſſiſt the Selinuntii, arrived at Agrigentum: who, when they heard what had befallen Selinus, ſent envoys to Hannibal, requeſting him to ſuffer the priſoners to be ranſomed, and to ſpare the temples. He replied, "the Selinuntii had not been able to endure freedom, and muſt

* Some may be ſurpriſed that the ancients, whoſe cities were ſo frequently taken and burned, did not, like the preſent Italians and Sicilians, build their houſes of ſtone. But why ſhould they, in theſe unfortunate times, build houſes which ſhould remain when the citizens ſhould be ſlaughtered, and their wives and children ſold as ſlaves? As to the burning of the temples, it can only be underſtood that the treaſure, furniture, and inward parts, could be burned. That the temples themſelves had nothing to fear from the flames, a glance at the prodigious ruins will render ſufficiently apparent. They could only be deſtroyed by a ſucceſſion of ages, and earthquakes.

now

now try ſlavery: their angry Gods had forſaken them." But, when the fugitives ſent Empedion to him, who had always oppoſed the war with Carthage, Hannibal ſet the relations of this man who were priſoners at liberty; and permitted the Selinuntii to rebuild the houſes of their town and country, on paying tribute to Carthage.

Selinus had been built two hundred and forty years when it was taken by Hannibal*.

In the ſame year, being the 4th of the 92d Olympiad and 407 years before Chriſt, Hermocrates, the great leader of Syracuſe, took poſſeſſion of this deſolated city, and collected ſuch of the ſcattered citizens as had eſcaped from the Carthaginians.

Eleven years afterward, Selinus again became ſo powerful that, on the invitation of Dionyſius, it took part in the war againſt the people of Carthage.

The city after this continued a hundred and thirty years; when it was once more deſtroyed by the Carthaginians, and the people tranſported to *Lilybæum*.

We now find no more mention of it, till, in the ninth century of the chriſtian æra, a Saracen General landed here, found a little town, deſtroyed it, and informed the Caliph that, in order to ſpread the terror of his arms, he had put the citizens to the ſword, and had called the place *Beld el Braghit*, or the Town of Fleas, becauſe the inhabitants were taken like fleas †. The place where it ſtood, continues to be deſolate; while its grand remains denote its ancient magnificence, and its name, *Terra de gli Pulci*, or Land of Fleas, is a memento of the Muſſulman's cruelty.

The ſurrounding country is very fertile. After we had ſurveyed the ruins, among which we found the wild fig growing, we rode along a ſmall foot-path among the tall *lentiſcus*, that roſe above the cork tree; from the tops of which we heard the chirping of innumerable graſs-

* Diod. vol. i. l. 13. p. 583.

† *Geſchichte der Arab.* i. th. f. 8.

hoppers, of the ſpecies that the Greeks called *tettix*, and the Romans *cicada*. Their Italian name is *cicala*. This graſshopper is much ſmaller than ours, looks as the ancients ſay as if it lived upon dew, and leaps and flies with equal velocity. The Greeks delighted in them, for their agility. I cannot withſtand the pleaſure of citing the ode of Anacreon to a graſshopper.

Μακαριζομαι σε τεττιξ,
Ὁτε δενδρεων ἐπ' ἀκρων
Ὀλιγην δροσον πεπωκως,
Βασιλευς ὁπως ἀειδεις
Σα γαρ ἐστι κεινα παντα,
Χ' ὁποσα βλεπεις ἐν ἀγροις,
Χ' ὁποσα φερουσιν ὑλαι.
Συ δε φιλιος γεωργων,
Ἀπο μηδενος τι βλαπτων·
Συ δε τιμιος βροτοισι,
Θερεος γλυκυς προφητης.
Φιλεουσι μεν σε Μουσαι,
Φιλεει δε Φοιβος αὐτος,
Λιγυρην δ' ἐδωκεν ὀιμην.
Τὸ δε γηρας οὐ σε τειρει,
Σοφε, γηγενης, φιλυμνε,
Απαθης, ἀναιμοσαρκε·
Σχεδον ἐι θεοις ὁμοιος.

Happy inſect, what can be,
In happineſs, compar'd to thee?
Fed with nouriſhment divine,
The dewy morning's gentle wine!
Nature waits upon thee ſtill,
And thy verdant cup does fill,
'Tis fill'd, wherever thou doſt tread,
Nature's ſelf 's thy Ganymed.
Thou doſt drink, and dance, and ſing;
Happier, than the happieſt king!
All the fields, which thou doſt ſee,
All the plants belong to thee,

All

All that ſummer hours produce,
Fertile made with early juice.
Man for thee does ſow and plow:
Farmer he, and landlord thou!
Thou doſt innocently joy,
Nor does thy luxury deſtroy;
The ſhepherd gladly heareth thee,
More harmonious than he.
Thee country hinds with gladneſs hear,
Prophet of the ripen'd year!
Thee Phœbus loves, and does inſpire;
Phœbus is himſelf thy fire.
To thee, of all things upon earth,
Life is no longer than thy mirth.
Happy inſect, happy thou
Doſt neither age nor winter know.
But when thou'ſt drunk, and danced, and ſung
Thy fill, the flowery leaves among,
(Voluptuous, and wiſe, with all,
Epicurean animal!)
Sated with thy ſummer feaſt,
Thou retir'ſt to endleſs reſt.

COWLEY.

They are uſually of a graſs green: though I have ſeen one of a yellow tint, with purple wings. Their note, though it has been ſo particularly celebrated by the ancients, muſt not be ſuppoſed harmonious. It is a ſhrill, noiſy, unvaried chirp, not much preferable to the chirping of our graſshopper.

We ſaw fine corn fields on the right; the corn ſtanding piled up, and the ſtubble denoting the excellence of its growth. Below, we ſaw the river *Belici*, meandering through theſe fields between its high banks; its courſe denoted by trees, and ſhrubs. This river is the *Hypſa* of the ancients. I did not perceive, between this and Selinus, the now nearly dried up marſh of *Jalici;* which the ancients called *Gomeſa*. Its unhealthy air was once very dangerous to pregnant

women. It was purified by the paſſage of two rivers; which were turned through it by *Empedocles*, the famous naturaliſt of Agrigentum.

Near a houſe which, from the bridge, is called *Ponte Belici*, we reſted at a place beſide the banks of this beautiful river, the recollection of which will ever be dear to me. Overcome by the great heat of the day, we reclined under ſpreading elms on the high banks of the cooling ſtream, ſurrounded by the wild vine, and the tamariſk *.

A ſcanty but cheerful meal gave us new ſtrength; aided by the well taſted wine of Caſtellvetrano, which is among the beſt wines of the iſland. I refreſhed myſelf by bathing in the river, before I ate, where it ruſhes between poliſhed rocks, and where a fallen tree ſeemed as if torn up by the roots to protect me from the peril of the torrent. We ſlept on the bare ground, roſe from the banks, revived, in the afternoon, and once more mounted our mules. Theſe animals are much better than the bad horſes, that we met with in Italy: ſo that, though we have travelled as far, we have always enjoyed ſome hours of refreſhing ſleep after our meals, during the heat of the day.

Our *vetturino*, who is a *campiera*, that is, one of the provincial guards, who are obliged on command to preſerve the ſafety of the roads, or to ſend ſubſtitutes, each wearing a uniform, and to eſcort travellers with arms attached to the ſaddle, this vetturino is a good and an agreeable man; who, in defiance of the heat, ſings like a graſshopper, and often affords us pleaſure by the ardour of and the incidents contained in his national ſongs. Our young drivers likewiſe are good lads: they delight in making us acquainted with the productions of their country, and aſk us many queſtions concerning the kind of corn, trees, and fruits, that are to be found in Germany.

We arrived at *Sciacca* in the evening; a well built town, ſituated on a hill by the ſea ſide. It is one of the towns that contain *caricatori*, or large granaries, in which the *Baroni* keep their corn for ſale. The

* *Tamariſcus Gallica*: of which Theocritus and Virgil ſung, calling it *Myrica*: Μυρικα.

time of exportation however is regulated by government. The oppreſſed proprietors dare not ſell their ſuperfluity to the foreign merchant. This ordinance no doubt is iſſued partly that the government may know how much corn has been ſold, and grant permiſſion or publiſh prohibitory orders accordingly, and partly that no deception may be practiſed to eſcape taxation: but, in any caſe, it is abſolute barbariſm to fetter this trade, in a country which formerly, when it fed many more inhabitants than it does at preſent, was called the granary of Rome.

This place was anciently called *Thermæ:* the hot baths: Θερμαι: likewiſe, Θερμα: e. i. Θερμα ὑδατα: becauſe of the vapour baths of the mountain, that is at the back of the town. The ancients aſcribed theſe vapour baths to Dædalus. The moderns think themſelves indebted for them to *San Calogero.* However groundleſs the firſt opinion may be, it will at leaſt prove the falſehood of the ſecond. The conjecture of my friend Münter is rational, and probable. It is that this *San Calogero*, of whom nothing determinate is known, can be no other than the ancient Dædalus; who probably, becauſe of his ſervices to his country, centuries after his death, was called by the Greeks *Calos Geron*, the handſome, or the dignified, old man.

Sciacca was called by the Romans *Thermæ Selinuntiæ.* It contains many ingenious potters, who give their vaſes beautiful forms. I mention this circumſtance becauſe Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuſe and of Sicily, was a potter's ſon, and born at Sciacca.

Yeſterday on the 16th, we rode all the morning through an open and in general an uncultivated country; which produces nothing, except the wild parſley, the giumarra, for ſo the Sicilians call the dwarf palm, many kinds of thiſtles, ſome of which I have never ſeen but in this iſland, and plants of the wolf thiſtle, that grow nearly to the height of a man. The flouriſhing growth of this plant denotes the ſcantineſs of population; and the fertility of the ſoil, which was farther proved by the ſtubble of ſome corn fields, the grain of which muſt have been excellent.

The

The blooming oleander here and there denoted the courſe of the river, meandering through the plain, and refreſhed the eye in this naked region.

The heat was great, and particularly felt as often as we were at ſome diſtance from the ſea: yet now and then we met with a cooling breeze, and we recreated ourſelves at two clear ſprings.

We rode through the river Platani, the *Halycus* of the ancients; which was the boundary of the Carthaginian domains.

We halted at noon in *Monte Allegro;* a village built on a rocky hill, ſurrounded by naked heights, and which probably owes its name* to a fertile and well watered valley. The uppermoſt houſes are now empty, and going to ruin; becauſe the inhabitants, forſaking theſe ſteep heights, have built on the declivity of the hill. The ancient Sicani, according to Diodorus, ſought ſafety by building villages on the hills; and, not more than two hundred years ago, the modern Sicilians endeavoured to protect themſelves againſt the marauding pirates, by the ſame means.

In the cool of the evening, we rode to *Siculiana;* which Cluverius believes to be the place of the ancient *Camicus:* but Fazello and Amico place *Camicus* on the hill where the preſent *Girgenti* ſtands; and the teſtimony of the ancients better accords with their opinion than with that of Cluverius. The town belongs to the rich family of the Princes *Cattolica:* the number of its inhabitants is eſtimated at four thouſand four hundred.

This morning, we paſſed through a cultivated country, among vineyards, corn fields, and olive plantations, till we came to *Girgenti:* the ancient *Agrigentum.*

The haven lies four Italian miles from the city, and contains the largeſt granaries of Sicily. Granaries were built on the ſhores of the iſland as early as the times of the Saracens. Some people affirm that the regulations they iſſued were much more advantageous, to the corn trade, than the preſent: the inconveniences of which they avoided.

* *Monte Allegro* means *merry* or *cheerful hill.* T.

Near

Near the haven of Girgenti, the corn is kept in ſubterranean magazines, cut in the rock, of an aſtoniſhing ſize. This is an excellent manner of preſerving the corn freſh, for many years, in this hot country. Among us, ſuch a cuſtom would be prejudicial: for our rocks are humid; eſpecially when under ground.

The road is carried along the haven, between the ſea and a high ſhore; the rocks of which are dazzlingly white.

Girgenti is built on a hill, with its foundation on the rock. The river *Dragi*, the ancient *Acragas*, after which the town was named, flows in the valley beneath.

LETTER XC.

Girgenti, 20th June 1792.

IT is a real pleaſure, for an obſerver of human occurrences, to caſt a backward glance from the place where we now ſtand on the ages that are flown. If the change of objects afford him delight, he yet gladly repoſes; and ſtops to examine the blue diſtances which, at the firſt view, appear to be clouds: but which a more fixed attention ſoon begins to embody. There where he only perceived azure miſts he begins to diſtinguiſh the works of nature, and of man; till greater diſtances become viſible, and others leſs perceptible are loſt in the ſoft ſhadings of the horizon.

All enquiry is at once cut ſhort, if we entirely reject thoſe diſtant times that, if they have any connection with our own, it is by an almoſt imperceptible thread: but, if we limit thoſe enquiries by the monuments that remain, we are in no danger of being deceived. Some people exclaim—"Let us leave pedants, that are loſt in the duſt and

" night of diſtant ages, and that vainly endeavour to ſtrike light out " of darkneſs. Let the fanciful poet revel in the imaginary adven- " tures of fable: we wiſh for hiſtorical truth; clear, indubitable, truth."

Let every man go his own road. Be each his own painter. In the extenſive and dark ſhaded regions of human knowledge, the foreſt of hiſtory finds its place; where innumerable trees of a ſimilar kind are mingled, and confounded; and where, ſomewhat apart, the grove of poetry ſpreads its branches: yet, ſo connected are this foreſt and this grove, that he, who would raiſe a wall of ſeparation, would find he had undertaken an impoſſible taſk. And, were it accompliſhed, many with me would wiſh to overleap his boundary, and ſnatch the golden fruit, and liſten to the ſweet-noted nightingale. We will even ſuppoſe Pallas herſelf, in the form of Mentor, to be the guide of theſe ſages, and deſcribing the boundary line: Where ſhall it be? Where will they mark out the place over which not one ſtray ſeed of fable has been blown; or on which no bird of paſſage, quitting the poet's grove, has dropped a kernel?

While we hold certain hiſtory to be worthy our attention, if the progreſs of mind be intereſting to us, let us not think thoſe objects which the vale of fable ſhadows beneath our notice. As a man, if he be not ſtill a child, may eaſily comprehend the fables of Æſop without reading the morals at the end, ſo may he deſcry the origin of nations under the veil of fiction, or diſcover one event that ſhall throw light on a ſeries of ſucceeding events; and thus put the cynical and cenſorious caviller to the bluſh, who reproaches the candid enquirer of wiſhing to obtain light from darkneſs.

Poets make Minos one of the judges of the dead: but did not nations, whoſe monuments of various kinds prove their exiſtence, derive their laws from the laws he gave his iſlanders?

When the poet ſings the expedition of the Argonauts, ſhall we believe the whole to be falſe becauſe he likewiſe tells us of the dragon, and the incantations of Medea? Shall we deny the war of the ſeven heroes

heroes againſt Thebes, or the ſiege of Troy, becauſe we neither believe in the enigma of the Sphinx, nor that Neptune built the walls of *Ilion* for *Laomedon?*

Theſe eras, exiſting as they do in the ſongs of the poets, even theſe, are among the moſt intereſting to the hiſtorical enquirer. The night of fable, rich in fanciful forms, drives her airy chariot over his brow. Viſions float around him; but they are the viſions of the morning, when day is beginning to break. Who does not feel diſguſt at the amours of *Paſiphaë*, and at the fabulous fruit of this amour, the double formed monſter, the Minotaur, that lived in the labyrinth? But the labyrinth itſelf exiſted. So did a Dædalus, by whom it was built. He built the labyrinth of *Cnoſſus*, after an ancient Egyptian model; the prodigious ruins of which we ſtill behold with aſtoniſhment.

The ſtory tells us that Minos was enraged againſt this Dædalus, becauſe by him the ſecret amour of his Queen *Paſiphaë* had been favoured. The artiſt flew, though not as the fable ſays on waxen wings, but probably by the aid of a ſhip of his own invention, over to Sicily; where he was received by Cocolus, or Cocalus, the King of the Sicani. Here he built the ſtrongeſt city of his age, on the hill *Camicus*. This city, which was called *Camicus*, occupied the place on which afterward the ſtrongeſt part of *Agrigentum* ſtood.

Of this we are informed by Herodotus*, and Diodorus; who both farther relate that Minos purſued Dædalus, and required him to be delivered up by Cocolus: but that Minos had been murdered by the treachery of Cocolus.

The Sicani burned the ſhips of the Cretans, which had accompa-

* Herod. lib. vii.

Κατὰ δε την νῦν Ἀκραγαντινην ἐν τῳ Καιμικῳ καλεμενῃ, πολιν ἐπι πετρας ἐσαν πασῶν ὀχυρωτατην κατεσκευασε, και παντελῶς ἐκ βιας ἀναλωτον. Στενην και σκολιαν την αναβασιν αὐτης φιλοτεχνησας, ἐποιησε δυνασθαι δια τριῶν ἢ τετταρῶν ἀνδρωπων φυλαττεσθαι. Diod. b. iv. vol. i. p. 321. ed. Weſſ.

nied Minos; and the Cretans ſeparated: ſome of whom built *Minoa*, and others, after wandering round the ſhore built *Engyum*, on a ſtrong place beſide a fountain *.

Soon after the death of Minos, Herodotus, who appears in general to have conſidered the ſtory of the death of Minos as a report, ſays the Cretans ſailed to Sicily, to revenge the death of that King, where they five years in vain beſieged Camicus; and on their return were overtaken by a ſtorm, ſhipwrecked at *Japygia*, and their veſſels deſtroyed, and that they there built the town of *Hyria*: the preſent *Oria* †.

The deſcription that Polybius gives, of the fortreſs of *Agrigentum*, agrees exceedingly well with that given by Diodorus, of the town ſaid to be built by Dædalus for Cocolus ‡.

Pauſanias calls the Sicanian town *Omphace*; and ſays that it was deſtroyed by *Antiphemus*, who led a Greek colony to Gela and brought a ſtatue thither, which was the work of Dædalus. This Antiphemus from the iſland of Rhodes, and *Entymus* from the iſland of Crete, joining their communities, eſtabliſhed a colony at Gela, in the firſt year of the 23d Olympiad, 686 years before Chriſt, and gave the town the Doric laws: no doubt the laws of Minos §.

About a hundred and eight years afterward, in the firſt year of the 50th Olympiad, 578 years before Chriſt, the citizens of Gela peopled *Agrigentum*, which they named after the river *Acragas*. Their leaders were *Ariſtonous*, and *Pyſtilus*; who gave the town the laws of Gela ‖.

The Romans afterward called this city Agrigentum, which name has nearly made the ancient Greek name forgotten. Agrigentum was ten miles in circumference; and it was indebted for its rapid increaſe to the fertility of its ſoil, the excellence of its ſituation, and the wiſdom of its laws. Yet from this very proſperity exceſs, voluptuouſneſs, and repeated ſlavery aroſe. Thoſe, who read in hiſtory, and

* Diod. l. iv. v. i. p. 322. † See Letter lxxxi.

‡ Pol. lib. ix. 21. § Thuc. lib. iv. p. 380. ‖ Ib.

have

have not remarked the circle of events arising from the laws of human nature *, must have read without remarking.

Some generations after the founding of Agrigentum, it was reduced under the yoke of despotism by the gloomy and cruel tyrant Phalaris. Who has not heard of his bull of brass; in which the monster put the unfortunate, and delighted himself with their dying cries, shrieks, and groans: which, modulated by the hollow brass, sounded like the roaring of a bull?

Wieland's description of a just man concludes with the following words:

Der eh in Phalaris durchglüthem stier verdürbe
Eh er in Phrynens arm ein diadem erwürbe.

He'd rather in Phalaris' bull expire
Than in the arms of Phryne crowns acquire.

When Agrigentum had attained the summit of its greatness, it contained, according to Diodorus, twenty thousand citizens; and, including those who were not citizens, two hundred thousand souls †. In this estimate the slaves no doubt were not included. Diogenes Laertius gives eight hundred thousand, as the number of souls in Agrigentum ‡. Nor will this number appear extravagant, if we compare it with that which another writer gives of the population of Athens; where, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, there were twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand free inhabitants without the right of citizenship, μετοικοι, and four hundred thousand slaves ‖. It is highly probable that the rich and voluptuous Agrigentini had more slaves than the Athenians.

The vineyards of the territories of Agrigentum were large and famous for their generous produce. Most of the country was adorned

* If the author had said *the laws of ignorance*, I think he would have been nearer to the truth. T.

† Diod. xiii. v. i. p. 609. ‡ Diog. Laert. in vit. Emped. ‖ Athen. lib. vi.

with olive trees; prodigious numbers of which were planted: for, as the olive had not then been introduced to Africa, the people of Agrigentum gained immense wealth by the sale of their oil *.

This wealth rendered them so effeminate that, when the city was hard pressed by the besieging Carthaginians, it was necessary to limit the voluptuousness of their guards, on watch, to a bolster, a mattrass, a coverlet of hair, and two pillows †.

Antisthenes, a citizen of Agrigentum, entertained the citizens in the streets at the marriage of his daughter. The bride was escorted by above eight hundred chariots; and, not only all the horsemen of the city, but, those likewise of the neighbouring towns were invited, and did honour to the cavalcade. All the altars, in the temples and the streets, were spread with wood; and men were placed, who were provided with faggots, and piles of wood, and, when the bride and escort began their procession, the token as appointed was given by fire from the fortress; on which, in an instant, the piles on the altars were all kindled, and the city appeared to be in flames ‡.

Seven years before the siege, Exainetus, having obtained the prize at the Olympic games, made a solemn public entry into his native city; in which he pompously displayed himself in a chariot, followed by three hundred other chariots, each drawn by a pair of white horses.

The great naturalist, philosopher, and poet, Empedocles, said of his fellow citizens, "The people of Agrigentum feast as if they were "to die to-morrow; and build as if they were to live for ever §."

They were famous for their hospitality. Empedocles says of this city

Ξεινων αἰδοῖοι λιμενες, κακοτητος απειροι.

A haven sacred to strangers, and free from malicious knavery ‖. Gellias ¶ was famous for his riches and hospitality. His palace con-

* Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 606. † Diod. lib. xiii. ‡ Ib.

§ Diog. Laert. in vit. Emped. ‖ Diod. lib. xiii.

¶ In Athenæus he is called Tellias, probably by an error of the transcriber.

 tained

tained lodgings for numerous guests; and slaves stood at his gates to invite all strangers to enter. It happened one winter that five hundred horsemen came from Gela to Agrigentum; and Gellias entertained them all, and provided each man with a tunic and long robe. He had a cellar in his house, which was hewn in the rock, and in which there were three hundred vessels each of a hundred measures. This cellar likewise contained a huge painted cistern, which held a thousand measures, and from which the vessels were filled through pipes.

Gellias was mean of person, but richly endowed in mind. Being once sent ambassador to the *Centuripini*, who lived at the foot of Mount Ætna, when he rose to address the assembly, his unseemly figure occasioned an incessant laughter. He requested the people however to cease their admiration, for that it was the custom at Agrigentum to send the most comely persons to the most famous cities, and those who were insignificant in appearance to insignificant places *.

Among the tyrants who governed Agrigentum was Theron; the son-in-law of the great Gelo, and a considerable person, who ruled both Agrigentum and Himera. His son Thrasydæus was his successor; but lost his dominions by an unfortunate war with Hiero the First, tyrant of Syracuse, the brother of Gelo.

In the third year of the 93d Olympiad, the year 403 before Christ, and three years after the conquest of Selinus and Himera, the Carthaginians cherished the proud hope of subduing Sicily; and appointed Hannibal, who had destroyed those cities, once more their general. Hannibal pleaded his great age; and Himilco, the son of

* This Gellias once invited a person of a penurious and severe temper, who scarcely would allow his slaves necessary rest by night; and, after dinner, sent for the children of his whole household, and shared out nuts and figs among them. The miser asked Πόθεν τα παιδία τοσαυτα; "Where do all these children come from?" Gellias answered, Ταυτα οι ἐμοι ὀυκται ἐν νυξι ποιοῦσι; "These are the work of my slaves by night." This anecdote is extracted by *Wesseling* from *Stobæus Florilegium*, and given as a note to Diodorus, vol. i. p. 609.

Hanno,

Hanno, who was of the ſame family, was appointed his colleague. They embarked with a powerful army, and the Syracuſians armed, ſent to Sparta, and to all the Greek towns in Italy for aid, and by their writings exhorted their friends of the Greek towns of Sicily to excite the people to combat for freedom. The people of Agrigentum, foreſeeing the ſtorm would firſt alight on them, collected the fruits of the fields and the riches of their country in their city *.

No ſooner had the Carthaginian fleet reached Sicily than the generals marched againſt Agrigentum, and formed two camps; one on the heights of forty thouſand men, part Africans and part Spaniards, and another near the city. The latter fortified itſelf with deep entrenchments, and palliſadoes. Ambaſſadors were then ſent to Agrigentum, inviting them either to take part in the war againſt Syracuſe or at leaſt to remain neuter: but theſe propoſitions were both refuſed, and the ſiege began.

The people of Agrigentum all took arms, and Dexippus, a Lacedemonian, who had lived ſome time in Gela and who was reſpected for being a Spartan, had lately arrived with fifteen hundred ſoldiers at the entreaty of Agrigentum, which had likewiſe hired eight hundred of the Campanians. The Campanians were ſtationed on a hill, that was called the Athenean, after a temple dedicated to Minerva; and the Carthaginian generals cauſed two large towers to be erected againſt a part of the walls. From theſe the walls during ſeveral days were aſſaulted: nor did the trumpet ſound the retreat till many of the Agrigentini had been ſlain. The next night the Agrigentini made a ſally, and burnt the war machines of the Carthaginians.

Hannibal commanded the ſepulchres to be deſtroyed, and a mount to be raiſed againſt the walls, that the town might be aſſaulted on ſeveral ſides; and the work was ſoon completed: but dreadful calamities befel the army. The monument of Theron, which was of a prodigious ſize, was ſtruck by lightning, and fearfully rent. It was therefore forbidden by the ſoothſayers to be touched. The peſtilence like-

* Diod. lib. xiii. v. i. p. 605.

wiſe

wiſe broke out among the army: many died, and ſome endured intolerable pains. Hannibal was among the dead. The ſentinels of the watch declared that they ſaw the ghoſts of the departed appear by night. Himilco, who is occaſionally called Hamilcar, in Diodorus, probably by an error of the copyiſt, found it neceſſary, in order to encourage the ſoldiers, again to remove the ſepulchres; and, according to the cuſtom of his country, to make an expiatory ſacrifice to the angry gods. A boy was accordingly ſacrificed to Saturn; and many offerings, probably of oxen or of horſes, were thrown into the ſea as expiations to Neptune.

The Syracuſians, who feared that the fate of Selinus and Himera might overtake Agrigentum, ſent an army under the conduct of Daphneus; which they ſtrengthened by their allies of Italy, and of Meſſina. This army was met on its march by ſoldiers from *Camarina* and Gela; with ſome of the Sicilians of the inland towns: ſo that the whole army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe.

Himilco ſent Spaniards, Campanians, and others, to the number of forty thouſand, to oppoſe Daphneus; and the Syracuſian army had already croſſed the Himera (that on the ſouth) when it met the enemy.

After a hard fought field, the Syracuſians were victorious, killed more than ſix thouſand of the Carthaginians, and purſued them toward the city; but not without anxiety on the part of Daphneus, leſt, in the heat and irregularity of purſuit, they might be enſnared by the army that remained with Himilco: a ſimilar overſight having occaſioned the loſs of Himera.

When the fugitives arrived at the camp of Himilco, the citizens of Agrigentum entreated their generals to profit by this opportunity; urging that this was the time to deſtroy the power of the enemy: but the generals declined acting, ſome ſay becauſe they were bribed, and others that they feared to leave the city a moment, leſt it ſhould be attacked by Himilco with an army that had not been wearied with fighting.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the fugitives took refuge in the camp, which was near the city; and of their former camp Daphneus poſſeſſed himſelf. Here the people of Agrigentum frequently came to meet their allies, from Syracuſe; and once, when Dexippus with others were come from the city, the people ſuddenly collected in multitudes, murmured againſt their generals, and accuſed them of neglecting to kill the many thouſands of the enemy, and of thus deſtroying their whole power. Enflamed by Menes, a leader of the Camarini, they diſdained to hear the defence of their generals, and they were ſtoned. Argaius, the fifth in rank of field generals, was the only perſon ſpared; and that becauſe of his youth. Dexippus, the Lacedemonian, was even ſuſpected of treachery: for, according to the opinion of the people, he ſhould have urged his own knowledge of war, and have exerted the influence he poſſeſſed, in oppoſition to the contrary opinion.

After this had happened, Daphneus led his army againſt the enemy's camp, in the hope of conquering it; which hope he was obliged to renounce, when he perceived how ſtrongly it was fortified; and he could only ſend his cavalry to harals the Carthaginians, when they went on foraging parties.

A dearth began to be felt in the city: but the people of Agrigentum truſted in the ſtill greater dearth in the enemy's camp, and hoped that it would oblige Himilco to raiſe the ſiege. The Carthaginian general was aſſailed in his tent, by the mercenaries; particularly the Campanians, who clamoured loudly, and threatened to go over to the enemy: but Himilco had heard that the Syracuſians were ſending corn by ſea to Agrigentum, and requeſted that the ſoldiers would be patient only for ſome days, and he would then ſupply them plentifully; and, as a pledge of his promiſe, he preſented them the cup of the Carthaginians. Accordingly, he ordered forty galleys from Panormus and Motya unexpectedly to attack the Syracuſians; who, proud of their victory, and ſuppoſing the Carthaginians would not have the courage to appear again on the ſea, had ſent their tranſports very incautiouſly. Himilco

ſunk

ſunk twelve of their galleys, drove the reſt on ſhore, and ſeized on their tranſports.

This circumſtance changed the whole ſtate of affairs. The Campanians, who were in the pay of Agrigentum, for fifteen talents went over to the Carthaginians. The people of Agrigentum, as the Carthaginians foreſaw, had profuſely conſumed their proviſions; and now were panic-ſtruck, to find themſelves overtaken by famine. Some ſuppoſed that Dexippus had ſold himſelf for fifteen talents; becauſe he had told the generals of the Greeks, who came from Italy, that proviſions began to fail, and that they would do well to employ their arms in other quarters. But was not Dexippus juſtified in giving this counſel to the foreign chiefs? Did he not ſpeak the truth; ſince the city ſuffered a dearth, though theſe troops withdrew?

The foreign chiefs, whoſe time of ſervice was expired, forſook the city and departed by ſea; and, after their departure, the generals and principal people of Agrigentum endeavoured to obtain ſupplies: but in vain; they therefore informed the inhabitants of the neceſſity of forſaking the city.

The following night the people withdrew, weeping and wailing thus to leave their city, and all its wealth, to the Barbarians. Their affliction was ſtill heightened by being obliged to deſert the ſick, and the aged; who were incapable of following them, in their precipitate retreat. Some preferred death to this flight, and killed themſelves.

The fugitive multitude was conducted to Gela, by the Syracuſian army. The fields and the roads were full of women, children, and young virgins, who had been accuſtomed to the delicacies of domeſtic life: yet, animated as they were by their fears, they ſcarcely were ſenſible of the difficulties they had to encounter. They all ſafely arrived at Gela; and the Syracuſians afterward ceded Leontium to them, as a place of reſidence.

At break of day *, Himilco led his army into the forſaken city; and put moſt of thoſe who had remained behind to death. Some, who had taken refuge in a temple, were dragged out and murdered by the Carthaginians. Gellias, who, becauſe of his wealth and ſtill more becauſe of his generoſity, was held in great reſpect, expected to have found ſafety in a temple of Minerva: but, when he perceived the rage of the enemy, he ſet fire to the temple, conſumed himſelf, and thus prevented the profanation of the place, the enriching of the foe, and the diſgrace of ſlavery.

Himilco plundered the temples and the houſes, and obtained an enormous booty. This city, which according to Diodorus contained two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never till then been deſtroyed, was one of the richeſt of the Greek cities, and in which the people indulged the height of luxury. Many paintings of the greateſt perfection were found; and many ſtatues by the moſt famous maſters. The principal of theſe were ſent to Carthage, by Himilco; and, among others, the famous bull of Phalaris. The reſt of the booty he ſuffered to be publicly ſold. Two hundred and ſixty years afterward, Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, ſent this brazen bull, and others of the captured works of art, back to the Agrigentini; and the bull was ſtill in exiſtence, in the time of Diodorus †.

Himilco,

* I follow the reading of Tanaquillus Faber (*Tannequi Le Févre*, father of the famous Madame Dacier, an acute commentator on the ancients) of the text of Diodorus; thus: ἁμα τῳ ὀρθρῳ: inſtead of the feeble but uſual reading ἁμα τῳ φοβῳ, which gives a vitiated ſenſe to the paſſage.

† Diod. lib. xiii. v. i. p. 609.

On this occaſion, Diodorus reproaches the hiſtorian *Timæus* for having falſely maintained that this bull had never been in exiſtence; and adduces as a proof that it was ſent back by Scipio. Weſſeling cites a paſſage from a ſcholiaſt on Pindar, who ſays, Τον τῦ Φαλαριδος ταυρον οἱ Ἀκραγαντινοι κατεπεμψαν, ὡς φησι Τιμαιος. Τον γαρ ἐν τῃ πολει δεικνυμενον μη ειναι τῦ Φαλαριδος, καθαπερ ὑ πολλη κατεχει δοξη, ἀλλ' ἑιναι ἑτι Γελωος τῦ ποταμυ. "Ti-

"mæus

Himilco, after a ſiege of eight months, having entered the city of Agrigentum a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not eraſe it, but quartered his army in the houſes.

When the fate of Agrigentum was known through Sicily, it filled the iſland with ſuch terror that many of the inhabitants of the Greek towns fled to Syracuſe; and others ſent their wives, children, and effects, to Italy.

Forty years after this misfortune, the people of the once more inhabited city took part with Dion, againſt the younger Dionyſius.

At the time that Timoleon had relieved Sicily from tyrants, and had reſtored it to freedom, proſperity, and peace, not only many of its former citizens but other new ſettlers came over from Greece to Agrigentum *. In the time of Agathocles, the Agrigentini, aided by Gela and Meſſina, endeavoured to free Syracuſe from the yoke of that tyrant; and ſome years afterward contended for the ſovereignty of Sicily.

When Pyrrhus went to Sicily, 280 years before the birth of Chriſt, Phintias had ſeized on the government of Agrigentum.

During the Punic wars, this city was twice taken by the Romans, and once by the Carthaginians. In the year 825 after the birth of Chriſt, it ſurrendered to the Saracens; and in the year 920, when the Saracens of Sicily reſiſted the Saracens of Africa, Agrigentum took a conſpicuous part in this revolt †.

In the year 1086, it was conquered by Count Roger, the Norman ‡.

No where are there ſo many grand remains of ancient Greek magni-

"mæus ſays the Agrigentini threw the bull of Phalaris into the ſea. That which was "ſhewn as ſuch in the city was not, as it had been generally ſuppoſed to be, the bull of "Phalaris; but the image of the river *Gelas*." Diodorus therefore appears not to have conſulted Timæus; but to have been guilty of a ſlip of the memory. The river *Gelas* was ſtamped on the coins of the *Geloi*; which, like many rivers among the ancients, was repreſented as a bull.

* Plut. Life of Timoleon. † Lex. Top. Sic. ‡ Fazello.

ficence to be ſeen as in Girgenti. The moſt ancient ruins ſtand in the preſent Girgenti, which occupies the place where, long before the founding of Agrigentum by the Greeks, Dædalus built the city for Cocolus, which was called *Omphace;* though the height on which it ſtood was afterward called *Camicus.* At the time that it was inhabited by the Greeks, the citadel was built here; and here likewiſe a temple was erected by the Agrigentini to Zeus, the Guardian of the City. Phalaris, a Cretan, who ſuperintended the building, artfully made this a pretext to obtain a guard from the citizens, and became their tyrant. There are no remains of the colonnade; and one of the ſtill remaining walls of the inner temple ſerves as a ſupport to the habitation of a poor family.

There is an ancient ſarcophagus in the principal church; containing *baſſi relievi*, that repreſent the hiſtory of Hippolytus. On one ſide the beautiful youth is ſeen going with his companions, horſes, and hounds. The old nurſe of Phædra informs him of the paſſion which his ſtep-mother has conceived for him. The form of Hippolytus is full of dignity, and beauty. On the oppoſite ſide, the youth is chaſing the wild boar. The third compartment exhibits the moment when the terrified horſes, beholding the monſter, overturn the chariot. The young hero lies dying under the wheels. The fourth ſhews Phædra ſinking inanimate into the arms of her nurſe; after hearing the tale of the death of her beloved. Her right arm, in which relaxation and want of power are inimitably expreſſed, is ſupported by a virgin. Two others endeavour to recall the trembling queen, and reſtore her bewildered ſenſes, by muſic. Below her ſeat a Cupid maliciouſly peeps. I have ſeen no ſarcophagus in Italy equally beautiful, and animated, in the expreſſion.

The church itſelf is remarkable for its acouſtic architecture; which muſt not be aſcribed to intention in the architect, who lived in the eleventh century, but to accident. If a man place himſelf above the altar,

altar, immediately under the arching of the cupola, he will hear every thing that is ſaid in a whiſper at the entrance of the church: though the diſtance is a hundred and ſixteen paces.

Without the preſent Girgenti, but within the circumference of the ancient city, there are more beautiful remains of the old Doric architecture exiſting than perhaps in any other part of Sicily, Italy, or Greece.

A church has been built on the foundation of a temple, which ſome affirm was conſecrated to Deo, and Perſephoneia: or Ceres and Proſerpine: but this aſſertion is doubtful. We only know that a temple was built to Proſerpine; which we learn from the beginning of the twelfth Pythian ode of Pindar, on Midas, the victor in playing the flute.

Αἰτεω σε φιλαγλαε, καλ-
λιστα βεῤῥοτεᾶν πολιων,
Φερσεφονας ἑδος, ἀ-
τ' ὀχθαις ἐπι μηλοβοτε
Ναιεις Ἀκραγαντος εὐ-
θμα τον κολωναν, ὠ αγασ-
σ' ἱλαος, ἀθανάτων
Ἀνδρων τε συν ἐυμενεια,
Δεξαι στεφανωμα τοδ' ἐκ
Πυθωνος ευδοξῳ Μιδᾳ,
Αὐτον τε νιν ——

κ. τ. λ.

Moſt fair of cities, and moſt fam'd,
Bleſt ſeat of Proſerpine proclaim'd,
Built on the banks of Acragas,
Where young lambs crop the verdant graſs,
Oh Queen benign, receive the boon,
The Pithyan crown by Midas won;
And him receive, thy lov'd victorious ſon!

On the weſt of the preſent town, higher than the neighbouring hills, is the hill formerly called the hill of Athene, or Minerva: Αθεναιος λοφος:

λαφος: on which a temple was dedicated to this Goddeſs; the ſame no doubt to which Gellias ſet fire.

Of the building which is now called the temple of Juno much is preſerved. It contains ſix pillars in breadth, and thirteen in length. A ſtorm from the north-weſt, in the year 1774, injured the ruins that had reſiſted former tempeſts: for which reaſon the architrave, on one ſide, has been ſupported by four pilaſters between the pillars. One of the pillars, like thoſe of the temple of Neptune in Pæſtum, has ſuffered by lightning: half of the chapiter is broken off, and lies on the ground. This temple, having been built on an unequal rock, was unequal in its foundation.

The ſtructure which is called the temple of Concord is of moſt extraordinary beauty. It is encircled by a colonnade of ſix pillars in breadth, and thirteen in length; which are raiſed upon four ſteps. Within this is a temple raiſed about an ell; the walls of which on both the longeſt ſides has ſix open arches*. To each of the ſhorteſt ſides of the temple is a leſs and deeper antichamber †; which is formed by the projecting wall of the temple, and the colonnade. Between the temple and theſe antichambers are two pillars on each ſide, which, with the ſmall projecting ſquare pilaſters of the wall, ſupport a frontiſpiece. The ſhorteſt ſides of the colonnade likewiſe have their frontiſpieces: as at the temple of Neptune in Pæſtum, and the temple in Egeſta. The whole architrave is in good preſervation.

In one corner, there is a ſmall ſtaircaſe, conſiſting of forty-one ſteps, in the wall; to the top of which they lead. The pillars ſtand on the uppermoſt ſtep, having no other baſe; after the ancient Doric manner.

A Roman inſcription has occaſioned antiquaries to conclude that this temple was dedicated to Concord, and erected by the *Lilybætani*: probably after two contending towns had been reconciled.

But what has a Roman inſcription, the authenticity of which is

* *Hallen*: called by Swinburne *Doors*. T. † *Cellæ*: Swinburne. T.

doubtful,

doubtful, to do with the temple of a Greek city: whoſe noble architecture denotes an era ſo ancient that little Rome was ſcarcely ſo much as mentioned, in mighty Agrigentum?

Not far from this temple, ſubterranean ſepulchres are found in the rock; moſt of which are cut at right angles. One burial vault leads to another; and the largeſt is round, with a walled conic arching.

According to Diodorus, the pomp of the Agrigentini was not ſufficiently diſplayed in erecting tombs to themſelves: they built them even for their war horſes; nay for the favourite birds of young women and children *.

There is a tradition concerning one of theſe monuments; that which is called the ſepulchre of Theron, which ſome of the Agrigentini † affirm was erected in honour of the horſe of Phalaris. In my opinion, it is not ſo ancient; for it is embelliſhed with Ionic pillars, and it certainly is not the ſepulchre of Theron: for it is not ſufficiently magnificent, nor are any of the traces of the lightning diſcovered by which it was ſhattered at the time that the Carthaginians beſieged the city.

The temple, which is not improperly called that of Hercules, conſiſts of a pile of ſtones and was exceedingly large. The pillars that are thrown down are ſo defaced that, on a firſt view, they in many parts appear as if they were but half finiſhed: did not the pillars that are ſtanding bear deeper marks of the deſolating hand of time.

Cicero, in one of his orations againſt Verres, tells us that this ſhameleſs prætor intended to have ſtolen the image of Hercules by night: but that the profanation was prevented, by the aſſembling of the citizens. He ſays he had ſcarcely ſeen any thing more beautiful than this Hercules: *quo non facile quidquam dixerim me vidiſſe pulchrius.*

There can be no doubt but that the huge pile, which lies immediately before the laſt mentioned temple, is juſtly called the temple of the Olympic Jupiter: the magnitude of its ruins makes it not to be miſ-

* Diod. lib. xiii. v. i. p. 607. † I ſuppoſe the people of Girgenti are meant. T.

taken. This temple was begun before the ſiege, and almoſt completed *.

In the time of Diodorus, it continued in the ſtate that it was when the Carthaginians took the city. The Agrigentini, in the courſe of four hundred years, had not ſufficiently recovered their misfortunes to complete the building.

According to the teſtimony of Diodorus, it was 340 feet in length, 60 in breadth, and a hundred and twenty in height above the ground: χωρις τε κρηπιδωματος: the largeſt temple in Sicily, and equal to the largeſt in Greece. The pillars projected a little more than half out of the wall; for their outward round circumference amounted to twenty feet, and only to twelve on the inner flat ſide. The flutings of the pillars were ſo capacious that one of theſe flutings would contain the body of a man. Either I was miſtaken, or in the outward round circumference of one of the thrown down pillars, I counted eleven or twelve ſuch flutings; each of which was actually wide enough to admit the body of a man.

The portico was of a prodigious ſize. On the eaſt ſide of this portico there was a baſſo relievo, of extraordinary workmanſhip, repreſenting the giants' war; and on the weſt the taking of Troy †.

The laſt remaining ſection of theſe ruins, which was ſupported by three coloſſal ſtatues and three pillars, was thrown down in the year 1401. The ruins are called by the country people, *Il tempio de i giganti.* The temple of the giants ‡.

* Diod. ib. We learn from Polybius, in the ninth book, that it remained incomplete. Και ὁ τε Ὀλυμπιε νεως συντελειαν μεν ὐκ ἐιληφε. Κατα δε την επιβολην, και το μεγεθος, ὐδ' ὁποιε ἀν των κατα την Ἑλλαδα δοκει λειπεσθαι. "This temple of the Olympian Zeus was "actually not completed: but it appears that, in plan and magnitude, it was inferior to "no temple in Greece." It is evident from the context that we ſhould read συντελειαν; and not πολυτελειαν, as was perceived by Cluverius, and Weſſeling; who cites this paſſage in his edition of Diodorus. Not to mention that the expreſſion πολυτελειαν ὐκ ἐιληφε is not in my opinion the idiom of the Greek.

† Diod. ‡ Fazello.

A frag-

A fragment of a pillar, which is not buried under the other ruins, but is acceſſible, proves the truth of what Diodorus has ſaid of the pillars: a man may lie down in the fluting. Riedeſel, an accurate obſerver and learned antiquary, is of opinion that, though the account of Diodorus is very perfect and juſt, yet, in what relates to the length and breadth of the temple, there is an error of the tranſcriber. Riedeſel ſuppoſes the probable height of the temple, when it was ſtanding, to be a hundred and fifty palms: that is, about a hundred and twenty feet. He found the circumference of the pillars to be forty-two palms: or thirty-four feet: *pieds de roi.* However, as it is difficult to judge of the length and breadth from theſe ruins, the ſtatement of Diodorus might be accurate in all reſpects.

Captain Colſon meaſured a triglyph, which was nine feet and a half high, and five feet four inches broad; and this ſingle circumſtance will be ſufficient to afford you ſome idea of the aſtoniſhing magnitude of the whole.

I am aſſured that this temple, as well as that of Selinus, was reduced to a pile of ſtones by a dreadful earthquake: or probably by ſeveral. The deſtructive hand of man demoliſhes in a heap: the powerful arm of nature alone could hurl theſe cumbrous maſſes in this intermingled confuſion. Ever youthful, ever victorious, ſhe ſmiles beneath the ruins of proud but comparatively impotent art. Among theſe piles earth ſends forth a verdant grove of fig and almond trees. The firſt piſtachio tree I ſaw was in the temple of the Olympian Zeus; and was at once covered with bloom and with numerous red nuts, that were but juſt appearing.

Between two remains of temples, one of which took the name of Caſtor and Pollux and the other of Vulcan, each of them appearing to have been equal in magnitude and architecture to what is called the temple of Concord, the bed of the fiſh-pond is evidently perceptible which Diodorus has thus deſcribed.

"Near this temple" (of the Olympian Zeus) "there was a pond

" ſunk of ſeven *ſtadia* in circumference, and twenty cubits deep; in " which fiſh of various kinds were kept for public feſtivals, with ſwans, " and other birds, for the pleaſure of the inhabitants *."

This place is very pleaſant under its preſent change of form. The pool communicated with the river *Drago*, the *Acragas* of the ancients; and, the bed of the pool being dry, its ſhady hollow is covered with a large and lovely garden.

Vaſt remains are ſeen from the walls; and nature herſelf preſents her high rocky back, of which architecture might eaſily have taken advantage. In theſe rocks various ſepulchres have been hewn; and probably for the warriors who had fallen in defence of their country, and from whoſe departed ſpirits aid was expected. No wonder that the Carthaginians were ſtruck with terror, when, after having deſtroyed theſe ſepulchres, they imagined they beheld the wandering ſhades of the dead.

We likewiſe ſaw the ruins of a bridge over the river; and two circular apertures near the preſent town, which denote great cavities in the earth, and are probably the remains of ſubterranean aqueducts: as ſuppoſed by Diodorus. After the victory of Gelo over the Carthaginians, they were conſtructed under the direction of one *Phæax*; and, becauſe of their excellence, in honour of him were called *Phæacian* †.

During the interval between the victory of Gelo, 497 years before the birth of Chriſt, and the deſtruction of Agrigentum, 406 years before Chriſt, the greateſt temples in Sicily, at the ruins of which we are now amazed, were probably built.

The Carthaginian priſoners were divided by Gelo; and each of the friendly cities had a number, equal to the number of their citizens that ſerved in the war. By this diviſion, Agrigentum obtained many; and the more becauſe, after the battle, many of the fugitives had been ſeized on the Agrigentine territories. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had five hundred Carthaginians; and theſe, according to

* Diod. lib. xi. v. i. p. 423. † Ibid.

Diodorus,

Diodorus, were moſt of them employed in public works: eſpecially in hewing of ſtone, part of which was uſed to build their great temple, and part for the ſubterranean aqueducts.

It appears probable that the temples in Selinus and Egeſta were undertaken with emulous magnificence; and I believe that, like the temple of the Olympian Zeus in Agrigentum, they were not completed. The Selinuntii could not have partaken of the ſlaves of Gelo; for they were the allies of the Carthaginians.

The aſpect of Agrigentum muſt have been grand: for it was built upon five hills. The preſent Girgenti ſtands on a hill, and enjoys a very pure air. The valley extends between theſe heights and the ſea ſhore; and is divided into fertile corn fields, vineyards, and orchards of olive, almond, mulberry, St. John's bread, fig, and pomegranate, trees. Theſe fruits are all excellent in their kind: nor can I forget the pleaſure I received under a mulberry tree of extraordinary ſize; that, while we were overcome by the great heats we had endured, in going from ruin to ruin, ſometimes riding and ſometimes walking, refreſhed us with its paradiſaical fruit.

The almond tree is likewiſe here very large; and the unripe almonds are now eaten, and appear to me much better taſted than when ripe: beſide which they are held to be very healthy. Olive trees and prolific corn fields every where delight the eye.

The *Drago*, or ancient *Acragas*, coming from the north, flows round the town; four Italian miles on the ſouth ſide of which it empties itſelf into the ſea *. It is joined by the brook *Rucello*, between the ſea and the

* I think I may venture to affirm that Cluverius is miſtaken, when he calls the *Fiume di Naro* the *Acragas*. The paſſage which he cites, from Polybius, appears to favour my opinion: for Polybius ſays—"The *Acragas* ran on the ſouth ſide of the city: but that ſide which is oppoſite to the ſetting ſun and the wind called *libs* is watered by the river *Hypſas*." Ῥει γαρ ἀυτη παρα μεν την νοτιον πλευραν ὁ συνωνυμος τη πολει, παρα δε την ἐπι τας δυσεις και τον λιβα τετραμμενην ὁ προσαγορευομενος Ὑψας †. The Acragas winds round the

† Polyb. ix. 21.

the city; and this brook, with the Acragas, made the ancient city a peninſula.

The river *Naro*, formerly called the *Hypſas*, runs on the eaſt; at the diſtance of three Italian miles. But this is not the beautiful, abundant, and ſhady *Hypſas*, which is now called the *Belici*, and which wanders not far from the ruins of Selinus.

The preſent little Girgenti, ſeen at a diſtance, promiſes much; for it is built on a high broad rock, and appears larger than it is. The grand aſpect of the ancient Agrigentum, as ſeen from the ſea, is alluded to in the following paſſage:

Arduus inde Acragas oſtentat maxima longe
Mœnia, magnanimûm quondam generator equorum.
VIR. Æn. iii. 703.

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ancient city on the right; and how could the inhabitants have named their city after a diſtant river, inſtead of the river that bathed its walls? All traces of Agrigentum are loſt long before you come to the Naro. Speaking of the founding of the city, Pindar ſays:

Καμοντες ὁι πολλα δυμῳ
'Ιερον ἐχον ὀικημα
Ποταμȣ, Σικελιας τ' ἐσαν
'Οφθαλμος.———
κ. τ. λ.

"After great affliction and many toils, they obtained the ſacred dwelling of the "ſtream; and were the eye of Sicily*." I do not think, as ſome have explained this paſſage, that, by the word eye, Pindar alluded to the watchfulneſs of Agrigentum: but rather to the beauty of this city, and of Syracuſe; which cities were equally the eye of Sicily. With reſpect to the Drago, Fazello, Amico, and other Sicilians, are of opinion that it is the ancient Acragas!

* Weſt tranſlates

A race long exerciſed in woes;
Ere, ſmiling o'er her kindred flood,
The manſion of their wiſh'd repoſe,
Their ſacred city ſtood:
And through amaz'd Sicilia ſhone
The luſtre of their fair renown. T.

Then

Then *Agragas* with lofty ſummits crown'd;
Long for the race of warlike ſteeds renown'd.

DRYDEN, v. 924.

If I may judge from the only perſon with whom I am acquainted at this place, the inhabitants of Girgenti ſtill preſerve the virtue of hoſpitality. The Canon Spoto overwhelmed us with civilities of every kind, ſupplied us with his own furniture at our inn, and covered our table with his hoſpitable preſents. On our account, he deferred a journey which he intended to take, and is now employed in writing us letters of recommendation. Hoſpitality is a virtue common to all the Italians and Sicilians, who anticipate the wants of ſtrangers: but few of them ſo well underſtand as the Canon Spoto that repoſe, unreſtraint, and the free diſpoſal of their own time, are among the preſſing neceſſities of certain travellers.

He poſſeſſes a valuable collection of Greek vaſes, which have been found in the ſepulchres of the ancient city.

He likewiſe ſhewed us the handſome building, the reſpectable library, and a fine collection of ancient coins: which had been preſented to the ſeminary by Count Lucheſe.

I met with the *ferula*, or fennel giant: a plant which bears an umbellated flower, or tuft. The Greeks called it ναρθηξ. It attains the height of a man, greatly reſembles the fennel, which here grows equally high, and the ſtalk is hollow and filled with a kind of pith, that kindles like a match, and long continues to glimmer. Hence the ancients feigned that Prometheus brought fire from heaven in the ſtalk of this plant. Heſiod ſays Zeus had concealed the fire: but that the ſon of Japetus ſtole it, for the uſe of men, without the knowledge of Zeus, by putting it into a hollow ſtalk of this plant.

Κρυψε δε πυρ. Το μεν αυθις εϋς παις Ιαπετοιο
Εκλεψ' ανθρωποισι Διος παρα μητιοεντος
Εν κοιλω ναρθηκι, λαθων Δια τερπικεραυνον.

But from Prometheus 'twas conceal'd in vain,
Which for the uſe of man he ſtole again,

And,

And, artful in his fraud, brought from above,
Clos'd in a hollow cane, deceiving Jove.
COOKE's Heſiod, b. i. l. 73.

In Æſchylus, Prometheus, when chained upon the rock, exclaims

Ναρθηκοπλήρωτον θυρωμενος πυρος
Πηγην κλοπαιαν, η διδασκαλος τεχνης
Πασης βροτοις πεφηνε, και μεγας πορος;
Τοιῶνδε ποινας ἁμπλακημάτων τινω,
Ὑπαιθριος δεσμοῖσι πασσαλευτος ὠν.

Hid in a hollow cane the fount of fire
I privately convey'd, of every art
Productive and the nobleſt gift to men.
And for this ſlight offence woe, woe is me!
I bear theſe chains, fix'd to this ſavage rock,
Unſhelter'd from th' inclemencies of th' air.
POTTER, Prometheus Chained.

The Bacchantes in Euripides thus ſing:

Ὁ Βακχευς δ' ἐχων
Πυρσωδη φλογα πευκας,
Ἐκ ναρθηκος δῖσσει
Δρομῳ και χοροις ἐρεθιζων πλανατας,
Ἰαχαις τ' ἀναπαλλων,
Τροφερον πλοκαμον εἰς αἰθερα ριπτων.

But Bacchus, waving in his hand
The torch that from his hallow'd wand
Flames high, his roving *Bacchæ* leads;
And, ſhouting as he nimbly treads,
Flings to the wanton wind his ſtreaming hair.
POTTER, v. 153.

LET-

LETTER XCI.

Syracuſe, 25th June 1792.

MY intention was to have travelled from Girgenti to *Caſtro Giovanni;* the *Enna* of the ancients, famous for its grove, its blooming fields, and the fable of the rape of Proſerpine: carried off by Pluto while ſhe was gathering flowers. From thence, I ſhould have ridden through the country to Syracuſe: but we learned that the air of *Caſtro Giovanni* is bad, at this ſeaſon of the year; and therefore determined to ſtop on the coaſt, at *Terranova.*

On the morning of the 21ſt, we journeyed through barren fields to Palma; and, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, as we entered this handſome little town, the beams of the ſun were glowing hot. Near the walls, the country is well watered, and rich in vegetation. The almond trees, which are in great numbers, grow to a conſiderable ſize; and the St. John's bread likewiſe is very large, and has a conſpicuous and beautiful appearance. Its ſtrong ſcions ſpring round it near the root, bend back again to the earth, and there take root themſelves; ſo that a ſingle tree, with its branching family, appears a little grove.

A letter of recommendation, from the friendly Canon Spoto, gained us acceſs to a ſpacious palace in Palma; where we ſlept during the heat of the day. Warm as theſe ſouthern climates are, you generally find pleaſant and cool retreats in the houſes. The ſtrong walls repel the heat, and the apartments are very lofty. You ſeldom ſuffer much from the heat during the day, while under the roof; but rather in the evening, after having been into the open air, and when the walls have been warmed through. It is remarkable that the heat of the night will frequently not ſuffer you to ſleep: yet that the greater heat of the day makes you ſleepy. The ſame indeed, in a certain degree, may be ſaid of

of Germany: although the morning and evening dew there falls much more copiouſly than in theſe countries; where the delightful dew-air, which is ſo great a reſtorative, cannot always be enjoyed, and never in the ſame abundance as in our country. The flies here are very teaſing, by day; and ſilk gauze, thrown over the face, is quite neceſſary for the traveller who wiſhes to ſleep.

Palma belongs to the Prince of Lampeduſa; and, in the year 1779, ontained little more than five thouſand inhabitants: though its preſent population is eſtimated at nine thouſand; which increaſe may be attributed to a rich ſulphur mine. This town was firſt built in the year 1637, by a perſon of the family of *Chiavo Monte.*

Not far from Palma white partridges are found, on a hill near the ſea, which have remained there from twelve to fifteen years: though the place they came from is not known. They frequently couple with other partridges; and the young brood then conſiſts of both kinds. The common partridge of the iſland is grey, with white ſpots, and fleſh of a high red colour on the beak. They have a reſemblance to the Guinea hen.

We rode to Alicata, in the afternoon; near which town is a charming long hill, the ſouth ſide of which wards off the heat. It is embelliſhed with country houſes and verdant orchards, and watered by rich ſprings; which likewiſe refreſh the neighbouring country, where they ariſe through ſubterranean paſſages.

People in Germany have falſe ideas concerning the ſummer dryneſs of vegetation in hot countries. In open unſhaded and ſcantily watered paſtures, I grant that the graſs above the ſurface is parched; and that, during the hot months, on ſuch the cows eat what may more properly be called hay than graſs: but the herds of cattle are then paſtured on the mountains, where the graſs remains freſh; and the meadows which are then burnt up afford them freſh fodder in the winter. Accuſtomed to this air, and taking root in a very fruitful ſoil, the trees are clothed in a lovely green; and both hills and valleys, if nature do

but

but favour them with water, afford a rich vegetation of herbage and foliage: of the poliſhed verdure of which we northern people can form no idea. Several of the African plants of our hot houſes have this colour, this fulneſs, and this poliſh.

Alicata, *Licata*, or *Leocata*, is a pleaſant town; built partly upon a hill, and partly below it, on the ſea ſide. A fortreſs is erected on a ſmall cape, adjoining to the town, that extends into the ſea. At preſent the hill, taking its name from the town, is called *Monte di Licata* *. Cluverius imagined it to be the *Ecnomos* of the ancients.

The number of inhabitants in Alicata, was eſtimated, by Amico, at 10,960. He is an authentic writer, but, during the laſt thirty years, the numbers in moſt of the royal towns have decreaſed, in conſequence of various oppreſſions, much to the advantage of the baronial towns. Though the inhabitants, particularly the leſſer nobility, juſtly complain of the Barons, yet they are leſs oppreſſed by them than when immediately under the government of the King: for, as the road is always open to complaint, and as by government the reſpect for the rights of the Barons is more willingly diminiſhed than increaſed, the latter are obliged to exerciſe great precaution when they aſſert theſe rights.

Alicata was taken and burned, in the year 1553, by the Turks; and their allies, the French †.

This town ſtands where *Phintia* formerly ſtood: a place which was founded by the Agrigentine tyrant, *Phintias*; a contemporary of Pyrrhus. It was to this place that he brought the inhabitants of Gela, 282 years before Chriſt, after he had deſtroyed that mother town of Agrigentum.

On the 22d of June, we rode all the fore part of the day; till, about eleven o'clock, we arrived at Terranova. Near Alicata, we croſſed the mouth of the river *Fiume Salſo*; the largeſt ſtream in the iſland, and formerly called the *Himeras*. It divides the *Val di Mazzara* from the *Val di Noto*, in which we now are. The heat became very great as

* Lex. Top. Sic. † Fazello.

the morning advanced. The debilitating ſcirocco blew; and the very ſea appears unwillingly to feel its influence. Though it is attended with very little current of air, yet, when it prevails, the waves of the ſea foam and roar, and it ſeems as if its influence was more ſtrongly felt in this element than in the lighter air. It brings humidity: the clothes adhere to the body at its touch, the marrow ſeems melted in the bones, and ſpleen and melancholy afflict the heart. Cold bathing and cooling beverage, with fruit, or a draught of generous wine, and ſtill more effectually ice and repoſe, are the remedies by which it may be reſiſted.

The founders both of ancient and of modern towns naturally choſe the countries that were well watered; and Terranova enjoys the bleſſings which freſh vegetation and excellent fruits afford.

Here ſtood the ancient Gela *, to which a colony was led by Antiphemus from Rhodes, and Entimus from Crete; who joined in community forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe, in the firſt year of the 23d Olympiad, 686 years before Chriſt. It was built near the river *Gelas*, from which the town took its name. An ancient Greek ſcholiaſt, upon Pindar, calls the river *Gelon*; and it is now called by the modern name of the town, Terranova. Not far from Terranova, on the ſouth-weſt ſhore, a Doric pillar lies thrown down: a ſolitary token of the former grandeur of Gela.

The territory of Gela was extenſive, and the place itſelf large. It was called ἄστυ, by the poet Callimachus: a word which is only uſed to denote great cities. It is likewiſe called, by Virgil, *Immanis Gela* †. Another interpretation of the word *immanis* derives it from the tyrants, who ſome of them governed and others were natives of Gela. I grant that *immanis* is generally uſed to expreſs a cruel and ſavage nature:

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 380.

† In ſight of the Geloan fields we paſs;
And the large walls, where mighty Gela was.
DRYDEN: Æn. iii. l. 922.

but

but the circumſtance that Gela was governed by tyrants did not diſtinguiſh it from other towns in Sicily. Gelo, Hiero the Firſt, and Thraſybulus, three ſons of Dinomenes, who ſucceſſively governed Syracuſe, were natives of Gela. Gelo, one of the greateſt and beſt men of Grecian times, ruled becauſe he was reſpected; not becauſe he was powerful. The character of Hiero was more equivocal; though he was praiſed by Pindar and Simonides, both great poets. Thraſybulus, in every ſenſe of the word, was a tyrant.

The great tragic poet, Æſchylus, ſpent the remainder of his old age in Gela; after he had quitted Athens in diſguſt. One day, while he was ſleeping, an eagle that was bearing a tortoiſe, wiſhing to break its hard ſhell, let it fall upon the bare ſkull of the poet; miſtaking it for a ſtone: and thus died Æſchylus. Pauſanias *, a philoſopher and phyſician, the friend and diſciple of Empedocles, and Timogenes the philoſopher, the diſciple of Theophraſtus, were both of Gela.

In the fourth year of the 93d Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, Himilco, the general of the Carthaginians, after he had deſtroyed Agrigentum, fell with his whole army on the territories of Gela and Camarina. From the banks of the Gelas, near the city Gela, he took a coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo, and ſent it to Tyrus: the mother city of Carthage: and, when Alexander beſieged Tyrus, the citizens accuſed this ſtatue of favouring the enemy. The Carthaginian fortified his camp; expecting that Dionyſius, who by power and artifice had lately obtained the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, would march againſt him with a great army. The Gelenſes determined to ſend their wives and children to Syracuſe; but the women fled to the altars, and ſo preſſingly entreated the men to ſuffer them to ſhare in the dangers of war that they were permitted to remain.

The Gelenſes frequently ſallied on the foe; and, profiting by their knowledge of the country, killed and took many of the Carthaginians.

* Not Pauſanias the writer.

They fought valiantly; though their walls began to be ſhattered, and breaches were made by the deſtructive battering rams: but what the day deſtroyed the night repaired; and women and children laboured at the work, while the men remained under arms. Their defence was truly undaunted; though their city was not very ſtrong, their walls were in ruins, and no allies were come to their aid.

At length, Dionyſius arrived with a mixed army; from Syracuſe, the allied Grecians of Italy and Sicily, and ſoldiers that he had taken into pay: but he was defeated, in a battle againſt the Carthaginians, was conſtrained to ſend the citizens of Gela away by night to Syracuſe, and the enemy took poſſeſſion of the place *.

The inhabitants of Gela were ſent from Syracuſe to Leontium; but they muſt ſoon after have returned to their native place, for Gela took part with Dion againſt the younger Dionyſius †.

In the ſecond year of the 117th Olympiad, 309 years before the birth of Chriſt, Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuſe, accuſed the Gelenſes of taking part with the Carthaginians, put more than four thouſand citizens to death, and obliged the reſt to give him all the coined and uncoined gold and ſilver ‡.

Gela was deſtroyed by Phintias, the tyrant of Agrigentum, 282 years before Chriſt, in the firſt year of the 124th Olympiad.

The modern town, *Terranova*, was founded about the middle of the thirteenth century, by the Emperor Frederic the Second. The number of the inhabitants thirty years ago was eſtimated at 7076, by Amico §. It is a baronial town, and belongs to the Duke of Monteleone.

On the 23d, we paſſed the river *Terranova*, the ancient *Gelas*; leaving the ſea behind us on the right, and paſſing through the country of the Gelenſes: the fertility of which has in all ages been ſo famous. I never beheld ſtronger ſtubble; and, where the corn was not yet cut,

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 630.
† Diod. l. xiv. vol. ii. p. 89.
‡ Diod. l. xix. vol. ii. p. 400.
§ Lex. Top. Sic.

although

although on fields which had ſuffered this year for the want of rain, the crops even there could ſcarcely be called moderate.

We arrived at the little town of *Santa Maria di Niſceml*, which is built on a hill, before the morning ſun became too powerful. As we appeared to be in a wretched inn, we were looking round for a cloiſter, when a well-dreſſed perſon deſired us to follow him, in a friendly manner, and took us to the houſe of his ſon; who was the *Scrivano* of the town. As ſoon as we had alighted, a number of people had collected round us, and our chamber was preſently full of inquiſitive babblers; who all came, as they ſaid, *per dimoſtrar una piccola attenzione a gli ſignori foreſtieri*: to ſhew a little attention to the foreign gentlemen: but in reality to gratify their own inſatiable curioſity.

Among them, there was an old prieſt; of whoſe company, like the reſt, we began to be impatient: but of which we were afterward much aſhamed. After many queſtions concerning our travels, and giving us friendly council, he departed; but ſoon returned with letters of recommendation: and, not ſatisfied with that, gave our muleteer an Italian cock to be eaten by us on the road.

In the afternoon, we ſaw many large cork trees; and in the evening arrived at *Caltagirone*. This place, which contains more than ſeventeen thouſand inhabitants, by paying a voluntary gift to the King, is almoſt freed from taxes; and is endowed with commercial privileges, greater than thoſe of any other town. A colonnade, rather grand than beautiful, which the citizens have built on a height to enjoy the open air, and a ſpacious high road, in the continuation of which they are now employed, denote the activity of the inhabitants; who feel their growing power. The town is built on a hill, and its origin is doubtful; though it certainly exiſted in the times of the Saracens, and probably more early: as the height and the ſurrounding lands muſt at all times have given delight.

Yeſterday, ſoon after we had left *Caltagirone*, we beheld Ætna; towering behind the intervening mountains. The road brought us through fertile

fertile and well cultivated countries; and we again ſaw hills that were ſhaded with trees.

We left the little town of *Minoe* on a hill, lying on our right. It was formerly inhabited by the Siculi, called *Menai* *, and was the birth-place of the famous *Ducetius*; the leader or King of the Siculi; who, in the fourth year of the 81ſt Olympiad, 450 years before Chriſt, tranſported the inhabitants to the plains near the temple of the *Palici*: from which the new town was called *Palica*.

Theſe Gods were ſuppoſed to be the twin ſons of Zeus and the Nymph Ætna: or, according to others, Thalia. Their temple was famed for its antiquity, and the ſacred terror it inſpired. We are told, by Diodorus, it had hot and apparently glowing ſprings; which roſe from boiling gulphs, out of craters of no great circumference, but of immeaſurable depth. The ſtench of the ſulphur is ſo great that no one has ever yet entirely been at the place. The deep bubbling water roars fearfully; but never overflows, or fails.

Here the moſt ſolemn oaths were ſworn; and Diodorus affirms that perjury was followed by immediate puniſhment. The oath put an end to the moſt intricate diſputes. Even ſlaves found refuge here againſt their cruel and angry maſters; who durſt not forcibly take them away, but were obliged to give them the ſecurity of the oath: nor was there an example known, ſays Diodorus, of a maſter who did not keep this oath.

The temple was built in a commanding ſituation: and was embelliſhed with colonnades, and other pleaſing objects †.

After

* I agree with Cluverius, and read Μεναι in Diodorus: inſtead of the common reading, Νεαι.

† According to the fable, the Nymph Ætna, or Thalia, for ſo Macrobius calls her, being pregnant by Jupiter and fearful of the wrath of Juno, wiſhed that the earth might open. Her wiſh was accompliſhed; and, when ſhe was delivered of the twins, they were called *Palici*: from the words παλιν and ἰεναι: *again* and *to go*: becauſe they came back out of the earth. According to others, they were the ſame who became ſo famous under the names of Caſtor and Pollux. They were called Palici; becauſe they alternately lived one

After Ducetius had built *Palica* and had ſurrounded it with good walls, he divided the territorial lands among the citizens; and the excellence of the ſoil and the number of the inhabitants ſoon rendered it a reſpectable place. But the proſperity of *Palica* was of ſhort duration, for it was quickly deſtroyed *.

We were prevented from viſiting theſe bubbling ſprings, both by the badneſs of the air round them and the length of our day's journey. A living Sicilian author ſays—"The lake of *Palici* is ſtill full of ſul-"phurous and highly inſalubrious water: ſo that to remain near it is "dangerous both to man and beaſt. Its breadth is about a hundred "paces."

About ten in the forenoon, we arrived at the little town of Palagonia; which is built on a height and overlooks a charming vale. This ſituation and this name lead me to think it highly probable that the temple ſtood in the valley. The town is the native place of the Princes of Palagonia; one of whom built the groteſque palace, between Solanto and Palermo, which I have already deſcribed.

In the afternoon, over a fruitful country, we beheld Mount Ætna in its whole extent. We left the lake *Beveria* on our left; which abounds in fiſh, particularly eels, and birds. The river *Leonardo* flows through it; which the ancients called the *Liſſus*; and, ſoon after it has left the lake, it paſſes by *Lentini*: but, as it frequently overflows, it renders the air of that town very unhealthy. We contemplated the fertile fields which, according to the accounts of the ancients, excited ſurpriſe in Hercules †; and they ſtill ſupport the fame they formerly obtained.

one month in Olympus and the next in the infernal regions: from which they continually returned; from the time that the immortal Pollux obtained permiſſion of Zeus to ſhare his immortality with the mortal Caſtor, who had ſlain Lynceus and was afterward killed by Idas. Inſtead of *pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ* (Virg. Æn. vii. 763) ſome read *Palici*: and Servius ſays that men were firſt ſacrificed to theſe Gods, but that they then accepted other ſacrifices in expiation: therefore Virgil calls the altar *placabilis*: or placable. I muſt further remark of the ſons of Leda that, according to ſome, it was Pollux, but according to others Caſtor, who was immortal.

* Diod. lib. xi. vol. i. p. 471. † Diod. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 270.

During

During the whole day, we had ſeen ſmoke aſcend not only out of the upper mouth of Ætna but likewiſe from a lower part; where, ſome months ago, a new aperture burſt forth. When it was dark, we ſaw the red ſtream of lava.

You cannot but admire our good fortune, at not only having viſited Veſuvius during its eruption but Ætna, likewiſe, at a time when it aſſumed every beauty, and was clothed in all its fertility.

We had a letter from the beautiful young Princeſs Leonforte, of Palermo, which gained us admiſſion to a convenient houſe in the upper part of the town of Lentini; where the air is leſs unhealthy. This place contains rather more than four thouſand inhabitants, and lies at the foot of a height; at the top of which Charles the Fifth built a new town, that he might allure the inhabitants to change their bad air for a better. He called this town *Carlentini*, and it contains nearly three thouſand people.

Lentini is a ſmall remainder of the formerly flouriſhing and mighty Leontium: on which, in the firſt year of the 13th Olympiad, 726 years before Chriſt, the *Chalcidenſes*, from *Eubœa*, who ſix years before had founded the Sicilian Naxos, had made a deſcent; under the conduct of the ſame Theocles whom they had followed from Greece; and ſettled here, after they had driven out the Siculi, who were the former inhabitants of Leontium *.

The ſame fate attended the Leontini as befel the other Greek colonies of Sicily: who were frequently oppreſſed by tyrants, and as frequently recovered their freedom. Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum, one of theſe oppreſſors, took away their arms; and, with the policy of deſpotiſm, introduced luxury: ſo that to ſay "The Leontini are always at their bottle" became proverbial.

Leontium was the cauſe of the firſt attack made upon Syracuſe by the Athenians. The Leontini were then at war with the Syracuſians; and all the towns of Doric origin, except Camarina, took part with the latter: and with the former the Camarini, and all the towns that de-

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 379.

rived their origin from the Chalcidenſes. The arrogant power of the Syracuſians oppreſſed the Leontini; who ſent ambaſſadors to Athens demanding aſſiſtance. One of theſe ambaſſadors was the famous philoſopher, and orator, Gorgias; who exceeded his contemporaries in the reputation of eloquence: though his oratory chiefly conſiſted in ſtudied artifice, antitheſis, and the tricks of rhetoric; unlike the high and irreſiſtible eloquence of Pericles, which extorted praiſe even from the comic poets. Ariſtophanes ſays of him—"The Olympic Pericles "ſpeaks in thunder and lightning; and confounds all Greece." And Eupolis, of whom we have ſome fragments, declares, "Conviction ſat "upon his lips: it was faſcination to hear him: and he alone, of all "the orators, left a ſting in the ear *."

But the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, were inſatiate in their love of novelty; and Gorgias kept a ſchool of rhetoric, and received from his diſciples a hundred *minæ*, or about two thouſand rix dollars. Depravity of manners and depravity of taſte go hand in hand. The beautiful is allied to the beautiful; and deformity to its like.

Gorgias eaſily perſuaded the Athenians to take part in this war; for they had long deſired to poſſeſs Sicily, and ſeized this pretext of the oppreſſed Leontini; to whom, as a people related to themſelves, they owed aſſiſtance: for the inhabitants of the towns of Chalcidenſian origin were, like the Athenians, deſcended from the Ionians. Accord-

* Diodorus attributes theſe verſes all to Eupolis; after he had cited others from Ariſtophanes: but, as the two firſt of theſe verſes are generally aſcribed to Ariſtophanes, we ſhould thus, with Weſſeling, read the text of Diodorus:

Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις (i. e. λεγει Ἀριστοφάνης)

——— Περικλέης ὁ Ὀλυμπιος
Ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Εὔπολις δὲ ὁ ποιητής·

Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοίς χείλεσιν.
Οὕτως ἐκέλει καὶ, μονος τῶν ῥητόρων,
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατελειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

ingly the Athenians declared for war: but this war was tedious, and the Leontini at laſt made peace with Syracuſe; of which city they obtained the freedom, were tranſported thither, the Syracuſians took poſſeſſion of Leontium, and the Athenians ſailed back to Greece*.

Thus expelled from their native city by the Syracuſians, the Leontini endeavoured to recover what they had loſt; and, in the firſt year of the 91ſt Olympiad, 414 years before the birth of Chriſt, in concert with the Aceſtæi, who were at war with the Selinuntii, they induced Athens to make a ſecond attempt upon Sicily, eleven years after their firſt effort, and in the 16th year of the Peloponneſian war. On this occaſion the Athenians were uncommonly ſanguine; and determined, before they began, to ſell all the Syracuſians and Selinuntii as ſlaves, and to impoſe an annual tribute on the remaining people of the iſland.

In the third year of the 93d Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, while they were ſtill at war with the Athenians, the Syracuſians tranſplanted the Agrigentini, whoſe city the Carthaginians had deſtroyed, to Leontium.

In the ſame year, Dionyſius employed the people of Leontium to ſecure himſelf in the tyranny of Syracuſe. Afterward however Leontium became the place in which the deliverers of Syracuſe, Dion, and Timoleon, began their enterpriſe againſt the tyrants; and here Icetas, the tyrant of that city, fell under the power of Timoleon †.

On each ſide of Lentini many caverns, cut in the rocks, are ſeen. Perhaps they ſerved the Siculi, or probably the more early Læſtrigons and Cyclops, as habitations: for I am of opinion that the fabulous account of the Cyclops had ſome foundation in truth; and that the ſavage ſtate of theſe people gave riſe to the poetical fiction, that they were monſters.

Early in the forenoon, we rode along the banks of the river *Cantara* ‡; which the ancients called the *Alabis*, *Alabo*, or *Alabus*. According to Bochart, *Halava*, in the Phœnician language, ſignified

* Thuc. l. iii. p. 220, and Diod l. xii. vol. i. p. 513.

† Plut. Life of Tim. ‡ Lex. Top. Sic.

ſweetneſs;

ſweetneſs; and he conjectured that the river was thus named by the Phœnicians, becauſe excellent honey was produced on its banks. It ſometimes meanders between high rocks, and through pleaſant valleys; and indeed the whole country is vigorous in vegetation, and highly fertile. We ſaw fine herds of cattle; which, in this iſland, are without exception red, have prodigious horns, are ſhort, ſtrong, and numerous, and are only diſtinguiſhable by their colour from the white cattle of Apulia.

We reſted in the middle of the day at *Fondaco del Fico;* the name of which will remind you of our pleaſant reſting place in Calabria, between Catanzaro and Monteleone, where we halted at noon. Like that of Calabria, the *Fondaco del Fico* of Sicily is delightful; eſpecially becauſe of its umbrageous trees, among which the tall mulberry predominates, and which at preſent affords ſomething beſide its cooling ſhade.

Dearth and uncleanlineſs prevailed in the inn: but the branching foliage of a large fig tree gave ſweetneſs to our mid-day repaſt; and its ruſtling would have invited to ſleep, had we not been obliged to reach Syracuſe.

In the afternoon, we rode over the places where formerly the leſſer *Hybla* and *Megara* ſtood. This place conſiſts of flat rocks; and here we ſaw ſome remains of hewn ſtones, which no doubt had been a burial place of Megara.

About the time that the Chalcidenſes made a deſcent on Leontium, *Lamis* led a colony from *Megara* in Greece to the river *Pantagias*, and founded *Trotilum;* which lay eaſtward of Leontium, on the ſea ſide. Lamis governed Leontium, and the Chalcidenſes; but was driven away by the Leontini, founded *Tapſus*, and died. His countrymen were expelled from Tapſus by *Hyblo*, a King of the Siculi, and built the *Hyblæan Megara.* After having poſſeſſed this place two hundred and forty-five years, they were driven from their town and its territory by Gelo, the ruler of Syracuſe.

A hundred years after the building of Megara theſe people, under one of their leaders named Pamilos, founded Selinus *.

Except the honey of *Hymettus*, a mountain of *Attica*, the honey of Hybla was eſteemed above all others, by the ancients. This honey ſtill maintains its excellence: nor can leſs be expected, from the large ſtrongly aromatic thyme which grows here, on the hot rocky beds of earth.

The ancient *Thapſos*, which the Romans, omitting the letter *h*, called *Tapſus*, was built on a ſmall peninſula of the ſame name which we ſaw at no great diſtance, and is now called *Iſola de gli Manghiſi*.

The aſpect of Syracuſe reſembles that of Taranto; for it is ſituated between a great and a little ſea: as we may venture to call its haven a bay. This aſpect even ſtill has ſomething grand in it: although the preſent town, limited to the iſland, probably contains only the twentieth part, and ſcarcely that, of the ancient Syracuſe.

How many elevated ideas did this aſpect excite in the ſoul! This was the city which alone, of all the towns of Greece, dared to vie with Athens. Centuries riſe to view, and ſtrange and innumerable events; till the eye, become giddy by the multitudinous objects, ſeeks repoſe by calling the heroes of times long paſſed once more to remembrance, and forcing them to leave their ſilent abodes.

Gelo muſt not be numbered among tyrants: he governed in wiſdom, and was one of the greateſt Greeks that hiſtory records.

Hermocrates was an enlightened citizen, a great captain, and a humane conqueror. He enjoyed thoſe honours, and was crowned with thoſe garlands, which none but the great and good men of a free ſtate can beſtow: but he was obliged to drink the very lees of ingratitude; which, when preſented by the hands of free citizens, are bitter in the extreme †.

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 380.

† He oppoſed Nicias, the leader of Athens, was baniſhed for his lenity to the Athenian priſoners, and was murdered on his return from exile. T.

Related

Related to tyrants, Dion fought for freedom. The virtues of the active ſtateſman flouriſhed in the retreats of philoſophy. Mild wiſdom became his guide, accompanied him amid the tumult of popular clamour, preſerved him in the ſanguinary field, and guarded him againſt the poiſon of a court.

The viſit of a man like Plato reflects honour on the city viſited; and freedom and fame reſulted from the preſence of the great Timoleon, who purified Sicily from tyrants, as Hercules purified the earth from monſters. His mild influence was that of the deliverer among the delivered: an equal with equals: as ſuch, he ended a life of fame in Syracuſe, ſetting like the ſun in glory, and honoured after his death like a demi-god.

Archimedes, a relation of Hiero the Second, withdrew himſelf from the court, as Dion had formerly done; and, with all the enthuſiaſm of genius, devoted himſelf to thoſe ſevere delights which geometry affords.

He became the bulwark of Syracuſe, his native place; and the machines which he invented, when it was beſieged, were long its ſword and ſhield. Yet the aſtoniſhing efforts of his ſcience appeared to him but as ſports, acted for the gratification of Hiero, compared to the pure contemplation of abſtracted truths, in which he delighted; and which, to a mind like his, were unlimited *.

The man who at his birth is cradled by the Muſes, who, like Theocritus, devotes his days to the beautiful, exciting the ſympathies he feels, expanding the delights he diſcovers, and promulgating the ſentiments by which he is honoured, to him the admiration of the preſent is ſecured, and on him the praiſe and the love of futurity ſhall devolve. Lead ſinks: vapours aſcend. The moral world has its laws, like the phyſical; and that which once was the beautiful will eternally ſo remain.

Theocritus lived in the generation that ſucceeded to that of Alex-

* Plut. Life of Marcellus.

ander; and it appears as if the early decreaſe of heroes and a paſſion for the beautiful and the ſublime withdrew at the ſame period, from the empire of the Greeks; by whom the firſt had been ſo honoured, and the ſecond ſo wonderfully diffuſed.

Tutored however by nature herſelf, and by her darling Homer, the Sicilian poet eſcaped contamination, and remained true to his inſtructreſs; even in the court of a king: nay, of an Egyptian king. Sportive among ſhepherds, the Doric Muſe inſpired his ſimple lay: and, pretending only to win him a lamb from the fold, ſhe wove him an immortal wreath; which neither Bion of Smyrna, nor Moſchus, his own countryman *, though immortal like himſelf, could obtain; and of which the great Virgil, with his many-ſtringed paſtoral lyre, could not deprive him.

CONTINUATION OF LETTER XCI.

WHILE deſcribing the countries and towns through which I paſs, it does not appear to me ſuperfluous to give a paſſing glance at the deſtiny of their former inhabitants. Time and ſpace are allied. The diſtance of a deſcribed country increaſes the intereſt of the deſcription; and time elapſed claims from us a right of preference. To examine into this claim were needleſs: for who does not yield it willing obedience?

A ſage fable of the Greeks allegorically repreſented the ſoul of man under the image of Pſyche. Pſyche had wings: but they were bound. We know they were to be ſet free: but, in the interim, ſhe was frequently impatient, felt herſelf reſtrained, could not mount at will, fluttered with her wings as well as ſhe was able, and approached the very precipice of time and ſpace.

How numerous and how great are the claims of theſe countries to the obſervation of man! His curioſity is raiſed and rewarded by theſe

* Sicily, that ſeat of paradiſe, has produced three paſtoral poets: Daphnis, the inventor of the Eclogue, Theocritus, and Moſchus. Bion likewiſe, though born at Smyrna, lived and wrote in Sicily.

Heſperian

Heſperian fields! by nature in all her grandeur, and all her charms! Their hiſtory is remarkable for its antiquity, and ſtill more remarkable for the great revolutions of which they have been the theatre, and the mighty conteſts of human power, as well as for the effects which thoſe conteſts have to this day produced.

The events that have befallen Syracuſe not only abound in inſtruction, and entertainment, from their variety but likewiſe from their connection with the hiſtory of the world.

I have before mentioned what Diodorus tells us, that Gelo was compared to Themiſtocles; and that ſome affirm that the Greeks were in part indebted to him, for their triumph at Salamis: he having raiſed their courage by his victory near Himera, and taught them not to be terrified by a multitude of Barbarians *.

On the very day on which Gelo overcame the Carthaginians, the Spartans, a handful of heroes, fell at Thermopylæ! It would therefore be unjuſt to affirm that the Greeks needed the example of Gelo to excite them to victory, and freedom. But it may boldly be maintained that the battle of Himera influenced the fate of the iſland, and ſupported the manners and the ſpirit of the Greeks; over which the danger of barbarian rule began to hover. Had the Carthaginians been poſſeſſed of Sicily in the time of Gelo, their ſovereignty would ſoon have extended itſelf over Italy; and this early growth of Carthaginian power would have been fatal to riſing Rome. If Carthage and not Rome had been triumphant, the whole theatre of human affairs would have been changed. The ſanguinary genius of the Romans was modified by the nobler ſpirit of the Greeks: but the very ground work of Carthage was not to endure the introduction of foreign manners. They once made a law to prohibit the teaching of the Greek language †. The mild and godlike beam which enlightened all Chriſtendom, I freely grant, would have penetrated the world of Carthage; as it did the world of Rome: but it would have been after another manner; and the

* Diod. lib. ix. vol. i. p. 421. † Juſtin. lib. xx. c. 5.

fruit

fruit of the engrafted heavenly ſcion would probably have contained ſomewhat of the bitter ſap of the ſavage trunk.

In the fourth year of the 11th Olympiad, 731 years before Chriſt and 22 years after the building of Rome, *Archias*, the deſcendant of Hercules, brought a colony from Corinth to the little iſland of Ortygia, after he had driven out the Siculi *. This ſmall iſland, which was connected with Sicily by a dam, muſt not be confounded with the iſland of Ortygia near Greece.

Archias and *Micyllus* (for ſo, agreeably to Cluverius, we muſt read in Strabo, inſtead of *Myſcellus*) had mutually aſked advice of Apollo, concerning the place to which they ſhould lead their companions. The oracle replied by aſking—"Whether they wiſhed their people to enjoy health, or wealth?" Archias choſe the latter; Micyllus health; and Apollo ſent him to that part of Italy where Croton was built, and Archias to the iſland of Ortygia. The new city was called *Syracuſa*; from the neighbouring marſh, *Syraca*: though probably the city from which the Siculi were driven had this name already †.

Syracuſe muſt quickly have become powerful; for, about ſeventy years afterward, it founded the colony of *Acræ*, *Caſmenæ* twenty years after that, and, in a hundred and thirty-five years, *Camarina*: beſide which the Syracuſians ſent inhabitants to *Enna*. It further appears that, in theſe early times, their freedom had more than once been endangered: for we find traces of a tyrant named Pollis, and of a Queen Philiſtis, who muſt have lived before Gelo, becauſe we find no mention of them in later times, of which we have an accurate account.

Gelo, the ſon of Dinomenes ‡, was a native of Gela; and, having obtained fame in war, he was appointed the leader of the cavalry of the Gelenſes, whom he afterward governed. When he became ruler of Syracuſe, he ſurrendered the government of Gela to his brother, Hiero: but took the half of the Gelenſes to Syracuſe, and likewiſe the citizens of Camarina, which place he deſtroyed, giving his followers

* Thuc. vi. p. 379. † Strab. lib. vi. ‡ Herod. l. vii.

the

the right of citizenſhip. Megara undertook a war againſt Syracuſe, to which it was obliged to yield; and the rich, who had been the cauſe of the war, expected to be put to death: but even theſe, ſays Herodotus, Gelo took to Syracuſe, and gave them the right of citizenſhip: only the few that were innocent he ſuffered to remain in Megara *, on condition of ſelling them when he pleaſed. He dealt the ſame with the inhabitants of the little Sicilian town Eubœa; and thus Syracuſe became a large and powerful city.

I greatly reſpect the authority of Herodotus: but he was leſs informed of the affairs of Sicily than of thoſe of Greece, and the Eaſt; and I ſcarcely can believe that Gelo acted in this manner. Would it not have been natural to have puniſhed the guilty rich, by confiſcating their property to beſtow upon the poor, and to give the latter the right of citizenſhip? Beſide, Thucydides † ſays that Gelo drove the inhabitants of Megara from the city, and its territories.

When Xerxes invaded Greece, ambaſſadors from that country were ſent to Gelo, requeſting his aid. Accordingly, he offered them twenty galleys, twenty thouſand heavy armed foot, two thouſand horſe, two thouſand archers, two thouſand ſlingers, two thouſand light armed runners, ἱπποδρόμους φίλους, with corn for the whole Grecian army as long as the war ſhould continue; but accompanied theſe offers with the condition that he ſhould be general in chief of the Greeks, againſt the Barbarians.

When Syagrus the Spartan heard this, he exclaimed, Oh how would Agamemnon the ſon of Pelops rage, did he but hear that the Spartans were robbed of precedence by Gelo, and the Syracuſians!

Gelo modified this condition, by leaving it to the choice of the ambaſſadors whether he ſhould command by land or ſea: and now the Athenian interfered, who had before been ſilent; well knowing that the Spartan would give him a proper anſwer; and declared that, if the

* The German reads Syracuſe; but, though the paſſage in Herodotus is difficult immediately to find, the context evidently demands that we ſhould read Megara. T.

† Lib. vi. 380.

Spartan would yield the command of the fleet to Gelo, he, the Athenian, would not. It was an honour which, ſhould it be required, would only be yielded to the Spartans. Athens would vainly be called the firſt naval power in Greece, if ſhe ſuffered Syracuſe to take the lead. It had been long ſince ſaid of them, by Homer, that their generals were the beſt to conduct an army. Gelo anſwered, "Athe-" nian gueſt, it appears that you have generals but want ſoldiers. Re-" turn home, and tell the Greeks they have a year without a ſpring."

By this he meant to compare the riſing power of Syracuſe to the ſpring.

Diodorus informs us that Xerxes, at the time that he made war on Greece, excited the Carthaginians to ſend an army againſt Sicily: in order thus to give employment to the Greek towns of the iſland: urging that the invaſion of the Perſians would ſecure the Carthaginians againſt the arms of the Greeks.

The Carthaginians followed this counſel; and attacked Theron, the tyrant of Agrigentum and Himera, with a prodigious army. I have related the aid which Gelo afforded to Himera in a former letter, with the glorious victory he obtained, and the manner in which he obliged the Carthaginians to make peace: on whom he impoſed a tribute, and made a benevolent condition that they ſhould ſacrifice no more children to Saturn *.

Gelo, like a wiſe prince, promoted agriculture; and frequently led the Syracuſians to tillage, as he had done to victory †.

Diodorus relates that Gelo intended to have aided the Greeks againſt the Perſians, when he learnt that Xerxes had quitted Europe with a part of his army. He therefore renounced his project, and convoked an aſſembly of the people; in which each citizen appeared armed, himſelf alone excepted. He did not even put on his *tunic* or *chiton*, but appeared in his underrobe, ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθών, and gave an account of all his actions. The approbation of the people was proclaimed aloud, with the titles of benefactor, ſaviour and king! Ho-

* Plut. Apophthegm. † Ibid.

noured and beloved, he ended a life of fame; dying very old in the third year of the 75th Olympiad, 476 years before Chriſt, after having reigned ſeven years; and left the government to his younger brother, Hiero the Firſt *.

Hiero reigned eleven years. He diſtruſted his brother Polyzelus, who had married Gelo's widow, becauſe of the reſpect in which he was held at Syracuſe, and placed a guard upon him; being jealous of his brother's ambitious intentions †. When the Sybarites were beſieged by the Crotonians, they ſent to Hiero for aid; and he appointed Polyzelus general, in the hope that he would periſh: but Polyzelus, ſuſpecting his intention, fled to his father-in-law, Theron.

The people of Himera, being oppreſſed under the rule of Thraſydeus, the ſon of Theron, offered Hiero their city, and to make a common cauſe with him againſt Theron, with whom he was angry for protecting his brother: but Hiero was reconciled to Theron and Polyzelus, and betrayed the inhabitants of Himera; many of whom Theron put to death ‡.

Hiero ſent aid to the Cumeans, who petitioned for it to reſiſt the attacks of the Tyrrheni, who were lords of the ſea. The Syracuſians and Cumeans united obtained a victory by ſea, and ſubjected the enemy; which victory is celebrated by Pindar, in his firſt Pythian ode; which he dedicates to Hiero.

Hiero died, after reigning eleven years, during which he had proved his avarice and ambition: but he was ſupported by the fame of the government of Gelo, the love of whoſe memory prevented the oppoſition of malcontents. Thraſybulus, the brother of Gelo and Hiero, who ſucceeded to the throne, reigned with cruelty and caprice, put many of the citizens to death contrary to juſtice and law, and ſent others into exile. The baniſhed choſe leaders and attacked him, aided by other Greek towns; and Thraſybulus thought himſelf fortunate in

* Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 433. † Diod. and Scholiaſt on Pindar.

‡ Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 440.

being allowed to reſign the government and retreat, after he had poſſeſſed it a year.

Free themſelves, the Syracuſians gave freedom to other cities, that were groaning under tyrants and overawed by garriſons; and continued to flouriſh in proſperity and liberty during ſixty years, till they were brought under the yoke of the elder Dionyſius.

This period however did not elapſe without diſturbances; the firſt of which occurred ſoon after Syracuſe had aſſerted its freedom. The citizens vowed to erect a coloſſal ſtatue to Zeus, the Deliverer; and annually, on the day that they had ſhaken off the fetters of Thraſybulus, to make a ſolemn ſacrifice of four hundred and fifty oxen, accompanied with games. They likewiſe precluded the new citizens and the ſoldiers, ten thouſand of whom Gelo had preſented with the right of citizenſhip, from any participation in public affairs. Seven thouſand of this number were ſtill alive, and a civil war aroſe within the city.

Other towns took part in the commotion; till, at laſt, all united againſt the new made citizens: who, in a general abjuration, were obliged to renounce their rights. On this occaſion the former citizens, who had been driven away, were reinſtated in their privileges; and the ſtrangers were permitted to retire to the territories of Meſſina, in order, according to the highly probable conjecture of Weſſeling, to favour their return to their own country; they being moſt of them Italians. This happened in the fourth year of the 79th Olympiad, 459 years before the birth of Chriſt.

Seven years afterward, one Tyndarides excited a new commotion, and collected a crowd around him: thus hoping to ſeize on the government. His intentions were ſelf evident, and he was condemned to death. As he was led to priſon, his partiſans aſſaulted his conductors, a tumult enſued, and the rioters with himſelf were ſlain.

Frequent occurrences like theſe induced the people to adopt a rule ſimilar to that of *Oſtraciſm*. Each citizen of Athens was permitted to write the name of a fellow citizen, whom he wiſhed to baniſh, on an oyſter

oyſter ſhell, and to throw it into a receptacle, which was kept railed round in the public place. At the end of the year, theſe ſhells were counted by the Archons. If no citizen's name were found written on ſix thouſand ſhells, none were baniſhed: but, if the name of any one were thus often repeated, the citizen who had the moſt ſhells againſt him was obliged to leave his country for ten years *: though he was not deprived of his property.

In Syracuſe the names of the citizens whom the people wiſhed to baniſh were written on an olive leaf; and the period of baniſhment was only for five years. This was called *Petaliſm: Petalon* ſignifying a leaf, in Greek, and *Oſtracon* a ſhell. The thing which might be expected from a reſtleſs people happened: the nobleſt and beſt citizens were baniſhed, and men of equity withdrew themſelves from public affairs; which were directed by mixed characters, among whom demagogues and ſycophants ſwarmed. The young men exerciſed themſelves in a ſpecies of eloquence the ſophiſtical and injurious arts of which were adopted, inſtead of their former ſevere education. Foreign peace occaſioned domeſtic wealth to accumulate: but concord and juſtice fled. The Syracuſians ſoon ſaw the dangerous effects of *Petaliſm*, and it was aboliſhed †.

A year afterward, Syracuſe ſent a fleet againſt the *Tyrrheni* (or Tuſcans) who infeſted Sicily with their piracies. The Syracuſians laid waſte the iſland of *Æthalia* (or Elba); but Phayllus, their leader, was bribed by the Tyrrheni, returned to Syracuſe, and was ſent into baniſhment.

The Syracuſians then ſent Apelles, with ſixty galleys, who made deſcents on the Tyrrhenian coaſt, attacked the iſland of *Cyrnos* (or Corſica), conquered Æthalia, and returned with much booty and many ſlaves.

It was in the following year that Ducetius, the leader of the Siculi, after an unfortunate battle, delivered himſelf up to the Syracuſians: as

* Plut. Life of Ariſtides. † Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 469.

I have

I have related in a former letter. When he left Corinth, to which he had been ſent, having firſt promiſed to remain there, and returned to Sicily, the Agrigentini, who looked with envy on the power of Syracuſe, ſeized this pretence for declaring war againſt it; accuſing the Syracuſians of having ſuffered their common enemy to depart, without their conſent. The Agrigentini were overcome in battle; and Syracuſe granted them peace at their own requeſt *.

In the third year of the 84th Olympiad, 439 years before Chriſt, Sicily and Italy, and indeed the greateſt part of the known world, enjoyed peace and repoſe; and the Greek towns of Sicily, Agrigentum itſelf included, acknowledged the predominating reſpectability of Syracuſe.

Three years afterward, the Syracuſians built a hundred galleys, doubled their cavalry, increaſed their foot, and heightened the tribute which they levied on the Siculi; purſuing the ambitious views they had conceived reſpecting the whole iſland, which they gradually hoped to bring under their government.

In the ſecond year of the 88th Olympiad, 425 years before Chriſt, the Leontini were the cauſe of the firſt enterpriſe of the Athenians againſt Syracuſe; which was productive of no remarkable events, as the two States ſoon made peace with each other †.

Eleven years afterward, the Aceſtæi and Leontini requeſted aſſiſtance from the Athenians: the Aceſtæi againſt Selinus, and the Leontini once more againſt Syracuſe.

The Athenians were glad of the pretext, for they had long been ambitious of poſſeſſing Sicily. They began this war with enthuſiaſtic hope, which was enflamed by the young Alcibiades. Nicias, a conſcientious man, whoſe advice was againſt the war, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, were appointed generals againſt Syracuſe ‡.

The intoxicating ardour with which the Athenians began this war affords a grand warning example to mankind.

* Diod. l. xi. xii. vol. i. p. 474 and 482. † See Letter xci.

‡ Thuc. l. vi. p. 381.

When

When the men and proviſions were on board the ſhips, the trumpet commanded a general ſilence. The uſual vows were not confined to each ſhip, but were announced aloud for the whole by the herald. The ſacrificing goblets were every where filled and emptied by the chiefs and leaders of the army; and the people on ſhore, their friends, and citizens, all joined them in their entreaties to the Gods. After the emptying of the goblets and the ſhouts of *Io Pæan*, the ſhips departed one after the other, and then rowed, contending for ſwiftneſs, to the iſland of *Ægina* *.

The Syracuſians received advice from different parts of the approach of the Athenians, which they would not credit. Hermocrates, the ſon of Hermon, endeavoured to convince them that the Athenians were coming with a mighty power; and adviſed the Syracuſians to give them battle, on the Ionian ſea.

Having finiſhed his oration, a violent conteſt aroſe; ſome believing nothing that he had ſaid, others that he had exaggerated the force of the Athenians.

Athanagoras, a demagogue, according to the cuſtom of ſuch people, accuſed the *Strategi* †, that "they ſpread the vain rumour of war only "to ſubject the people. Syracuſe was potent enough to repel the "Athenians. He muſt be a fearful man, or inimical to his country, "who did not wiſh the Athenians might be fooliſh enough to make "ſuch an attempt ‡."

The Syracuſians inveſted three *Strategi*, Hermocrates, Sicanus, and Heraclides, with full power; but not till the fleet of the Athenians was in the ſtraits. Theſe leaders aſſembled the troops, and ſent ambaſſadors to the towns of Sicily; inviting them all to unite in the common cauſe. The people of Himera, Selinus, Gela, and Catana, declared for Syra-

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 398.

† This word, which properly ſignifies generals, denoted in Syracuſe the principal rulers of the republic.

‡ Thuc. lib. vi. p. 598.

cuſe.

cuſe. The Siculi were likewiſe inclined to the ſame ſide, but waited the iſſue. I have before related the manner in which the Athenians were deceived by the Aceſtæi, who made a falſe diſplay of borrowed gold and ſilver.

The people of Agrigentum and Naxos declared for the Athenians. The people of Catana forbad the army of the Athenians to enter their town; but agreed, at the requeſt of the generals, to call an aſſembly of the people; and, while Alcibiades made them an oration, ſome of the Athenians broke in at a little gate and entered Catana: by which means this town was obliged to declare againſt Syracuſe.

Alcibiades was afterward recalled to Athens; under the pretext of his having, during night, mutilated the ſtatues of Hermes; but in reality becauſe he was ſuſpected of ambitious views.

I dare only curſorily notice a ſiege the hiſtory of which has been given by Thucydides, with a force peculiar to himſelf; and charmingly written by Diodorus, and Plutarch.

The fortune of war was changeable, and the Athenians and Syracuſians were ſeveral times aided by their allies. Lamachus was ſlain, as was Eurymedon; whom the Athenians had ſent, with Demoſthenes *, at the head of a new army. The plague began to rage in the camp of the beſiegers; and, after great defeats, the Athenians yielded to Gylippus, the Spartan, who had been ſent to the aid of Syracuſe. The Athenians loſt eighteen thouſand men in the laſt battle; and ſeven thouſand, with their generals, were made priſoners.

On the following day, a conſultation was held before the aſſembled people, concerning the diſpoſal of the priſoners. Diocles, a powerful demagogue, adviſed that Nicias and Demoſthenes ſhould firſt be ſcourged, and then put to death; and that the allies ſhould be ſold, and the ſoldiers preſerved to dig in the quarries; but that they ſhould only be allowed a ſcanty ſubſiſtence of barley meal.

Hermocrates, who had fought with ſo much glory againſt the con-

* Not Demoſthenes the orator. T.

quered

quered Athenians, endeavoured to convince his fellow citizens that humanity after victory was more glorious than victory itself *. The people were enraged; and Nicolaus, one of their elders, roſe, ſupported by two ſlaves: being weak through age and affliction. "No man," ſaid he, "has more cauſe to hate the Athenians than I have: for they "have robbed me of my two ſons, inſtead of whom I muſt now be "ſupported by ſlaves." He endeavoured however to excite compaſſion, for the unfortunate and ſufficiently puniſhed Athenians: he warned them, by the very example which the Athenians had afforded, againſt the abuſe of good fortune; and reminded them that the Athenians had ſurrendered on the faith of their promiſe. "Thoſe," added he, "who thirſt after rule, will never prevail ſo effectually by the force "of arms as by the force of morals." He cited the example of Gelo; who, inveſted with the power of all Sicily, gave peace to the Carthaginians whom he had conquered, and won the hearts of all men by his mildneſs. The advantage of arms often depended on fortune; and mercy was the proper attribute of victory. Hatred againſt the foe ought not to be immortal; and the conqueror ſhould be the firſt to offer peace. The Athenians themſelves, in the iſland of *Sphacteria*, had ſet the Lacedemonian priſoners free. It was a wiſe cuſtom, in the ancients, to erect their tokens of victory not of ſtone, but of wood; that they might not immortalize their hatred. He reminded them of thoſe benefits which the Athenians had conferred on mankind; who had been taught by them the art of agriculture, which they had learned from the Gods. They had been the firſt to make laws, afford protection to fugitives, and by their eloquence, philoſophy, and the teaching of myſteries, had enlightened the nations. As for the allies, they had fought under conſtraint; and Nicias, who had ever been the friend of Syracuſe, had given his counſel againſt the war: Nicias, that now ſtood with his arms bound behind his back, as if fortune were willing

* Ὡς καλλιον ἐστι τὸ νικᾶν το την νικην ἐνσχυειν ἀνθρωπινως. Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 556.

to prove her power, and her caprice. As men, they might be allowed to profit by the favours of fortune; but ſhould not uſe them to treat a people of Grecian origin with barbarian rage *. This diſcourſe inclined the people to compaſſion; till Gylippus the Spartan roſe, by whom, changeable as they were, again they were excited to cruelty. The propoſition of Diocles was adopted. Nicias, Demoſthenes, and the confederates, were put to death; and the Athenian ſoldiers were ſent to the quarries, where the moſt of them periſhed by the ſeverity of their treatment †. Some few only, who were learned in the ſciences, were reſcued and protected by the youth of Syracuſe.

Among thoſe who lived to reviſit their country many came to ſalute Euripides, and thank him for their ſalvation: for ſome were treated kindly, as priſoners, who could repeat the verſes of this great poet; and others who, after their defeat, had ſtrayed through the country, were received and ſupported for having made his works known to the Sicilians, who before had only heard of the fame of his tragedies ‡.

When the Syracuſians ſaw themſelves delivered from the Athenians, following the advice of Diocles, they choſe perſons to make new laws. Diocles himſelf was elected; and performed his office with ſo much ſuperiority that the laws, after him, were called the laws of Diocles. They were very ſevere, but famous for being ſtrictly obſerved: he himſelf fell a ſacrifice to them. According to one of them, it was death for a citizen to appear armed in the public aſſembly of the people. When the approach of the foe was announced, it is ſaid he left his houſe with a ſword; and a ſudden tumult drew him to the place of aſſembly: on which a citizen called to him—"Diocles! you "infringe your own law."—"Not ſo, by Zeus!" anſwered he: "I "fulfil it:" and ran himſelf through the body.

After his death, the Syracuſians ranked him with their heroes, and

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 557. † Diod. and Thuc. l. vii. p. 504.

‡ Plut. Life of Nicias.

6. dedicated

dedicated a temple to his memory. Many of the towns of Sicily adopted his laws: till the iſland, with the citizenſhip of Rome, accepted its juriſprudence.

The Aceſtæi, who had been the allies of Athens, now dreaded the revenge of Syracuſe, and yielded the conteſted lands to the Selinuntii: but, as the latter made farther incroachments, the Aceſtæi, three years after the Athenians had left Sicily, ſent for aid to the Carthaginians and offered them their city. An army came from Carthage, and firſt deſtroyed Selinus, and next Himera, in the manner I have related when deſcribing the ruins of thoſe towns.

Hermocrates, who had been ſent by the Syracuſians with thirty-five galleys to aid the Lacedemonians againſt the Athenians, during the prolonged Peloponneſian war, while he was abſent, was calumniated by his enemies: who ſo far prevailed as to cauſe his baniſhment *. On the arrival of his ſucceſſor on board the fleet, he fled to the Perſian Satrap, Pharnabazus, who was his friend: from him he received money, ſailed to Meſſina, built five galleys, and took a thouſand warriors in pay. To theſe were added a thouſand fugitives from Himera.

With this force, he endeavoured by the aid of his friends to return to Syracuſe: but failing he landed, ſeized on Selinus which had been ſacked, fortified a part of the city, and collected around him the ſcattered citizens that had eſcaped from the Carthaginians. Strengthened by many others, he laid the territory of the Carthaginian town, Motya, waſte; after he had conquered the inhabitants (who had riſen againſt him) and ſeized on the lands of Panormus (or Palermo) and the whole province of the Carthaginians, obtaining booty and fame. The Syracuſians repented of the capricious injuſtice they had done the hero; and his name was frequently repeated, with praiſe, in their aſſemblies.

He likewiſe ſeized on Himera; and Diocles, who during the ſiege had been ſent to its aid, was with the women and children of this city

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 590.

ſhipped off for Syracuſe; nor did they ſtay to bury their fellow citizens that were ſlain: but Hermocrates collected their remains, ſent them to Syracuſe in magnificent chariots, and conducted them to the borders of his own country.

Contention aroſe in the city, concerning the receiving of theſe remains; and, contrary to the deſire of Diocles, they were interred with pomp in a proceſſion of the whole people. Diocles was baniſhed; but Hermocrates was not recalled, becauſe this bold man was held to be dangerous, and he returned to Selinus.

Some time afterward, being invited by his friends, he placed himſelf at the head of three thouſand men, marched through the territories of Gela, and came by night to an appointed place. As they could not all follow him, he choſe a few; and approached the gate of that part of Syracuſe which was called Achradina: of which place his friends had taken poſſeſſion, and received thoſe that came. The Syracuſians ran armed to the forum; and Hermocrates, with moſt of his attendants, were ſlain: the remainder were baniſhed. Some, who were much wounded, were given out by their relations as dead, to protect them from the rage of the people; and among theſe was Dionyſius, who afterward became their tyrant *.

The Syracuſians ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, to charge them with the intention of making war; to which the Carthaginians returned an ambiguous anſwer: but ſent a large army, which took and deſtroyed Agrigentum †.

The fugitives, from Agrigentum to Syracuſe, accuſed the Syracuſian generals of betraying the Greek towns to the Carthaginians; and the Greek towns of Sicily joined in the murmurs that ſuch men ſhould be entruſted with the defence of their common country. None however dared openly to complain. And now it was that Dionyſius aroſe, the ſon of one Hermocrates: not him I have juſt mentioned, but a common man; and according to ſome an aſs driver. He accuſed the

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 600. † See Letter XC.

generals

generals of treachery, inflamed the people, and urged them not to wait the period appointed by the law, but puniſh them for their guilt*. He was in vain condemned by the chief tribunal in a fine, as a diſturber of the peace; for it was promiſed to be paid by Philiſtus, the hiſtorian, who added—"Should the Archons every day condemn you to new "fines, I will pay them all."

Dionyſius continued to aſperſe the generals, calumniate the moſt reſpectable citizens, and adviſe them to ſafely guard the public weal by confiding it to the favourites of the people. Accordingly, the former Strategi were diveſted of their office, and others were named: among whom was Dionyſius. He ſoon cauſed his aſſociates to be ſuſpected, obtained the recall of the baniſhed, falſely accuſed the other Strategi of a ſecret underſtanding with Himilco the General of the Carthaginians, and was appointed the ſole Strategus, with full powers, by the beſotted citizens.

The people had ſcarcely ſeparated before they, too late, repented of their folly. Accompanied by a crowd, Dionyſius made a pretence to go to Leontium, which ſerved the Syracuſians as a fortreſs; where he harangued the people, who conſiſted of fugitives and ſtrangers, and perſuaded them to grant him a body guard of ſix hundred men.

This guard was compoſed of people whom neceſſity made enterpriſing; of ſlaves, and diſſolute perſons; and with them Dionyſius eſtabliſhed himſelf in a camp before Syracuſe, after he had abandoned the Lacedemonian, Dexippus, whom he knew to be a determined friend of freedom. The fear of theſe ſoldiers, they being the partiſans of Dionyſius, who now ſhewed himſelf as a tyrant, and of the Carthaginians, kept the Syracuſians in conſtraint. Dionyſius married a daughter of Hermocrates, and gave his ſiſter to Polyxenus; a brother of the

* The uſual reading is: μη περιμειναι τον κατα τους νομους κληρον. Dionyſius counſelled them not to wait the legal election of judges: but, inſtead of κληρον, I read, with Rhodomann, καιρον.

Syra-

Syracuſian General who was killed, and whoſe worth they knew too late; and his alliance with theſe families maintained his reſpect *.

In a public aſſembly, he excited the people againſt Demarchus, and Daphnæus, whom he put to death.

Thus Dionyſius, from a ſcribe, became tyrant of Syracuſe; in the third year of the 93d Olympiad, 404 years before the birth of Chriſt.

The Peloponneſian war, which had continued twenty-ſeven years, was the following year brought to a concluſion; and the Carthaginians took Gela, before the walls of which they gained an advantage over Dionyſius. Deſpairing to relieve the town, he ſent the inhabitants by night to Syracuſe: to which city he likewiſe obliged the people of Camarina, with their wives and children, to go. Some collected gold and ſilver: others, leſs attentive to this kind of loſs, were eager in protecting their aged parents, and their tender children. Some of the aged, who had neither children nor friend, remained behind; in momentary expectation of the Carthaginians. The fate of Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, had filled all hearts with terror: for the Carthaginians neither knew forbearance nor compaſſion, toward an unfortunate enemy; but crucified ſome, and with ironical pity and cruel ſcoffs made others their deriſion †.

This diſorderly flight, which hurried young virgins forward in deſpite of their tender ſex, and which, regardleſs of tottering age and feeble childhood, obliged all to fly, or periſh, excited the compaſſion of the army, and its hatred againſt Dionyſius; who, it was ſuſpected, had only yielded to the Carthaginians that the terror of this people might bring the towns of Sicily under his own yoke. He had but lately given aid to the allies, none of his ſoldiers had fallen in the war, and he had fled without any real occaſion; not being purſued by any foe.

Theſe murmurs became public, the Greeks of Italy withdrew from

* Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 614. † Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 632.

him,

him, and the Syracuſian horſe, that had watched a favourable opportunity to put him to death but had found him continually ſurrounded by his guards, rode away to Syracuſe. Here they plundered the houſe of the tyrant; and ſeized, ill treated, and put his wife to death: or, according to Plutarch, ſhe killed herſelf *.

Dionyſius followed, with a choſen few whom he could truſt, and the horſe, who did not expect his arrival, began to boaſt: ſaying he had fled at the appearance of the Carthaginians, and he now fled before the Syracuſians. About midnight however, after a very haſty march, he appeared before the gate of Achradina with a hundred horſe, and ſix hundred foot. Finding it ſhut upon him, he ſet fire to it with reeds, which had been brought there for the uſe of maſons.

More of his adherents having arrived, he entered Syracuſe. The moſt reſpectable of the Syracuſian horſe did not wait for the concurrence of the people, and, though but few in numbers, withſtood the tyrant and fell by his ſoldiers: after which Dionyſius revenged himſelf on his enemies; ſome of whom he put to death, and baniſhed others. The greateſt part of the horſe forced their way out of the city, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong little town of Ætna †.

Himilco ſent to Syracuſe, and made propoſals of peace ‡; which were welcomely accepted, by Dionyſius.

By this treaty, the Carthaginians, excluſive of their former colonies, maintained their ſovereignty over the Sicani, the Selinuntii, the Agrigentini, and the people of Himera. The Gelenſes and the Camarini were reinſtated in their towns; but were tributary to the Carthaginians §. The people of Leontium, Meſſina, and the Siculi, were to

* Plut. Life of Dion.

† Weſſeling evidently proves, we ought to read τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Αἴτναν: inſtead of τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἀχραδίνην. Of the little town of Ætna, which was formerly called *Ineſſa*, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

‡ Diodorus calls this leader at one time Himilco, and at another Hamilcar: or rather Hamilcas.

§ See the firſt letter written from Sicily, concerning the Sicani and Siculi.

live

live free, according to their own laws: the Syracuſians to be ſubject to Dionyſius, and the priſoners and ſhips that were taken were to be reſtored.

If, in one point of view, Dionyſius was glad to be at peace with the Carthaginians, in another, he dreaded the repoſe which peace would afford to Syracuſe. That he might ſecure himſelf in his tyranny as much as poſſible, he cut off the iſland of Ortygia, which had been joined to Sicily by a dam, from the reſt of the city; by building a high wall, which he provided with many lofty towers, and raiſing a ſtrong fortreſs on the iſland: including, within the wall of this fortreſs, a dock in the ſmall haven which was called *Laccius*. This dock contained ſixty galleys; and had a narrow opening, through which only one veſſel at a time could paſs.

Dionyſius gave the houſes on the iſland of Ortygia to his ſoldiers, and friends; and thoſe of the remainder of the city he ſhared among the multitude. After theſe proceedings, he marched againſt the Siculi; whom, of all the free people of Sicily, he was the moſt deſirous to ſubject, becauſe they had taken part with the Carthaginians; and led his army againſt the town of the Herbenſes.

When the Syracuſians ſaw themſelves armed, they began to think of their own deliverance; and reproached themſelves, for not having made a common cauſe with the horſe. Doricus, one of the commanders of the tyrant, threatened a free-ſpeaking orator and was put to death; and the embittered warriors, inviting the citizens to freedom, ſent to the horſe in the town of Ætna for aſſiſtance. Dionyſius, being terrified, haſtened from Herbeſſus to Syracuſe; while thoſe who made the ſtand choſe the warriors who had put Doricus to death as their leaders. Strengthened by the horſe from Ætna, they fixed their camp in the quarter called Epipolæ; and cut off the tyrant from all communication with the country. Zealous for the freedom of Syracuſe, Meſſina and Rhegium ſent eighty galleys to its aid. The iſland of Ortygia

tygia was now beſieged, ſoldiers that deſerted were granted the rights of citizenſhip, and a price was put upon the tyrant's head.

Cut off from the city and abandoned by the ſoldiers, Dionyſius aſſembled his dependants; and, ſo very doubtful was his ſituation that, he aſked their opinion concerning the kind of death which would moſt leſſen his diſgrace? Heloris, who according to ſome had brought him up from childhood *, ſaid—"Tyranny is only a handſome ſhroud." Polyxenus, his brother-in-law, adviſed him to fly on his ſwifteſt horſe: but Philiſtus, the hiſtorian, remarked—"It becomes thee not "to fly from tyranny on the back of a courſer, Dionyſius, but rather "to defend thyſelf till thou art dragged down by the leg †."

Dionyſius acted in character, endeavoured to gain time, and ſent to the Syracuſians; requeſting permiſſion for him and his followers to quit the city. He likewiſe ſent to the Campani, who had been left by Himilco to guard the lands in Sicily; offering to grant all they could demand, if they would ſet him free.

The Syracuſians allowed him to depart with five galleys, delivered up many warriors, and were in other reſpects negligent. Twelve hundred Campani likewiſe arrived, cut their way to Dionyſius, and maſſacred many of the citizens in the fray. He was alſo joined by three hundred ſoldiers that had croſſed the ſea: the Syracuſians became divided, he gained a victory over them, and they diſperſed.

Dionyſius ſuffered the ſlain to be buried, and ſent invitations to the fugitives that had retired to the town of Ætna: ſome of whom, who had left their wives and children in Syracuſe, returned; and others anſwered the ambaſſadors, who pleaded the merit of the burial

* Εἰς των φιλων, ὡς δ'ἐνιοι φασι, ὁ ποιητος πατηρ, is the true reading of Weſſeling. The reading which makes Heloris a poet is not Greek. Thoſe who are in favour of ποιητης muſt add πατηρ. Beſide there is no poet named Heloris.

† Inſtead of θελοντος I, with Rhodomann and Weſſeling, read θεοντος.

of the dead, that the tyrant merited the like kindneſs. "May the "Gods," ſaid they, "ſoon grant it to Dionyſius!"

They determined however not to truſt him, and remained in Ætna; watching for ſome favourable opportunity to undertake ſomething againſt Dionyſius, who received thoſe that came back with courteſy that he might fix them in his intereſt.

Having rewarded the Campani, he diſmiſſed them; unwilling to truſt to their inconſtancy; and they went to *Entella*, a town of Trojan origin, where they harangued the citizens, aſked permiſſion to reſide amongſt them, then fell upon and maſſacred the men by night, ſeized on the women, and took poſſeſſion of the place.

After the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, the Lacedemonians exerciſed an acknowledged ſovereignty by land and ſea; and the fleets of cities in particular were inſpected by their commanders, who, according to the cuſtom of the Spartans, appointed Harmoſtes, and favoured the Oligarchy*. They made the conquered tributary; and the people whoſe laws prohibited money, now impoſed an annual tribute of a thouſand talents.

With the pretence of favouring freedom, but in reality to ſtrengthen the tyrant, they ſent Ariſtus to Syracuſe; hoping that Dionyſius would govern as their dependant. After a ſecret conference with him, Ariſtus excited the people to inſurrection, with a promiſe of liberty: but he betrayed thoſe who had truſted him, put Nicotetes the Corinthian, who had headed the citizens of Syracuſe, to death, and ſtrengthened the tyranny.

At the time that the Syracuſians were employed about their harveſt, Dionyſius entered their houſes, and took away their arms. He then raiſed a new wall round the citadel, built ſhips, took a number of

* The Harmoſtes exerciſed much the ſame degree of power, over foreign poſſeſſions, as the pro-conſuls, or pro-prætors, of the Romans. After the battle of Leuctra, where they were conquered by Epaminondas, the Spartans ſent no more Harmoſtes.

mercenaries

mercenaries into pay, and eſtabliſhed himſelf more ſecurely than ever in the government.

After this, he conquered *Catana*, the preſent *Catania*, Naxos, and Leontium*; and perſuaded Æimneſtus, a citizen of Enna, to become the tyrant of that place, with a promiſe of his aſſiſtance. The attempt of Æimneſtus ſucceeded: but the new tyrant ſhut his gates againſt Dionyſius, who then excited the people of Enna to ſhake off the yoke. Favoured by an oppoſite party, Dionyſius gained admiſſion, ſeized on Æimneſtus, delivered him up to the vengeance of the citizens, and departed from the place without endangering its ſafety: by which he endeavoured to win the confidence of other towns. Dionyſius built a town at the foot of Ætna, and called it *Adranum*, in the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, 398 years before the birth of Chriſt†: the ſame year in which Socrates drank the poiſon.

He now prepared for an attack on the Carthaginians, to which he was encouraged by the viſitation which theſe people had ſuffered from the plague, and ſent for artiſts from Greece, Italy, and the territories of Carthage, who ſhould make different arms, according to the manner of the different nations that ſhould enliſt under his banners. Theſe artiſts he patroniſed, and inſtructed. The Syracuſians partook of his zeal for the enterpriſe; and the houſes behind the temple, the gymnaſia, the arcades of the forum, and the houſes of the principal citizens were formed into workſhops. Among this confluence of the moſt ingenious artiſts the catapulta was diſcovered.

Dionyſius ſupplied his galleys with five banks of rowers; and obtained much ſhip timber from Italy, but ſent the half of his wood cutters to Ætna, which then produced many pine and fig trees: ſo that, in a ſhort ſpace of time, Dionyſius cauſed two hundred new ſhips to be built, and a hundred and ten old ones to be improved. He like-

* Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 650.
† Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 672.

wiſe built a hundred and ſixty coſtly docks, for ſhipping: moſt of which had room for two veſſels.

The Lacedemonians permitted him to take their ſoldiers into pay; but Rhegium and Meſſina had ſhortly before declared againſt him: nay they had entered the field; but their attempt was fruſtrated, by a tumult in Meſſina. Aware of the preponderance that theſe cities would give, Dionyſius was deſirous of obtaining their friendſhip, and requeſted the Rhegini to grant him one of their virgins for a wife; hoping by children to ſtrengthen himſelf in his tyranny: but this alliance was refuſed in a public aſſembly of the people, according to ſome; and, according to others, they ſent him the daughter of an archer: or thief-taker.

He then made the ſame requeſt to the *Epizephyrian Locri*, in Italy, which was granted; and he married Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, one of the moſt reſpectable of their citizens. For her he ſent a galley, richly ornamented; and, at the ſame time, brought home Ariſtomache, who was one of the noble virgins of Syracuſe, and for whom he ſent a chariot drawn by four white horſes *.

He now exhorted the Syracuſians, in full aſſembly, to declare war againſt the Carthaginians; and to ſeize on the effects of ſuch as inhabited Syracuſe, many of whom had ſettled in that city. Accordingly, the houſes of theſe people were plundered, ſuch of their ſhips as lay in the harbour were ſeized as the prey of war, and the example was followed by other parts of Sicily. After this proceeding, Dionyſius ſent delegates to declare war againſt Carthage: unleſs the Greek towns, poſſeſſed by that State, were ſet free.

The five cities of Ancyra, Solus, Egeſta, Panormus, and Entella, alone remained faithful to the Carthaginians: the tribes of the Sicani took part in the war againſt them; and the Camarini, Gelenſes, and Agrigentini, likewiſe went over to Dionyſius, who now was at the head

* Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 674.

of

of an army of eighty thouſand men, and had two hundred galleys at ſea. Himera and Selinus followed the example of the other cities: the Government of Carthage being juſtly held in abhorrencc. Motya, after a very valiant defence, was taken; and the victors moſt cruelly ſatiated their vengeance againſt the Carthaginians, in the blood of the conquered *.

Motya however was ſoon recovered, by Himilco; who likewiſe took Meſſina, but without being able to poſſeſs himſelf of the citadel: on which the Siculi, the little tribe of the Aſſorini excepted, deſerted Dionyſius, and went over to the Carthaginians. Himilco razed Meſſina to the ground, and then beſieged Syracuſe; after that Mago, an inferior commander, had defeated the fleet of the Syracuſians. Himilco took a part of the city of Syracuſe and plundered two of the temples.

Theodorus, a reſpectable citizen of Syracuſe, excited the inhabitants againſt Dionyſius; juſtly affirming that it would even be better to yield to the Carthaginians, who would ſuffer them to be governed by their own laws, than to live under the oppreſſion of the tyrant. He exhorted them however to maintain their freedom. Paracidas, a Spartan leader, next roſe; whom the citizens expected to ſupport the opinion of Theodorus, but he declared that the Lacedemonians had ſent him to aid them againſt the Carthaginians, not to deprive Dionyſius of the rule.

In the mean while, the beſieged gained ſeveral advantages over the Carthaginians; in whoſe camp a fearful plague prevailed, and Himilco deſired he might retreat unmoleſted. Dionyſius granted leave for the Carthaginians to retire, but not their allies; and the former withdrew during the night, the Siculi diſperſed, and the Spaniards were taken into the pay of the tyrant. Himilco was ſo chagrined at the diſgrace of his retreat, that he ſuffered himſelf to die of hunger, overwhelmed with reproach †.

Dionyſius beſtowed Leontium on ten thouſand of his ſoldiers, and

* Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 678. † Ib. p. 687 to 702.

once

once again repeopled the ruined Meſſina: but the Rhegini now declared againſt him, terrified at ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of Meſſina; as likewiſe did the Siculi; from whom, after a defeat, he with difficulty eſcaped *.

The Carthaginians then ſent Mago, with new forces by land and ſea; but ſoon after concluded a peace, by which the Siculi and Tauromenium were ſubjected to the tyrant: who thereupon projected the enſlaving of the Greek towns on the coaſt of Italy, loſt a battle againſt the Rhegini, and eſcaped with difficulty on board a galley.

The people of Croton, to which place Heloris from Syracuſe had fled, now joined the other Greek towns in Italy. Heloris was their leader; and, with many others, fell, valiantly fighting, and the remainder of the combatants were obliged to ſurrender to Dionyſius; who did not abuſe the victory he had gained, but ſet them at liberty, and made peace with all the Italian towns, except Rhegium. The Rhegini were ſubjected to rigorous terms, and ſurrendered their ſhips, to the number of ſeventy: but not ſatisfied with this, he required them to furniſh him with proviſions till he ſhould withdraw his army; ſeeking, if they refuſed, a new pretext againſt them; and, if they complied, to reduce the city by hunger.

The Rhegini at firſt were not aware of his intention; but, when he delayed his departure, they refuſed to ſend him more ſupplies, and he again undertook the ſiege. Shaken as the walls were by his dreadful machines, the Rhegini courageouſly defended themſelves during eleven months: nor did they ſurrender till the herbage on which they had lived began to fail. Dionyſius found heaps of wretches, who had periſhed with famine; and only made ſomething more than ſix thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent to Syracuſe: ſuffering thoſe who could pay a mina to ranſom themſelves, and expoſing the others to public ſale.

Dionyſius poſſeſſed more than one kind of ambition; and, although his poetry had been hiſſed at the Olympic games, he wiſhed to be

* Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 710 to 719.

thought

thought a great poet. He favoured the poet Philoxenus; but ſent him to dig in the ſtone quarries, for having freely expreſſed his opinion of the tyrant's poetry. The next day he cauſed him to be brought back, and repeated verſes to him, which particularly glanced at Philoxenus: who, impatient at hearing this poetry, exclaimed, "Send "me back to the ſtone quarries!" The tyrant could not forbear laughing, and ſet him at liberty.

The contempt however in which the Greeks held his poetry excited the moſt gloomy melancholy in his mind, which would frequently burſt into rage; and he ſent Leptines, his brother, and Philiſtus, into baniſhment, and put others to death. He was reconciled to the two firſt, according to Diodorus: but Plutarch tells us that Philiſtus did not return till the reign of Dionyſius the younger *.

He made a campaign againſt the Tyrrheni, in order to procure money, under the pretext that they were pirates; and returned enriched by the plunder of a temple. He next excited the towns that were ſubject to Carthage to revolt: a war broke out, Dionyſius was victor, and Mago, the Carthaginian general, was ſlain.

The ſon of Mago ſucceeded to the command, obtained a great victory, in which Leptines fell valiantly fighting, and Dionyſius was obliged to conclude a peace. The Carthaginians obtained the town and territory of Selinus, and added a part of the territory of Agrigentum to their own, as far as the river *Halycus*, the preſent *Fiume Platani*, and Dionyſius was further obliged to pay a thouſand talents.

Fifteen years afterward, in the firſt year of the 103d Olympiad, the year 366 before Chriſt, Dionyſius engaged in a new war againſt Carthage, took Selinus, Entella, and Eryx, and beſieged Lilybæum; but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The approach of winter occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of arms; and the tyrant died, after a reign of thirty-eight years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Dionyſius the Second †, who was borne him by Doris, of the *Epizephyrian Locri*.

* Plut. Life of Dion. † Diod. lib. xv. vol. ii. p. 60.

There

There lived a man in Syracuſe who, although the friend of liberty, and ſevere in principle, had long been highly eſteemed by the elder Dionyſius, and employed in public affairs: particularly in embaſſies to Carthage. This man was Dion, the brother of Ariſtomache, the wife that Dionyſius had married of Syracuſe, at the ſame time that he married Doris of Locris *.

During the period that the elder Dionyſius teſtified a love of knowledge, Plato came to Syracuſe; probably, as ſeveral of the ancients affirm, to viſit the iſland: and particularly Mount Ætna. His fame at firſt made him welcomed by the tyrant: but, when he began freely to ſpeak againſt tyranny, Dionyſius became angry. According to Diodorus, he was ſold as a ſlave for twenty mina; and he was redeemed by the philoſophers. According to Plutarch, one Pollis, a Spartan, who traded to Syracuſe, was commiſſioned to ſell him in Ægina; which commiſſion he fulfilled: but, in either caſe, he was certainly ſoon afterward ranſomed.

The ſhort reſidence of Plato in Syracuſe had not been fruitleſs: he had ſown the ſeeds of his philoſophy in the heart of Dion, and the produce was the moſt dignified wiſdom.

Such a man could not but be hateful to the courtiers of a young prince; and it would ſeem eaſy to have rendered him ſuſpected, ſince he might have employed the reſpect in which he was held againſt Dionyſius, to the advantage of his ſiſter's ſons. But the young tyrant honoured Dion, and acknowledged the purity of his intentions: for Dion endeavoured to inſpire him with a love of juſtice, and with dignity of ſoul, and brought him acquainted with the writings of Plato, filling him with an earneſt deſire to be taught by that great man. Dion wrote many letters of invitation to Plato, and was ſeconded by the Pythagorean philoſophers of Italy, who entreated his compliance. Plato yielded to theſe entreaties, and the courtiers thought it neceſſary to give him a rival: they therefore prevailed on Dionyſius to recall

* Diod. lib. xv. vol. ii. p. 8, and Plut. Life of Dion.

Philiſtus,

Philiſtus, who had been baniſhed, and who, for the ſpace of forty years, had been the determined friend of tyranny.

The preſence of Plato, at firſt, had ſuch an effect on Dionyſius that he not only admired him but participated in his noble ſentiments; and the herd of courtiers were terrified when the herald, according to cuſtom, prayed for the undiſturbed continuance of the government of the tyrant, and Dionyſius exclaimed, "What! will you never leave curſing me?"

Theſe courtiers frequently teſtified their chagrin, that a ſophiſt of Athens, as they called Plato, ſhould overthrow the power of the princes of Syracuſe: a city that had reſiſted the whole force of Athens.

Diſcourſe like this muſt produce its effect, on a weak mind; and Dionyſius, no doubt, was ſtaggered: but he was ſtill more moved, by an intercepted letter of Dion to the chiefs of Carthage; in which he warned them not to conclude a treaty of peace with Dionyſius, unleſs he were preſent. Philiſtus had the art to place this letter in a hateful light; and the tyrant, reproaching Dion without hearing his defence, baniſhed him to Italy.

Dionyſius then took Plato to his palace; apparently to honour him, but really to place him under a guard. Still he ſincerely admired the wiſdom of this great man, often quarrelled with him, as often entreated forgiveneſs, and tormented him with tyrannical affection and boyiſh inconſtancy. At laſt, a war broke out*, and he ſuffered him to depart.

Plato and Dion now lived long together, in Athens; where Dion purchaſed a country houſe, expanding his ſoul in the groves of Platonic wiſdom, and enjoying the calm of a country life. Here he was univerſally reſpected; and the Spartans preſented him with the

* Plutarch does not tell us with what people. Diodorus informs us that Dionyſius made peace with Carthage at the beginning of his reign; which likewiſe differs from Plutarch. Probably the latter meant a war with the Lucani; which Dionyſius, after a time, but negligently proſecuted. Diod. l. xvi.

right of citizenſhip, though they were the allies of Dionyſius, and had lately received aid of him againſt Thebes.

The honours conferred on Dion angered the tyrant, who revenged himſelf by withholding Dion's revenue; and, that he might ſhine in borrowed wiſdom, aſſembled philoſophers around him: but the ſtores of his memory were ſoon emptied, and he ſighed again for that ſource from which it had formerly been filled. Plato was entreated to return; and Dionyſius employed the intermediation of the wiſe Archytas, of Tarentum, and other Pythagoreans. The women of the princely houſe, Dion's wife and ſiſter, alſo wrote to Dion; that he might induce his friend to return to Syracuſe. Plato *, as he tells us, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded

Ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὀλὴν ἀναμετρήσειε χαρύβδιν.
Od. xii. 428.

Once more undaunted on the ruin rode.
Pope, Od. b. xii. 525.

Dionyſius received him with much joy; and the Princeſſes in particular teſtified the honour and the friendſhip that were juſtly due to the Athenian ſage †, while in him every good citizen placed his hopes. The tyrant offered him great preſents, and Ariſtippus, of Cyrene, ſaid, in the preſence of Dionyſius, "his generoſity did not coſt him much: "for, to thoſe who were in need, he would give nothing; but to Plato, "who would take nothing, he offered every thing."

A ſcholar of Plato's predicted an eclipſe; for which he was admired

* See the ſeventh letter of Plato.

† One of theſe Princeſſes no doubt was Theſte, the wife of Polyxenus and ſiſter of the elder Dionyſius. When her huſband fled, Dionyſius the elder reproached her with the knowledge of his flight. "Do you then think me," ſaid ſhe, "ſo worthleſs and weak "a woman that, had I known his intentions, I would have remained behind? or that I "would not rather be called the wife of the fugitive Polyxenus than the ſiſter of the "tyrant Dionyſius?" This courageous anſwer was taken in good part. Plut. Life of Dion.

and

and rewarded by Dionyſius; and Ariſtippus again obſerved, in a circle of the philoſophers, "I likewiſe can predict ſomething very aſtoniſh-"ing: for Dionyſius and Plato will ſoon be foes." He was a true prophet: nor was any thing more neceſſary than the ſagacity of a courtier to foreſee this event. Plato ſoon became ſo troubleſome to the tyrant that he ſent him to his body guards; hoping that they who hated him, as the enemy of tyranny, would put him to death.

When Archytas heard this, he ſent a galley and ambaſſadors to demand Plato: he having been his pledge: on which Dionyſius ſuffered him to depart, but beſtowed the wife of Dion on Timocrates.

Dion now determined to endeavour to overthrow the tyrant; in which he was aſſiſted by various philoſophers of Greece. In theſe times the moſt powerful citizens thought themſelves flattered by the diſtinguiſhed and honourable title of philoſopher; or lover of wiſdom. Of the fugitive Syracuſians, whoſe number amounted to a thouſand, twenty-five only took part in this attempt.

The iſland of Zacynthus was the place where they were to aſſemble; and hither about eight hundred choſen warriors came, under different leaders, without knowing on what enterpriſe they were to proceed.

When Dion declared his intention, their courage ſunk. They conſidered the project as the frantic dream of a deſperado, and were angry with their leaders: but when Dion, in a diſcourſe, explained how weak the ſupports of tyranny were, informed them that he did not conſider them as mercenaries but as leaders, with whom all Sicily would unite; and when Alcimenes ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, he being a man of worth and family, one of the principal men of *Achaia*, and an aſſociate with Dion in the undertaking, they felt the courage of Greeks revive within them.

At the full of the moon, Dion conducted his armed companions to a temple of Apollo; where, having offered up a ſolemn ſacrifice, he gave them all a magnificent banquet. Here, when they beheld his rich drinking veſſels of ſilver and gold, and contemplated the age of

Dion, whom the aged themſelves reſpected, they no longer conſidered him as an adventurer; but as a man whoſe combinations were rational, and his hopes well founded.

It happened, during their libations, that there was an eclipſe of the moon; on which they were ſeized with new terror: but Miltas, the ſoothſayer, a philoſopher and a diſciple of the academy, roſe, and remarked that this omen was not inauſpicious to them, but to the duration and falſe ſplendor of tyranny.

Two tranſports, which carried the ſoldiers, a ſmall veſſel, and two galleys, each of thirty rowers, contained the whole force of Dion. With this he ſailed; taking weapons with him on which he could with certainty depend, that he might be able to arm at pleaſure. Having weathered the promontory of *Pachynus*, *Capo Paſſaro*, he was driven by a ſtorm that threw him on the coaſt of Africa: but he landed ſome days afterward in Sicily, at Minoa, in the Sicilian province of Carthage; the commander of which city was the friend of Dion, and with him Dion left his arms and ſtores, that they might be ſent to him at an appointed time. He was likewiſe joined by two hundred horſe, of the territories of Agrigentum and the Gelenſes.

Dionyſius being abſent in Italy, a meſſenger was ſent to him by Timocrates; on whom the tyrant had beſtowed the wife of Dion. The meſſenger loſt the letter, durſt not appear in the preſence of the tyrant, and Dionyſius did not hear, till late, of the deſcent of Dion in Sicily. In the mean time, Dion was joined by the Camarini, and many Syracuſians: while Timocrates, who guarded Epipolæ, was abandoned by the Leontini and the Campani. When Dion approached the city, he ſacrificed on the banks of the Anapus; where he was joined by five thouſand men, ſcantily armed, it is true, but full of courage.

He now entered Syracuſe, where he was met by the principal perſons in white robes; while the people plundered the houſes of the foes of freedom, ſome of whom were put to death, and Timocrates eſcaped on horſeback. Dion marched between his brother, Megacles, and

and the Athenian, Calippus, with their heads encircled with garlands: the herald proclaimed ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and then informed the people that Dion and Megacles were come to give freedom to Syracuſe, and to all Sicily. The Syracuſians received him as a God, inveſted him and Megacles with the full power of the *Strategi*: αὐτοκράτορας Στρατηγούς: and only at the expreſs interceſſion of both gave them twenty colleagues; ten of whom were fugitives, that had now returned with Dion.

Seven days afterward, Dionyſius arrived, in a veſſel, at the fortreſs which was built on the little iſland of Ortygia; the preſent Syracuſe; and ſent ambaſſadors to Dion: who ſent them to conſult the will of the people. Reconciliatory propoſals were made by Dionyſius, but were contemned; and Dion gave him to underſtand that no propoſal would be liſtened to, unleſs he would renounce the government.

The tyrant appeared to conſent; but, when ſome of the principal citizens were ſent to him, he bound them, and ordered his half intoxicated ſoldiers to attack the fortification of the beſieging citizens. Theſe were driven back by Dion's foreign warriors; while he himſelf, though ſomewhat feeble from age, threw himſelf amidſt the enemy. He was wounded in the hand, was preſſed upon by the ſoldiers, his ſhield and helmet were transfixed by ſpears, he was thrown down, and, when his own ſoldiers bore him away, he ordered Timonides to take his place. He then mounted his horſe, rode round, brought the flying Syracuſians back to the combat, and, leading freſh forces againſt the enemy, drove them back into the citadel.

A herald now brought letters from the Princeſſes to Dion; and among them one the inſcription of which was HIPPARINUS TO HIS FATHER. Hipparinus was the name of Dion's ſon. Dion inſiſted that theſe letters ſhould be publicly read; though the Syracuſians were at firſt unwilling that the letter of a ſon to his father ſhould be read aloud: but they ſoon found that it was written by Dionyſius, and that its contents were full of the moſt envenomed artifice. Foreſeeing that this

this letter would be communicated to the people, Dionyſius celebrated the acts which Dion had performed in the ſupport of his tyranny; then threatened the lives of his wife, his ſiſter, and his ſon; and, what grieved Dion the moſt, adviſed him rather to be a tyrant himſelf than the deſtroyer of tyranny: alleging that he ought not to give freedom to thoſe men whom, by ancient injuries, he had made his foes; and that, by reigning himſelf, he ſhould give ſecurity to his friends.

This was ſufficient to excite ſuſpicion in the people, againſt their ſaviour. The adherents of Dion, whom the tyrant had in his power, appeared to them as ſo many ſcourges; by whom their hands would ſoon be bound. They began therefore to look for another protector; and as Heraclides, one of the exiles, an experienced warrior but a turbulent ſpirit, who had before ſeparated himſelf from Dion in Peloponneſus, was coming againſt the tyrant with ten ſhips, they named him the commander of the fleet. This office was connected with the dignity enjoyed by Dion: he therefore roſe, and induced the Syracuſians to repeal their nomination. After which he reproached Heraclides for his conduct, aſſembled the people, and cauſed him to be reinſtated in the command of the fleet *.

New diſturbances afterward aroſe againſt Dion; and, the period of annual election to the chief offices being arrived, twenty-five *Strategi* were choſen: of whom Heraclides was one. The Syracuſians tempted the foreign ſoldiers of Dion to deſert him, by offering them the rights of citizenſhip: but they remained faithful, and conducted him out of the city. They injured no one; though they were aſſaulted by the people, whom they reproached for their ingratitude.

Dion, on this occaſion, was obliged either to attack his fellow citizens, or ſuffer himſelf and his defenders to be ſlain. In vain did he ſtretch out his hands to the people: in vain he pointed to the citadel,

* Ναυαρχον ἀπεδειξε τον Ἡρακλειδην. Ἀποδεικνυναι is often uſed with reſpect to the perſon under whoſe preſidency any officer was appointed by the people; as, when a conſul died, the ſurvivor aſſembled the people to appoint him a new colleague.

filled

filled with the enemy, who enjoyed this ſcene: yet, unable as he was to pacify the phrenſy of the people, he forbade his followers to hurt them: and, merely with the ſhout of onſet and the claſhing of arms, he terrified the confuſed and cowardly mob, that ran through the ſtreets ſuppoſing themſelves purſued, though Dion and his foreign forces had retreated.

He now marched with his friends to Leontium; where he was received by the inhabitants with great honour, and his ſoldiers were granted the rights of citizenſhip.

Dionyſius, in the mean time, obtained ſome advantages over the Syracuſians; who, inconſtant as they were, ſuddenly changed their ſentiments, and ſent deputies to Leontium, that, weeping and falling at the feet of Dion, entreated him to return to Syracuſe. Calling together the Leontini, and many of the Peloponneſians who had accompanied him to Sicily, Dion led them to the theatre; where, when he began to ſpeak, tears prevented his utterance. At length, he collected himſelf, and thus addreſſed them:

"Men of Peloponneſus and confederates, I have aſſembled you here "that you may decide for yourſelves: for it would ill become me to "aſk advice for my own ſake. If Syracuſe muſt periſh, if I cannot "ſave it from deſtruction, I yet will haſten thither and bury myſelf "under its ruins. But, ſhould you conſent to afford thoſe your aid "who are the moſt inconſiderate and unfortunate of men, Syracuſe "which is not yet fallen, again will riſe. Should you on the contrary "angrily leave it to its fate, may the gods reward you for the valour "and the zeal which you have teſtified to me! Accept the thanks of "Dion; who never did you injuſtice, but who cannot now abandon "his unfortunate fellow citizens."

He had ſcarcely ended when his followers roſe with a ſhout, and requeſted they might be led to Syracuſe.

The deſolation which the ſoldiers of the tyrant had ſpread through the city was the cauſe of the repentance of the people, and of the recal

of Dion: but when, at the close of night, the soldiers were driven back into the citadel, though with but little loss, the herd of demagogues again appeared, harangued the people, warned them not to admit Dion, and exhorted them rather to owe the fame of their deliverance to themselves than to Dion and his foreigners. Accordingly, the *Strategi* sent to Dion, to forbid his approach: but the knights and principal citizens sent likewise, entreating him to hasten his march.

In the mean time, the enemy from the citadel again assaulted Syracuse; slaughtering the citizens, among whom they shot burning arrows; and the opinion of the people once more changed, in favour of Dion. Nay, Heraclides himself sent, and supplicated him to come with all speed.

Dion complied, sent his light armed troops speedily against the enemy, put the Syracusians in martial array, appointed several leaders, then, calling on the Gods, marched against the enemy: and, as he passed the streets, the onset of war was mingled with resounding praises, and shouts of joy. Dion was called a Saviour, and a God! and his followers citizens, and brothers! No one thought of himself, no one regarded his own life; but every idea, every sensation, turned toward Dion; who marched over heaps of the slain, through blood and flames, against the receding enemy.

The whole night was employed in extinguishing the flames of the city; and, at break of day, the demagogues were fled. Heraclides indeed delivered himself up to Dion; whose friends advised him to give up his enemy to the angry soldiers: but Dion declared it was not by power, or by cunning, but by justice and benevolence, that he would conquer Heraclides; and he set him at liberty.

During the night, while the citizens slept, Dion caused his foreign troops to dig a moat round the citadel. Friends and foes were astonished at his activity; and Heraclides rose, and proposed that Dion should be appointed Commander in Chief, by land and sea. The better citizens were intending to follow this advice, when a multitude of sailors

ſailors and artificers collected and bred a tumult: becauſe Heraclides, although they had no affection for him, was neceſſary to them; as a man that always favoured the people. On which, Dion ſuffered him to remain the commander of the fleet.

Thus empowered, Heraclides took advantage of the diſcontent of thoſe who imagined themſelves injured, by the participation which Dion had made of the lands and houſes. He accordingly ſailed to Meſſina, excited the anger of thoſe that were with him againſt Dion, and held a ſecret correſpondence with the tyrant, through the medium of the Spartan, *Pharax:* probably the ſame whom Diodorus calls *Pharacidas.*

Dionyſius, no longer able to remain in the citadel, where proviſions began to fail, left it; having obtained leave from Dion to withdraw. As he entered the citadel, Dion was met by his ſiſter, Ariſtomache, his diſgraced wife, Arete, whom the tyrant had obliged to marry Timocrates, and his ſon. Dion accoſted his ſon with tears, and received them all into his houſe: giving up the citadel to the Syracuſians.

And now the eyes of Sicily, Carthage, and Greece, were all in reverence turned toward one man; who continued as diſcreet in his conduct, and as ſimple in his manners, as if he were ſtill converſing with Plato, in the academical groves; enquiring what is the appearance of things, and what their reality? Plato wrote to him that the eyes of the whole world were intent upon him: but, remembering the fickle diſpleaſure to which the Syracuſians were ſubject, he cautioned him to relax a little in his ſeverity *.

* Ὡστε τας ἐξ ἁπασης της οἰκεμενης, ἐι και νεανικωτερον ἐσιν ἐιπειν, ἐις ἑνα τοπον ἀποβλεπειν, και ἐν τουτῳ μαλιστα προς σε.

"Becauſe the eyes of the whole world, exaggerated as the expreſſion may ſeem, are "turned toward one place; and in thatplace principally to you."—And again: Ἐνθυμει δε και, ὁτι δοκεις τισιν ἐνδεεστερως τα προσηκοντος θεραπευτικος ἐιναι· μη ἀν λαιθανετω σε, ὁτι δια τα ἀρεσκειν τοις ἀνθρωποις, και το πραττειν ἐστιν· ἡ δ' ἀυθαδεια ἐρημια ξυνοικος. "Remember that, to ſome, you "do not appear ſufficiently complaiſant; and you muſt not forget that, if you would influence men, you muſt give them pleaſure. Self-love reſides in ſolitude." *See the fourth letter of Plato.*

Heraclides found a new ſubject of accuſation againſt Dion, becauſe he had not deſtroyed the citadel; and becauſe he had ſent for counſellors to Corinth, thus deſpiſing his fellow citizens. True it was, he had invited ſome men from Corinth: hoping, by their aid, the better to reform the republic. Inſtead of a pure democracy, of which Plato ſo beautifully ſays it is not a conſtitution but the annual fair of all conſtitutions*, he intended to have introduced a mixed form of a republic; and, foreſeeing the difficulties which Heraclides would raiſe, he no longer reſtrained thoſe who long had wiſhed to put him to death, and Heraclides was murdered in his own houſe.

That this wicked man had frequently deſerved death there is no doubt†: but the pure virtue of Dion methinks ought not to have been ſullied by any participation in this affair.

From this time, Dion became frequently reſtleſs, melancholy, and deſirous of death. This he received from the hands of ſome of his Greek ſoldiers, who had been ſo devoted to him; and at the inſtigation of a man whom he had the more freely truſted becauſe of the great ſhare he had taken in his plan, for dethroning the tyrant. Caſippus, the Athenian, was the man I mean; whoſe frantic ambition was the cauſe of this heinous act. At his inſtigation, Dion was murdered; and his wife and ſiſter thrown into priſon: where the firſt, being pregnant, was delivered of a ſon.

Calippus, for a time, was not only reſpected, but governed in Sy-

* Ὡς ὐ πολιτειαν, ἀλλα πανταπωλιον ουσαν πολιτειων, κατα τον Πλατωνα. Theſe words are in the eighth book of the Republic of Plato. The whole paſſage is very remarkable, and deſerves to be read.

† There are at preſent very ſerious doubts entertained, by the wiſeſt and beſt men, whether any human being can deſerve death: that is, whether the happineſs of men can be promoted by putting thoſe who fall under their diſpleaſure to death.

The neceſſity of warning incautious readers, againſt too haſtily crediting bold aſſertions, is my motive for writing this note. There is indeed ſelf-evident contradiction in the author: for, if it were right to put Heraclides to death, pure virtue cannot be better employed than in doing that which is right. T.

racuſe;

racuſe; and had the audacity to boaſt of his crime, in a letter to the city of Athens: but, after a campaign, in which he endeavoured to conquer Catana, he loſt Syracuſe, and was killed at Rhegium.

The wife and ſiſter of Dion were ſet at liberty, and for a time protected, by Icetes, the Syracuſian: but, being perſuaded by the enemies of Dion to betray them, he put them on board a veſſel, under the pretence of ſending them to Greece, and they were murdered on the paſſage, and thrown with the child into the ſea.

After the death of Dion*, Syracuſe was ſo torn and diſtracted by contention that Dionyſius, aided by a body of ſoldiers, again replaced himſelf in the tyranny. Misfortune had embittered his temper, and many could find no other refuge than Leontium; where Icetes then governed, who had ſo treacherouſly treated the kindred of Dion.

A powerful fleet from Carthage likewiſe landed in Sicily; which the Greek towns, exhauſted by wars, and ſwarming with Barbarians and men who had been ſoldiers, who had more to hope than fear from any change, were not in a condition to reſiſt. They therefore determined to aſk aid of Greece, and particularly of Corinth, the citizens of which had always teſtified ſo much hatred againſt tyrants, were incapable of being ſeduced under their rule, and who, by the great and famous wars they had waged, had maintained the freedom of Greece. Icetes durſt not oppoſe this determination; though he had a ſecret correſpondence with the Carthaginians, and doubtleſs intended to betray a part of his country to the Barbarians, that he might reign over the remainder.

No ſooner had the ambaſſadors related their griefs at Corinth than the citizens determined to ſend aid to Sicily; where their colonies had ever remained dear to them, and eſpecially Syracuſe; and Timoleon was appointed the leader of the ſuccours they ſent.

Timoleon was of noble birth, the ſon of Timodemus and Demariſte,

* Plut. Life of Timoleon.

mild in his temper, a hater of tyrants, and an ardent lover of his country. He had an elder brother, Timophanes, who was of a very different character. Raſh and turbulent in his propenſities, he had early been beloved by the people for being a daring youth; and, by his intercourſe with foreign ſoldiers, had imbibed an admiration of tyranny. Timoleon anxiouſly concealed his brother's failings, and knew how to place his beſt virtues in their beſt light.

It happened, in a battle againſt the *Argi*, where Timoleon fought on foot and Timophanes led the cavalry, that the horſe of the latter was wounded, and threw him among the enemy: on which his ſoldiers, being terrified, diſperſed; a few only remaining, and deſperately defending him againſt ſuperior numbers. Timoleon, hearing this, haſtened to his aid, protected his brother with his ſhield, and ſaved him; after having driven back the aſſailants.

The Corinthians took a body of four hundred ſoldiers into pay, and gave the command of them to Timophanes; who, by the help of theſe foreigners, put many of the principal citizens to death, and ſeated himſelf in the tyranny. Timoleon was ſtruck to the ſoul to behold his brother ſtained with the blood of the citizens, and diſgraced by tyrannic power. In vain did he exhort, nay ſupplicate, him to renounce his crimes, and ſurrender the government. After a few days, he returned to him again; accompanied by Æſchylus, the brother-in-law of Timophanes, and a ſooth-ſayer, who was the friend of both. They all implored Timophanes to reform; but he at firſt laughed at them, and afterward grew enraged: on which Timoleon ſtepped on one ſide, wept, concealed his face, and his two friends drew their ſwords, and murdered the tyrant.

The principal citizens admired the noble nature of Timoleon; whoſe love for his brother had ceded to the love of juſtice, and of his country. Others, who ſecretly preferred tyranny to freedom, teſtified indeed an appearance of joy at the death of Timophanes, but repreſented the action of Timoleon as unnatural, and deteſtable. It afflicted him; and,

and, when he heard of the anger of his mother, her bitter reproaches, the imprecations ſhe uttered againſt him, and, when he went to appeaſe her, found that ſhe avoided his ſight, and ſhut the doors to exclude him, he ſunk into ſuch a deep melancholy that, had it not been for the cares and entreaties of his friends who oppoſed his determination, he would have ſtarved himſelf to death. He renounced ſociety and public affairs, fled the city, and ſpent moſt of his life in wandering, ſolitary and overwhelmed by affliction, through the country.

About twenty years after the death of Timophanes, the people appointed Timoleon to the command in Sicily; and Teleclides, one of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Corinth, then aroſe and addreſſing him ſaid—"Shew thyſelf now, oh Timoleon, to be a vigilant and "noble man! If thou fighteſt valiantly, we ſhall conſider thee as "the hater of a tyrant: if not, as the murderer of thy brother."

While Timoleon was arming for the enterpriſe, letters were brought from Icetes; in which he informed the Corinthians that he did not need their aſſiſtance, for that, through their delay, he had found himſelf obliged to join the Carthaginians againſt Dionyſius; and that the powerful fleet of the Carthaginians would not ſuffer them to land.

Thoſe who had before been indifferent to this expedition now became indignant againſt Icetes; and the ſpur of zeal induced them to afford Timoleon every aid.

Proceeding firſt to Delphos, to ſacrifice to Apollo, it happened that, as he entered the temple, a garland, with which among others it was decorated, ſlipt down, and fell upon his head. This garland was interwoven with flowers, and figures of the Goddeſs of Victory: ſo that it appeared as if Apollo, himſelf, had crowned Timoleon for the undertaking.

He then put to ſea, with ten ſhips; and, as he approached the coaſt of Italy, he heard that Icetes had vanquiſhed Dionyſius in a battle, was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syracuſe, and that he beſieged his enemy in the iſland of Ortygia, a part of the ancient city: having made

made an agreement with the Carthaginians that they ſhould keep off the ſhips of Corinth, and that he would divide Sicily with them.

Timoleon found twenty galleys of the Carthaginians in Rhegium, and ambaſſadors from Icetes; who repreſented to him that his ſhips would not be ſuffered to approach the ſhore, but that he himſelf would be welcome to Icetes, ſhould take part in all his councils, and ſhould ſhare in the ſucceſs of the war. Timoleon wore the ſemblance of being inclined to follow the advice of Icetes; but ſaid that it appeared to him to be right that they ſhould ſtate their mutual pretenſions, in the preſence of the citizens of a place that might be allied to them both; who therefore ought to be witneſſes of their proceedings. Acquainted with the treacherous intentions of Icetes and the Carthaginians, Timoleon indulged himſelf in this artifice: in the accompliſhment of which he was aided by the Chiefs of Rhegium; who dreaded nothing more than the neighbourhood of the Carthaginians. The people were aſſembled; and, while the Rhegini were careful to amuſe them with long diſcourſes, the Corinthian veſſels ſailed away: and, when Timoleon was ſecretly informed that his galley waited for him and was the only one remaining in the haven, he glided away through the crowd.

He then ſet ſail, and landed at *Tauromenium:* the preſent *Taormina:* where he was kindly received by Andromachus, the Prince of that city. The Carthaginians in Rhegium diſcovered too late that they had been deceived; for which they were angry with the citizens: who, in return, teſtified amazement that deceit could offend a Carthaginian.

The Carthaginians now ſent to Andromachus: and their ambaſſador required that the Corinthians ſhould immediately depart. "If not," ſaid he, turning firſt the back and then the palm of his hand, "we "will turn your city topſy turvy with as much eaſe as I turn my wriſt." The anſwer of Andromachus was a proper reproof to arrogance like this. With the ſame geſticulation he replied to the Carthaginian; and bade him begone, or he would treat him and his galley in the manner which he himſelf had threatened.

Icetes demanded more veſſels of the Carthaginians, for his aid; and the Syracuſians were terrified at ſeeing theſe enemies in their harbour, and at knowing that Timoleon and his handful of men were ſhut up in a town which was only connected with Sicily by a ſmall cape: for *Tauromenium* was built on the extreme point of the promontory of *Taurus* or *Toro*.

Neither did the other towns of Sicily confide in the aid brought them by Timoleon: in part becauſe it only conſiſted of a thouſand men, and in part becauſe, having formerly been betrayed by Pharax, or Pharacidas, the Lacedemonian, and Calippus, the Athenian, they knew not whether they might more ſecurely truſt in the Corinthians. Adranum was the only place that favoured Timoleon; and even this was divided by two parties: one of which declared in favour of Icetes, and the Carthaginians. As it happened, they both approached the place together: but Icetes had five thouſand men, and Timoleon only twelve hundred. The latter however was victorious; and Adranum opened its gates. After which Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, ſought his friendſhip; and Dionyſius himſelf ſent to Timoleon, ſurrendered the citadel to the Corinthians, and took refuge in the camp of Timoleon: who ſent him to Corinth, where he ended his life as a private perſon.

Icetes ſtill continued to beſiege the citadel, though he no longer beſieged Dionyſius, and ſent two men from Syracuſe; who were to aſſaſſinate Timoleon: but his plot miſcarried. He likewiſe diſpatched meſſengers to Mago, the General of Carthage; who took poſſeſſion of the haven with a hundred and fifty ſhips, and ſtationed ſixty thouſand men in Syracuſe.

By the aid of ſmall veſſels, Timoleon, beſieged in the citadel, obtained proviſions from Catana: which place Mago and Icetes, with the flower of their fleet, ſailed to attack. However, they were quickly obliged to return: for Leo, the Corinthian, had taken that quarter of Syracuſe which was called Achradina; and which, except the ſmall

iſland

iſland and the citadel, was the ſtrongeſt part of the city. Of this, not being able to recover it, they were obliged to leave the Corinthians in poſſeſſion.

A reinforcement was ſent to Timoleon, from Corinth, of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe: but they were long detained in Italy, by Hanno, a General of the Carthaginians; who guarded the ſtraits with a fleet. Weary of waiting, Hanno employed a ſtratagem, decorated his crew with garlands after the Grecian manner, and his ſhips with Greek ſhields; hoping, by this artifice, to ſurpriſe the citadel of Syracuſe: inſtead of which, he ſuffered the Corinthians to eſcape, and join Timoleon; who, by their aid, took Meſſina, and marched with four thouſand men againſt Syracuſe.

He pitched his camp near that of the enemy: the Greek ſoldiers of which often mingled with the Corinthians, as they fiſhed for eels in the marſh near the city, with whom they entered into converſation. The Corinthians repeatedly reproached them for having ſold themſelves for the pay of Barbarians, and endeavoured to ſubject a Greek town to a tyrant. Mago became terrified with the fear of being betrayed by his ſoldiers; and, panic-ſtruck, led his army back to Africa: renouncing the conqueſt of Sicily: after which, Timoleon gained a ſplendid victory over Icetes, and remained maſter of Syracuſe.

He did not imitate Dion, in ſparing the citadel; but invited the people to deſtroy this monument of tyranny. The city had been ſo waſted that, in many places, the horſes might graze while their grooms lay down in the graſs: for which reaſon Timoleon, in common with the people of Syracuſe, wrote to Corinth; requeſting that new inhabitants might be ſent from Greece. Many other towns were become the reſort of ſtags, and wild boars; and hunters ſettled in ſeveral of their ſuburbs: beſide which, the neceſſity of new inhabitants became the more preſſing becauſe that the Carthaginians, who had crucified the body of Mago after he had killed himſelf, were preparing for a new campaign.

When

When this letter was read in Corinth, its citizens afforded an example of juſtice, and magnanimity, which, while it deeply diſgraced the Athenians and Lacedemonians, redounded to their immortal honour. In poſſeſſion of the greateſt of all the Greek towns, the Corinthians did not appropriate Syracuſe to themſelves; which would have ſecured to them the conqueſt of Sicily; but ſent ambaſſadors to all the public games in Greece, and the cities where the people aſſembled: declaring that the Corinthians, having driven the tyrants from Syracuſe and ſet the city free, now invited all the diſperſed Syracuſians, and other Greeks that had fled from Sicily, to return; in the perfect aſſurance of living according to their own laws. They even ſent the ſame invitations to Aſia, and the iſlands to which moſt of the fugitives had retired; with the information that they would provide veſſels, and a ſafe convoy, at their own expence, for ſuch as ſhould deſire to return and ſettle again in Sicily. The people, thus invited, repaired from all parts to Corinth; and, with the addition of ſome Corinthians and other Greeks, at length completed the number of ten thouſand.

Many new ſettlers came likewiſe to Syracuſe, from other parts of Sicily and Italy. Timoleon ſhared the lands among them; and the poverty of the Syracuſians induced them to ſell their ſtatues: but not till they had firſt ſat in judgment over each: on which occaſion the ſtatue of Gelo was exempted, and preſerved.

Timoleon now was deſirous of giving freedom to all Sicily; and obliged Icetes to renounce his alliance with Carthage, and his government of the Leontini, and to promiſe that he would diſmantle his fortreſſes. Leptines, the tyrant of Apollonia and other little towns, having ſurrendered to Timoleon, was ſent by him to Corinth. He then undertook, aided by Cephalus and Dionyſius, two Corinthians, to form a new conſtitution for Syracuſe; and likewiſe ſent two commanders into the territories of the Carthaginians, who ſet many of the towns free.

An army of ſeventy thouſand Carthaginians having landed at *Lily-*

bæum, under the command of Haſdrubal and Hamilcar, they marched againſt Syracuſe; and were met by Timoleon, with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. It was on this occaſion, as I have related in a former letter *, that he with wonderful preſence of mind turned what was thought a prognoſtic of death into an omen of victory, when he crowned himſelf with parſley.

Timoleon profited by the moment when the enemy were paſſing the river *Crimiſus*; when a thick fog favoured the ſmall army of the Corinthians, while a ſtorm of rain and hail diſcharged itſelf in the face of the Carthaginians, who were vanquiſhed and loſt above ten thouſand men, with their camp: in which the Corinthians found an immenſe booty.

Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, and Icetes now formed a mutual alliance, with each other and with the Carthaginians; from whom they entreated new forces: and Geſcon, or Giſcon, was ſent with ſeventy ſhips, who took poſſeſſion of Meſſina, and killed four hundred of the ſoldiers of Timoleon, that lay there in garriſon.

Icetes, after having made conſiderable booty in the territories of Syracuſe, loſt a battle againſt Timoleon: who ſoon after, leading his army into the territories of Leontium, took Icetes, his ſon, and the commander of his horſe, priſoners; who were put to death. Timoleon then marched back to Syracuſe, where the people had condemned and executed the wife and daughter of Icetes. This act of injuſtice is a ſtain on the otherwiſe virtuous character of Timoleon: becauſe, according to Plutarch, had he interpoſed, it might have been prevented.

The Carthaginians aſked for peace, and the river Halycus was again the ſtipulated boundary †. Mamercus ſurrendered himſelf to Timoleon,

* See letter lxxxix.

† Plutarch calls it *Lycus*, but Cluverius and Dacier read *Halycus*. Diodorus likewiſe calls this boundary river *Lycus*; and all the copies of this author agree in the ſame reading: but as the *Halycus* had been the boundary river before, and as I know of no *Lycus* among the rivers of Sicily, I conjecture that the name *Lycus* was a common abbreviation in the time of Dodorus of the word *Halycus*. Plutarch writes *Lycus* becauſe he found it ſo written in Diodorus.

on condition that he ſhould be judged by the Syracuſians, and that Timoleon ſhould not be the accuſer. When he addreſſed himſelf to the people, they evidently ſhewed that they were inexorable; and, ſuddenly riſing, he ran to daſh his head againſt a pillar: but, as he did not kill himſelf as he intended, he was executed like a common malefactor.

Having ſwept the iſland of tyrants and foreign foes, Timoleon obtained increaſing reſpect. Cities from which the terrified inhabitants had fled were again peopled; not only by the returning citizens, but by new ſettlers from Greece.

Among theſe cities were Agrigentum and Gela; and all of them conſidered Timoleon as their founder. Without him no treaty was concluded, no law promulgated, no colony eſtabliſhed, nor any conſtitution planned. His maſter hand extended itſelf over all Sicily; imparting to each act a crown and a grace which characterized the genius of this hero: ſo that it was common, as Plutarch after Timæus obſerves, for people to apply the verſe of Sophocles to him, where the poet exclaims—

Ω' θεοι, τις αρα Κυπρις, η τις ιμερος
τηδε ξυνηλθε;

Oh Gods; what Venus, or what Grace divine,
Has touched the work?

Two of the demagogues uttered various ſlanders againſt this great man; and, when the citizens were enraged at the demand of one, who required him to appear and plead to an indictment, he pacified them by obſerving he had encountered ſo many dangers only that the Syracuſians ſhould be free to accuſe: and, after having heard the diſcourſe of the other, he exclaimed—"I thank the Gods for having "granted my frequent requeſt: for I now ſee the day when every "man in Syracuſe is permitted to ſpeak all that he thinks."

Timoleon never quitted the Syracuſians; but in his old age became

blind, and the ſage was then treated by them with the moſt heartfelt reſpect. His funeral was attended with extraordinary ſolemnity. The grateful citizens erected a monument to his memory; and near it a gymnaſium, for the exerciſe of their youth, which was called after him *Timoleontium.* He died in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, 335 years before Chriſt.

After the death of Timoleon, Syracuſe enjoyed a calm of twenty years. At leaſt we hear of no outrageous demagogues; whoſe reigning influence is no leſs hateful and indeed no leſs dangerous, to the citizen of worth and underſtanding, than the rule of a tyrant. If the character of the Syracuſians be ſcrutinized, who were as incapable of true freedom as they were impatient under ſlavery, it will greatly redound to the glory of Timoleon that the conſtitution he gave them continued for twenty years after his deceaſe.

In the fourth year of the 115th Olympiad, 315 years before Chriſt, Agathocles aſſumed the ſovereignty of Syracuſe *. He was the ſon of the potter Carcinus, from Rhegium: who himſelf ſettled at Thermæ, the preſent Sciacca; a town in the Sicilian territories of Carthage; and had Agathocles by a wife of that city.

Carcinus became a citizen of Syracuſe during the life of Timoleon; and Agathocles learned the trade of his father, who was poor and ſoon died. The youth gained riches by the moſt ſhameful voluptuouſneſs; and reſpect by his effrontery, which frequently is ſufficient to raiſe a man to notice under a democracy; and to conceal his real intentions if they happen, as was here the caſe, to be accompanied by ſhining talents. Nay how often do they ſucceed without any talents!

In a campaign againſt the Agrigentini, Agathocles was appointed the leader of a thouſand men; which command was given him by Damos, a general by whoſe ſubſtance he enriched himſelf. After the death of Damos, he married his wealthy widow. He then accompanied Heraclides and Soſiſtratus; who were the leaders of an army of Syracuſians,

* Diod. l. xix. vol. ii. p. 318.

ſent

ſent in aid of the *Crotoniatæ* againſt the *Bruttii*. Theſe are both called by Diodorus bad men; and Soſiſtratus denied that reward to Agathocles which he believed his valour had deſerved. Agathocles accuſed him, but was not heard; and Soſiſtratus, after his return, found himſelf poſſeſſed of great power.

Agathocles and his dependants made an ineffectual attempt upon Croton, which was allied to Syracuſe. He then went to Tarentum, where he was received as one of the ſoldiers of this republic; but was afterward baniſhed, as a dangerous man. He next afforded aid to the Rhegini, which was beſieged by Heraclides and Soſiſtratus: ſoon after which Soſiſtratus was ſent into exile, and Agathocles returned to Syracuſe.

A war now aroſe between the fugitives, headed by Soſiſtratus, and the citizens. The Carthaginians took part with the former, and Agathocles gained honour in Gela; where his daring brought him into great danger, he having received ſeven wounds and eſcaped by united courage and caution. When he came back to Syracuſe, the Corinthian Aceſtorides, who had been choſen one of the Strategi, thought him dangerous, and commanded him to leave the city. Agathocles conjectured that Aceſtorides ſought his life: he therefore ſent one of his ſlaves, who was nearly of his own ſtature, armed like himſelf, clothed in his garb, and mounted on his own horſe, out of the city; and eſcaped himſelf in a mean diſguiſe. He paſſed unmoleſted; but, in the darkneſs of night, the ſlave was miſtaken for him, and aſſaſſinated.

The Syracuſians once more received Soſiſtratus and the other fugitives, and made peace with Carthage; and Agathocles, at the head of a company of armed men, continued on the Mediterranean ſhores of the iſland: from which he occaſioned much vexation to Carthage, and Syracuſe. This produced his recall: but the Syracuſians made him ſwear, in the temple of Ceres, that he would undertake nothing againſt the democratic conſtitution.

He played the part of a zealous democrat; and, like moſt of the

demagogues of the people, while he reviled the nobleſt and beſt citizens, he employed with art and plan the powers of popularity, that he might exerciſe the rapacity of a tyrant. Being appointed one of the Strategi, and guardians of peace, he approached the goal at which he aimed; and found no obſtacle in his way, except the Syracuſian council of ſix hundred: which conſiſted of the moſt reſpectable citizens.

Under the pretext of a trifling attack upon the revolters, he aſſembled three thouſand men from the heart of the country; who had formerly fought under his banners, and to whom he added numbers of people of the loweſt claſs. At break of day, he ſtationed them all in the *Timoleontium:* he then called on Piſarchus, and Decles; who took with them a company of forty friends, as a convoy.

Agathocles pretended that they were come to murder him, cauſed them to be ſeized, and complained that the ſix hundred wiſhed to kill him becauſe of his love to the people: who, hearing this, ſounded the trumpet of alarm, and commanded the ſoldiers to put the guilty to death, and to plunder the houſes of the ſix hundred and all their adherents.

The gates were ſhut, and the city as much afflicted as if it had been taken by the Carthaginians. The terror indeed muſt have been much greater, for it was more ſudden. The inſurgents aſſaſſinated, broke open houſes, pillaged, and indulged themſelves in every crime of cruelty and luſt. Above four thouſand citizens fell; nor did the temples afford them any ſafety. All hiſtory proves a truth, which our neighbours and enemies at preſent place in a fearful light, and which Lichtwehr has ſo happily expreſſed:

Der fürchtet keine Götter;
Der keines menſchen ſchont.

Who fears not any God;
Who ſpares not any man.

Above ſix thouſand fled, and moſt of them to Agrigentum. After

the maſſacre had continued two days, Agathocles addreſſed the people, congratulated them on having preſerved their freedom, and declared that now, after ſo great a work, he would renounce all office, and live among them like one of themſelves. On this, loud exclamations aroſe; calling on him to guard the good of all, and live for the welfare of his country. Thoſe who were moſt imbrued in the blood of the beſt citizens, and had enriched themſelves by their depredations, were the moſt clamorous; and he accepted, as if obliged to accept, the office of *Strategus*: but on condition that he ſhould have no colleagues; becauſe, as he alleged, he would avoid the danger which ariſes from participating in the guilt of thoſe who ſhould act contrary to the laws of their country. Accordingly, the whole power, with this office, was committed into his hands.

He ſtill farther increaſed the number of his partiſans, by the remiſſion of debts, the diviſion of the lands, and by gifts, fair ſpeeches, and extraordinary condeſcenſion. He neither wore a diadem, nor maintained a body guard; but preſerved an open intercourſe with the citizens. The public revenues were adminiſtered by him carefully; ſhips were built, arms were forged, and the territories of Syracuſe were increaſed by the addition of ſome of the inland towns of Sicily.

Two years afterward, he took a fortreſs that belonged to Meſſina, laid a ranſom on it of thirty talents, and received the money: but, inſtead of giving up the place, marched againſt the city. He made peace however, and reſtored the fortreſs; becauſe the Carthaginians ſent to him, to complain of the injuſtice committed againſt Meſſina. From Meſſina, he went to *Abacænum*, an allied city; where he put about forty citizens to death.

The fugitive Syracuſians, who reſided in Agrigentum, exhorted the chiefs of that city rather to declare againſt Agathocles, before his power was increaſed, than to wait till he had ſubjected them, as well as others, under the yoke. The Agrigentini felt the force of this argument, made an alliance with the people of Gela and Meſſina, declared war againſt Agathocles,

Agathocles, and looked round them for a leader. They determined to chooſe a ſtranger, becauſe they dreaded the ambition of their own citizens, and ſent to Sparta; where they found Acrotatus, the ſon of Cleomenes, King of Lacedæmon, a very proper perſon to head their enterpriſe.

Without waiting for the conſent of the Ephori, Acrotatus ſailed, with a few veſſels, and was driven by a ſtorm to Italy: where, profiting by this circumſtance, he perſuaded the Tarentini to take part in the deliverance of Syracuſe, and they promiſed him twenty ſhips.

While the Tarentini were arming, he ſailed to Agrigentum; and there adminiſtered the affairs of government, as chief of the republic. The people at firſt cheriſhed great hopes of this man; but he fulfilled none of them, ſhewed himſelf tyrannical and debauched, and diſſipated the public revenues: partly by his bad adminiſtration, and partly by his treachery. He likewiſe baſely murdered Soſiſtratus, whom he had invited to a banquet; becauſe he dreaded the reſpect in which he was held. As ſoon as this action became public, the fugitives aſſembled; and would have ſtoned him, had he not fled back to Sparta, overwhelmed with diſgrace.

The Tarentini now recalled their veſſels; and the people of Gela and Meſſina, through the mediation of Hamilcar, made peace with Agathocles: on condition that, of the towns of the Greeks, Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera, ſhould appertain to Carthage; and that all the others ſhould live according to their own laws, but acknowledge the ſovereignty of Syracuſe*.

Agathocles now, ſeeing Sicily freed from foreign armies, conquered

* Panormus, Motya, and Solus, are not here in queſtion: becauſe theſe cities were of Phœnician origin, and would not be at enmity with the Carthaginians. Τας δ' αλλας πασας αυτονομους ειναι, την ηγεμονιαν εχοντων Συρακουσιων. I muſt remark that the word ſovereignty, which I have uſed, appears ſtronger to me than the Greek word, ηγεμονια: but, be that as it will, hiſtory informs us that, whenever the cities of Athens or Sparta meant, by the word ηγεμονια, to expreſs their authority over other States, this authority ſoon degenerated into deſpotic caprice.

many

many towns. He likewiſe increaſed the ſoldier's pay: becauſe he foreſaw that the Carthaginians would be diſſatisfied with the treaty made by Hamilcar, and would ſoon declare war. For this reaſon, he ſuddenly ſent an army into the territories of Meſſina; where he took many priſoners, becauſe they had received all the fugitives that had there taken refuge. The Meſſinians were diſconſolate, drove away the fugitives, and received Agathocles and his army into the city; who behaved with great complacency: but, after he had called together all the citizens of Meſſina and Tauromenium, who had oppoſed him, he cauſed ſix hundred of them to be ſtrangled.

He now intended to have marched againſt Agrigentum; but he heard that the Carthaginians had landed with ſixty ſhips, and had waſted the provinces of the Agrigentini; where he had taken ſome ſtrong places, and others had ſurrendered to him.

The fugitives, having choſen Dinocrates for their leader, entreated aid of the Carthaginians; and Dinocrates ſent a body of men by night into the town of the *Centuripini*, with ſome of whom he had a good underſtanding: but theſe troops were ſlain by Agathocles, who put ſuch of the *Centuripini* to death as had taken part with the fugitives.

A fleet of fifty Carthaginian ſhips ſailed into the great harbour of Syracuſe: but here they effected nothing, except that they ſunk a tranſport that belonged to Athens, after they had chopped off the hands of the ſeamen. Soon afterward, ſome of their ſhips, on the coaſt of *Bruttium*, the lower Calabria, fell into the hands of the commanders of Agathocles; who retaliated their own cruelty upon themſelves.

Dinocrates, with five thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of the little town of Galaria; to which he had been invited by the citizens: but it was retaken by one of the officers of Agathocles, who put to death the chiefs of the party that had adviſed the revolt.

Agathocles, having time after time inſinuated ſoldiers into Gela, at laſt came in perſon, cauſed four thouſand of the citizens to be ſtrangled, obliged the remainder to deliver up all the coined and uncoined gold

and ſilver, placed a garriſon in the city, and then marched againſt the Carthaginians.

He was overcome in a great battle, near the mountain Ecnomos, by Hamilcar; in which about five thouſand Carthaginians and ſeven thouſand of the army of Agathocles were ſlain: which induced him to burn his camp, and march back to Gela, and Hamilcar took poſſeſſion of many ſtrong places, and treated the inhabitants with kindneſs.

The people of Camarina, Leontium, Catana, Tauromenium, Meſſina, and Abacænum, declared for the Carthaginians. Agathocles returned to Syracuſe, ſtrengthened the walls, and provided the city with corn.

After their victory *, the Carthaginians were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sicily; and there was no appearance that Agathocles would be able to withſtand them, when he came to a determination as wiſe as it was daring, which deſerves the admiration of the lateſt poſterity.

Unaccuſtomed as the Syracuſians were to ſee an enemy before their walls, living in all the voluptuouſneſs of proſperity, ſurrounded by tribes whom it had been their practice ſeverely to oppreſs, they ſaw themſelves poſſeſſed of a country which was rich in every kind of production. Agathocles therefore perceived that the Carthaginians were enemies who muſt be grappled with in the heart of their own country, or they could not be driven from the iſland, of the greateſt part of which they were now in poſſeſſion.

Agreeably to his habits, he debaſed the grandeur of this enterpriſe by cruelty, and fraud. He committed the adminiſtration of affairs in Syracuſe to his brother, Antandrus; and, as he did not think himſelf ſecure during his abſence, without appearing ſo to do, he took hoſtages with him: ſuch as a brother, or a ſon; leaving the other brother, or the father, behind. He borrowed money of the merchants, cauſed guardians to ſurrender the eſtates of minors, under the pretext of their being more ſecure, as he likewiſe did the ornaments of the principal women and

* Diod. l. xx.

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the decorations of the temples, and, when ſeveral of the moſt wealthy citizens withdrew from Syracuſe, he ſent his ſoldiers in purſuit of them, cauſed them to be ſtrangled, and ſeized on their effects.

Sixty ſhips were armed; and Agathocles waited for a favourable moment, at a time when no one knew his intentions. Some imagined he would attack the Sicilian provinces of Carthage; others that he was projecting a deſcent on Italy; and, to all, his actions appeared to be thoſe of a madman.

The fleet of the Carthaginians for a time prevented him from ſailing; but the chace of the enemy, after ſome tranſports, gave him an opportunity of leaving the haven, with all his force. The Carthaginians ſuppoſed his intention was to aid the tranſports, and ſlackened ſail in order to give him battle: but, when they ſaw him ſail into the open ſea, and perceived that he had already got to a conſiderable diſtance, they followed in purſuit; and would have overtaken him, had not the night intervened.

After a paſſage of ſix days, on the dawn of the ſeventh, the Sicilian mariners beheld the fleet of the enemy on their back, and the coaſt of Africa before them. The oars now were plied with unrelaxing efforts. Should the Carthaginians come up with and conquer them, Sicily would be loſt, and they anticipated the moſt cruel ſlavery. Accuſtomed to the exerciſe, the Carthaginians rowed the faſteſt: but the Greeks were neareſt the ſhore. The arrows however of the leading veſſel of Carthage could reach the laſt of the ſhips of Agathocles; who notwithſtanding landed, and the Carthaginians caſt anchor about an arrow-ſhot from the coaſt.

Having aſſembled his army, Agathocles ſacrificed to Ceres and Proſerpine; and, clothing himſelf in a ſplendid robe and placing a garland on his temples, he declared that, while purſued by the Carthaginians, he had made a vow to offer up the ſhips to Ceres and Proſerpine; the guardian Goddeſſes of the iſland. The ſacrifice was the prognoſtic of

victory, and they might boldly burn their fleet; for, having conquered, better ſhips would be in their power.

On this a torch was brought to him and to each commander of a galley. Agathocles placed himſelf at the ſtern of his veſſel, his example was followed, the flames roſe, the trumpet ſounded, and the ſhores echoed with the ſupplicatory vows of the army for their ſafe return.

By this daring action, Agathocles gained two advantages. Had he not deſtroyed the ſhips, he muſt have divided his forces: otherwiſe they would have fallen into the hands of the enemy: and to divide his forces was not only to weaken his numbers but to give the ſoldiers hopes that, if they could not conquer, they might fly, and again reach home. At preſent, victory was their only truſt.

The enthuſiaſm of the Sicilians began to expire with the expiring flames: but Agathocles gave them no time for the repentance to which they were prone. He led them into the territories of a place called the great city: Μεγαλη Πολις: the Punic name of which, if I do not miſtake, is unknown. Here they were cheered by the proſpect of the ſmiling plains; where plenty of every kind gladdened the eyes and animated the hopes of the army. Vineyards, orchards, corn fields, flocks, well watered paſtures and meadows, magnificent country houſes, and the city itſelf, invited them to fall on and plunder.

Agathocles commanded them to attack the city; which he conquered, ſtripped, enriched the ſoldiers with its booty, and thus inſpired them all with courage. He ſoon afterward took poſſeſſion of another place; which Diodorus calls the white *Tynes;* and in both of theſe he left garriſons.

The mariners of Carthage had contemplated the flaming fleet of the Syracuſians as a charming ſpectacle: but they ſoon recollected what might be the conſequences, hung ſkins over their ſhips, according to the cuſtom of that people, to denote that their country was in danger, and ſent meſſengers to Carthage to relate the whole occurrence as it had

had happened. They likewiſe took the iron prows of the veſſels that were burnt.

The meſſengers found Carthage in the utmoſt conſternation; for the country people had already announced the preſence of the enemy, and it was imagined that their whole army muſt have periſhed in Sicily: otherwiſe Agathocles would not have dared to have made ſuch an attack.

Diſſatisfied with their generals, the Carthaginians appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to the command; men who cheriſhed an inherited hatred againſt each other, but from whom it was hoped that their private griefs would have been ſacrificed to the public good. Not giving time to collect people from the neighbouring country, theſe leaders immediately armed forty thouſand citizens, a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots of war; and were met by Agathocles with a ſmall army of about fourteen thouſand men.

Agathocles had concealed many owls, and theſe he now ſuffered to fly about the camp. Theſe birds, which are confuſed by the light of day, fluttered blindly around: ſome of them alighting on the ſhields and others on the helmets of his warriors; who conſidered this as an excellent omen, and that Pallas herſelf, by her ſacred bird, announced to them the victory. Accordingly the Carthaginians were defeated, and the victor took poſſeſſion of their camp.

An order was ſent to Hamilcar from Carthage, demanding immediate aid; as likewiſe were the iron prows of the Syracuſian fleet. Hamilcar commanded the meſſenger to conceal the truth, and ſpread the report in the camp that the whole fleet of Syracuſe and the army had periſhed. He cauſed the falſehood to be told to the Syracuſians, ſummoning them at the ſame time to ſurrender their city, and as a proof ſhewed them the iron prows. The ſtory was generally believed; but the chiefs of Syracuſe doubted, and aſſembled thoſe who were diſſatisfied with their government, as well as their friends and relations, and ſent them out of the city. Syracuſe now reſounded with wailings, not only

only for the deſtruction of the army but for thoſe who were driven from its walls; to which the enemy was approaching, and no ſaviour was near. The number of the fugitives was about eight thouſand; and, as they had no other place of refuge, they fled to the Carthaginians; who received without doing them injury.

Hamilcar led his army immediately againſt Syracuſe, that he might profit by the preſent confuſion of the city: however he once more ſent to demand its ſurrender, and promiſed ſafety to Antandrus and his adherents. Antandrus was inclined to comply; but Erymnon, the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had appointed as the colleague of his brother, oppoſed this proceeding and refuſed to yield, till Hamilcar ſhould demonſtrate the truth of his relation.

Hamilcar was preparing his machines of war when Nearchus, one of the friends of Agathocles, arrived in a veſſel. He had approached Syracuſe by night, and attempted to enter in the morning, his men crowned with garlands and ſinging the Io Pæan of victory. The guard-ſhips of the Carthaginians perceived him, and purſued: and the people from the city and from the camp of the Carthaginians ran to the haven. The Barbarians ſhouted; the Syracuſians, who could afford their fellow-citizens no aid, offered up their vows; and an enemy's ſhip had almoſt overtaken Nearchus, at the very moment that his veſſel arrived near enough to be protected by the arrows of his countrymen.

Remarking that the whole attention of the city was directed toward the haven, Hamilcar loſt not a moment, but cauſed ladders to be raiſed againſt the walls; and his men had nearly got poſſeſſion of a place, between two towers, when the uſual patrole paſſed that way and gave the alarm. The Carthaginians were then driven down; and the afflicted Hamilcar withdrew from Syracuſe, and ſent five thouſand ſoldiers to Africa.

Agathocles was now poſſeſſed of *Tynes*, or Tunis, had taken many ſtrong holds and ſome towns, and had gained a battle over the Carthaginians.

ginians. Hamilcar, having once more renewed his attack upon Syracuſe, in conſequence of a mutiny that roſe in his army, was vanquiſhed, taken, and, after the Syracuſians had reviled and tormented him in the moſt barbarous manner, put to death; and his head was ſent to Agathocles. The beſieging army then divided: the Carthaginians retired with their leaders, and the fugitives and other Greeks went with Dinocrates.

The Agrigentini imagined they now ſaw a favourable opportunity to obtain the command of all Sicily; Agathocles being employed in the territories of Carthage, Dinocrates and his fugitives not to be feared, and Syracuſe, ſuffering under the want of proviſions, in no condition to contend for pre-eminence. To theſe motives they rationally added the hatred of the towns againſt the Carthaginians: and the deſire that they had to live according to their own laws. They therefore appointed Xenodocus their general, gave him a conſiderable army, and he poſſeſſed himſelf of Gela. The Gelenſes, glad of this much deſired freedom, ſupported the enterpriſe of the Agrigentini. The hopes of liberty filled every town: Enna opened its gates to the Agrigentini, and was freed. Camarina and Leontium were ravaged by the ſoldiers that had been left behind by Agathocles; and to them Xenodocus marched, freed them from their oppreſſors, and likewiſe delivered ſeveral places from the fetters of the Carthaginians.

When the head of Hamilcar was brought to Agathocles, he rode near enough to the camp of the Carthaginians for them to hear him, ſhewed them the head of their general, and related the defeat of their companions.

And now, when his fortune appeared to have attained its ſummit, he fell into great danger. Lyciſcus, one of his moſt valiant chiefs, whom he had invited to a feaſt, being heated with wine ſpoke bitterly againſt Agathocles; who, as he honoured the merit of the man, took it in good part: but his ſon, Archagathus, was angry; and, as Lyciſcus uttered ſarcaſtic reproaches againſt him, he was ſtabbed by Archa-

gathus. The ſoldiers ran together, flew to arms, demanded the delivery of Archagathus, and threatened Agathocles with death, ſhould he refuſe.

The Carthaginians, learning the cauſe of this mutiny, ſent perſons to excite the army to revolt. Many of the leaders promiſed to follow this advice: but Agathocles threw off the purple, leapt among the ſoldiers as one of themſelves, harangued them, and threatened to put himſelf to death. The feeling of the army now changed: he was pronounced free, and once more requeſted to aſſume the garb of general.

The Carthaginians meanwhile expected that the army would go over to them; and, when Agathocles led his ſoldiers againſt them, they imagined they beheld deſerters, not enemies, till he ordered the trumpet to ſound the onſet. Many of the Carthaginians were ſlain; and thoſe in the army of Sicily that had taken part with them went over to them, about two hundred in number.

The Carthaginians had marched into Numidia; partly with an intention to make new conqueſts, and partly to chaſtiſe the revolted; whither they were followed by Agathocles with about nine thouſand men, and he there obtained a new victory.

Anxious to omit nothing that might anſwer his purpoſe, Agathocles ſent to Ophellas; a Greek, who had fought under Alexander, and who now governed Cyrene, a Greek colony of Africa; whom he invited to become his ally, and tempted him by the conqueſt of Libya and Carthage. Ophellas gave ear to theſe arguments, and ſent to Athens, demanding aid in this enterpriſe; and many of the Athenians, and other Greeks, were the more eaſily induced to comply becauſe their country, after many wars, was much troubled.

Ophellas began his march with ten thouſand well-armed troops; and as many more leſs orderly, who, bringing with them their wives and children, gave the army the appearance of a colony. He was alſo followed by chariots, and horſemen: but they had a very difficult

march through the Libyan deſerts; and, after a journey of two months, arrived at the army of Agathocles. Ophellas was received with every token of friendſhip and gratitude, his army provided with neceſſaries, and he was adviſed by Agathocles to give his weary ſoldiers refreſhment.

After a few days, when the greateſt part of the army of Ophellas was foraging, Agathocles harangued his ſoldiers, accuſed Ophellas of having under the appearance of an ally endeavoured to ſupplant him, enraged them, and led them againſt the Cyreneans. Ophellas made efforts to defend himſelf; but he had few troops near him, and was murdered. When this was accompliſhed, Agathocles put an end to the battle; promiſed great things to the Cyreneans, and won over the whole army without ſharing the command with an ally whom he had thus ſcandalouſly betrayed.

At the very time that Agathocles was committing this cruel act, Bomilcar was eſtabliſhing himſelf a tyrant. Each was ſo intent on his own plan that he overlooked the proceedings of the other. Had the Carthaginians fallen upon the camp of the Sicilians, when the latter attacked the Cyreneans, by affording the Cyreneans aid, they would probably have overthrown Agathocles. And had Agathocles attacked Carthage, when it was diſtracted with tumult and terror by the daring ambition of Bomilcar, he would have found very little reſiſtance.

Bomilcar muſtered his army in the new town, which was built near Old Carthage, and gave many their diſmiſſion; and, with five hundred citizens, who entered into his plan, and four thouſand ſoldiers, he proclaimed himſelf Sovereign. He marched his army into the town in five diviſions, and ſtrangled all who offered oppoſition. During the firſt confuſion, the Carthaginians imagined that the town was betrayed to the enemy; and, when they underſtood the truth, the young men armed againſt Bomilcar; while he cauſed the citizens to be ſtrangled in the ſtreets, and in the public place. At length meſſengers were ſent, and pardon was offered to the revolters; and Bo-

milcar and his adherents muſt have been in deſpair of ſucceſs, for they laid down their arms. The promiſe was kept with the other inſurgents; but Bomilcar, in defiance of an oath, was put to death after a ſhameful and tormenting manner.

Agathocles took much booty, and ſent thoſe of the Cyreneans whom he did not think proper for war on board of tranſports to Syracuſe: but, a ſtorm overtaking them, ſome of them were loſt, others were caſt on the Pithecuſian iſlands, Iſchia, Capri, and Procida, and but few arrived at Syracuſe.

When Agathocles heard that the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Antigonus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander, had aſſumed the regal title, he likewiſe proclaimed himſelf a King.

He then marched againſt Utica, which had revolted from him, and took three hundred priſoners before the town. After this, he required the inhabitants to ſurrender, and promiſed forgetfulneſs of the paſt: but, as they would not give up the town, he cauſed a large war machine to be built, on which he placed the priſoners and with them the catapultæ, ſlingers, and throwers of javelins; ὀξυβελεις; and thus placed the beſieged under the wretched neceſſity of diſcharging their miſſiles at their friends, if they would maintain their freedom. Utica fell into his power, and its ſtreets were filled with murder: nor were thoſe who took refuge in the temples ſpared. He likewiſe took Hippoacra; and was now in poſſeſſion of nearly the whole coaſt together with the inland countries of Libya, Numidia excepted.

Thus powerful in Africa, he ſtill had his cares concerning Sicily, built veſſels, and embarked accompanied by two thouſand men, leaving the command of the army to his ſon.

His generals had lately overcome Xenodocus; and the Agrigentini had renounced the noble project of giving freedom to Sicily, when Agathocles arrived at Selinus. Heraclea was once more conquered by him; and after that, on the north of Sicily, *Thermæ Himeraenſes*, or Termini, and *Cephalædium*, or Cefalu. He next marched againſt *Centoripa*;

toripa; into which he gained admiſſion by treachery, but was afterward repulſed with the loſs of five hundred men. He then took Apollonia, ſtrangled moſt of the citizens, and gave up the place to plunder.

Dinocrates, the leader of the fugitives, now took upon him to maintain the freedom of Sicily; after the plan had been renounced by the Agrigentini. Many perſons joined him; and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, of nearly twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which was chiefly compoſed of men whom war and misfortune had ſteeled againſt every hardſhip. Agathocles, with a much inferior force, dared not give battle though it was offered by his opponent, but ſaw himſelf cloſely purſued, and now experienced a reverſe of that fortune which he had hitherto found ſo favourable.

At firſt, his ſon Archagathus and principally the ſubordinate general Eumachus, who had conquered many towns and countries, were every where ſucceſsful: but, when the Carthaginians ſent thirty thouſand men againſt their foe, Archagathus having divided his army into three parts, Æſchrion a Syracuſian leader was defeated by Hanno with four thouſand men: and of eight thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, that were commanded by Eumachus, after a victory gained over him by Himilco, only thirty foot and forty horſe eſcaped. Archagathus retreated to Tynes; in which place he was ſhut up by Himilco, and Atarbas, or Adherbal, and began to feel famine.

Agathocles heard of the dangerous ſtate of his African affairs, at the time that he was preſſed by the continually increaſing power of Dinocrates in Sicily; and, reſigning the command of his army to Leptines, he watched for a favourable opportunity of ſailing to Africa: for there was a fleet of thirty Carthaginian ſhips that ſtood off Syracuſe. In a fortunate moment, eighteen veſſels ſent by the Tyrrheni arrived to his aid, and ran into port by night. Agathocles planned a ſtratagem with the Tyrrheni, ſailed with ſeventeen ſhips into the open ſea, and,

while he was purſued by the Carthaginians, the Tyrrheni left the harbour. Agathocles then turned upon his enemy; and the Carthaginians, finding themſelves between two fleets, were defeated; and loſt five of their veſſels, with the men they contained. Their general ſlew himſelf at the moment that his ſhip, though it eſcaped, was in imminent danger of being taken by the enemy.

Leptines, at the command of Agathocles, marched againſt Agrigentum, where he gained a victory over Xenodocus; and Agathocles, after his victory over the Carthaginians, being lord of the ſea, could now ſend proviſions for his troops in Africa.

Before he departed in perſon, he ſacrificed to the Gods for his victory; and frequently invited the principal citizens of Syracuſe to banquets. As he was naturally witty and jocular, he was on occaſions like theſe exceedingly ſocial. By ſuch means he won the good-will of many, and ſounded the opinions of many more, whoſe hearts were opened by wine. After he had in this manner proved the ſentiments of a great number, he invited five hundred of the principal people among them, cauſed them all to be maſſacred at his table, and then ſet ſail for Africa.

Here he found his army in a melancholy condition; and, it appearing to him neceſſary very ſoon to give battle, he was overcome with the loſs of three thouſand men. On the following night, when the Carthaginians were ſacrificing the moſt beautiful of their priſoners to the Gods, a fire broke out in their camp; and with the fire diſorder. Many were conſumed by the flames; and the confuſion was become general when five thouſand African ſoldiers, from the army of Agathocles, intending to go over to the Carthaginians, were by them miſtaken for enemies. Unprepared and diſordered, they all took to flight. Many miſtook their friends for foes; and the miſtake being mutual they mutually killed each other. The deſerters, terrified by fire and the cries they heard, marched back; and the army of Agathocles, imagining

gining itſelf attacked by the Carthaginians, was thrown into the ſame blind confuſion that had firſt occurred in the army of the Barbarians; and four thouſand men were in this manner ſlain.

All the Africans now revolted from Agathocles; who ſeriouſly began to conſider how he could quit the country: but he was in want of ſhips, the Carthaginians were lords at ſea, and he knew they would not make peace with him, but that they would endeavour to terrify others by his example from ſuch an enterpriſe in future. He therefore determined to take his youngeſt ſon, Heraclides, and a choſen troop, and ſecretly ſail to Sicily: thus treacherouſly leaving Archagathus and the army behind. Among other motives, he was induced to this by the dread that his eldeſt ſon, whom as it appears he juſtly ſuſpected of a forbidden intercourſe with his ſtepmother, would join with her in ſome plot that would bring him into danger. Cicero tells us * that the elder Dionyſius made his daughters ſhave him, becauſe he durſt not truſt a barber: nay that he even miſtruſted them, took the razor from them, and taught them the art of ſingeing away his beard, as it grew, with hot walnut ſhells. Agathocles could truſt neither wife nor ſon; and the latter, remarking his father's intention †, publicly declared it to the generals, the generals to the ſoldiers, and the tyrant was ſeized and bound.

Meanwhile a rumour was ſpread that the enemy was approaching: the ſoldiers in diſorder left the camp, and the guards of Agathocles marched out with their priſoner. The ſight of him inſpired ſome of the people with compaſſion, they ſet him at liberty, he got on board a boat by night, and thus left the army with his two ſons; who were both put to death by the ſoldiers.

Six leaders were then choſen, and a peace was concluded with the Carthaginians: the conditions of which were that the conquered towns ſhould be returned to them, but that thirty talents ſhould be given to

* Tuſcul. v. 20. † Diod. lib. xx.

the Sicilians, who ſhould be taken to Solus in the Sicilian province of Carthage: thoſe excepted who ſhould be inclined to enter the Carthaginian ſervice. Theſe conditions were obſerved to thoſe who kept their word: but others, who expected aid from Agathocles, endeavouring to keep poſſeſſion of the towns, were obliged to ſurrender, their general was crucified, and they were condemned in fetters to till thoſe lands that they before had waſted.

Agathocles having arrived in Sicily, he aſſembled an armed force, and marched to Egeſta; a town with which he was in alliance; where he obliged the inhabitants to give him the greateſt part of their money. This excited loud murmurs; and he cauſed the pooreſt citizens to be driven out of the town to the river Scamandros, where they periſhed. The rich and the principal people, men and women, he tortured in a variety of manners; ſome of which were of his own invention. He took a particular pleaſure in placing tiles upon the bodies of pregnant women, ſo as to cruſh the fruit of their womb. Inſtead of the brazen bull of Phalaris, he invented an iron bed which was hollowed in the form of a man. Each member was impriſoned by a bolt; and fire was then placed under the bed. Thus he exceeded the ingenuity of Phalaris: for, by this means, he could contemplate the countenance and pangs of the tortured.

When he heard of the murder of his ſons, being unable to revenge himſelf on the perſons of the murderers, he ſent ſome of his adherents to his brother Antandrus in Syracuſe; with a command to put all thoſe to death who were any way akin to the men who had made the campaign in Africa. This order was executed by Antandrus to its utmoſt extent: not only ſons, brothers, and fathers, but grandfathers, children in arms, women, all who were in the moſt diſtant degree related either by blood or by marriage with any of the warriors of Africa, were murdered on the ſea ſhore. Nor did any one dare to bury the bodies, terrified leſt they ſhould excite the rage of the monſter.

Agathocles

Agathocles continued to march from town to town, fortifying and extorting money from each, till his general, Paſiphilus, revolted from him, and went over to Dinocrates.

And now the courage of the tyrant was ſo ſunk that he propoſed to make peace with Dinocrates: offering that the latter ſhould return to Syracuſe, which city ſhould be free, and only demanding for himſelf *Therma*, or Termini, and *Cephalœdium*, or Cefalu, with their territories*.

The tyrant was now ſo enfeebled that Dinocrates refuſed theſe conditions. Diodorus ſays he thirſted after the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and felt himſelf ſtrong: being at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe.

Agathocles made peace with the Carthaginians, who received back all their towns and gave him three hundred talents, and two hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat.

At the head of five thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, he attacked Dinocrates; whoſe numbers were what I have before ſtated: but as ſome thouſands deſerted from him to Agathocles during the battle, it was won by the latter.

A part of the beaten army, having retired to a hill, came to a treaty with the tyrant: but, as ſoon as they had laid down their arms, they were all ſurrounded and maſſacred. According to ſome four thouſand, and according to Timæus ſeven thouſand, periſhed in this manner. The remaining fugitives he received in his army, and even reconciled himſelf to Dinocrates; who, till the hour of his death, a ſpace of ſixteen years, was entruſted by him in the weightieſt affairs. That Dino-

* Diodorus ſays *Therma*, without diſtinguiſhing which. *Thermæ Himerenſes* is the preſent Termini. *Therma Hydata* (warm water) is Sciacca; and this was the native place of Agathocles. But Termini and Cefalu are only half a day's journey from each other; and the lands of theſe towns joined: ſo that there can be no doubt which Therma Diodorus meant. Probably Agathocles choſe theſe towns that he might be able to attack the neighbouring territories of Carthage. Add to which, Cefalu was ſtrong, nay even unconquerable, from its ſituation, and had a good haven.

crates;

crates could confide in, or could gain the confidence of the tyrant, is a riddle which hiſtory has not expounded. Paſiphilus, who was ſeized and ſtrangled by Dinocrates, was the firſt ſacrifice to this alliance.

Agathocles ſailed to the Lipari iſlands; from which, without the ſmalleſt pretext, he extorted fifty talents. He obliged the inhabitants to give him the money which was preſerved in their *Prytaneum*, and conſecrated partly to Vulcan and partly to Æolus. Eleven of the ſhips that contained the plunder foundered, on their paſſage; and the people were confirmed in the opinion, which probably the fiction of Homer had inſpired, that Æolus ruled the winds.

As the twentieth book of Diodorus is the laſt which is complete, and as only ſome imperfect remains of the following books are extant, little is known of the latter part of the reign of Agathocles. He had it in contemplation a ſecond time to attack Carthage, when he determined to name his ſon Agathocles as his ſucceſſor *. He therefore ſent him to the country of Ætna, with letters to his nephew, Archagathus, ſon of the Archagathus who fell in Africa, who was at the head of the army, ordering him to reſign the command of the army and the fleet.

Archagathus, having made his uncle drunk, cauſed him to be murdered; and at the ſame time wrote to one Menon to put his grandfather to death. This Menon had been brought from Egeſta, by Agathocles; and had obtained great promotion, becauſe of his beautiful form: but he nurtured the deepeſt reſentment in his heart, againſt the tyrant, for the cruelty he had exerciſed in Egeſta; and killed him by the means of a poiſoned toothpick.

Thus was Sicily delivered from this deſpot; who had reigned twenty-eight years, and lived to the age of ſeventy-two. He died in the fourth year of the 122d Olympiad, 287 years before the birth of Chriſt; murdered, at the inſtigation of his grandſon, by the hand of his favourite.

* Diod. Ἐκλογαι, vol. ii. p. 491. ed. Weſſ.

Menon

Menon put Archagathus to death by artifice, gained over the army, and endeavoured to ſeize the government. The Syracuſians ſent Icetes againſt him, the Strategus whom they had choſen: but, Menon being favoured by the Carthaginians, they found themſelves obliged to conclude a peace, give the Carthaginians four hundred hoſtages, and to receive the fugitives. The foreign mercenaries afterward occaſioned a tumult, becauſe they were not held capable of enjoying the dignities of the republic; and at length it was agreed that they ſhould be permitted to ſell their effects, and depart from Sicily. Theſe wanderers were kindly received by the people of Meſſina, whom they ſlaughtered during the night, and ſeized on the women and the city *. They were *Campani*, and called themſelves *Mamertini*; after Mars, the god of war, whoſe name among the Carthaginians was *Mamers*.

Not ſuffered to enjoy themſelves in undiſturbed repoſe, the Syracuſians were haraſſed by Carthage, and ſent ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus †, the King of Epirus; who had marched to aid Tarentum againſt the Romans, and who, after two ſplendid but bloody victories, ſuffered a defeat, and was intending to return; when two different projects excited the enterpriſing ambition of this conqueror. He learned from Greece that Ptolemy, ſurnamed Ceraunus, had fallen in a battle againſt the Gauls; who had overrun Macedonia and Illyria: and the hope that he might ſeat himſelf on the throne of the man whom he imitated, and to whom he was related, the great Alexander, was flattering.

On the other part, he had long deſired the conqueſt of Sicily. He might indeed very probably be received as the ſucceſſor of Agathocles, in Syracuſe; for he had married his daughter, Lanaſſa. though ſhe had deſerted him, for Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pyrrhus had already conceived his campaign in Italy when he was warned by Cineas, his ſage counſellor and friend, of the power of the Romans; who were a warlike people, and who governed many armed nations. "Should

* Diod. Ἐκλογαι, vol. ii. p. 493. † Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

" ſome god," ſaid he, " aſſiſt us to conquer theſe Romans, of what " advantage will this victory be?

" Of what advantage, Cineas? None of the Barbarian towns, nor any " of the Greek cities in Italy, would then be able to reſiſt us. We " ſhould be in poſſeſſion of all Italy!"

" And what," after a ſhort pauſe ſaid Cineas, " ſhall we do, when " we have conquered Italy?"

Not remarking to what the queſtions of Cineas led, Pyrrhus replied, " Sicily, that fortunate and populous iſland, will reach out her hand " an eaſy conqueſt! Since the death of Agathocles, every thing there " has been in confuſion; ſubjected to the anarchy and phrenſy of the " demagogues."

" So be it;" ſaid Cineas. " Is Sicily then to be the end of our ca- reer?"

" The Gods having granted us this ſucceſs, the field will be open " for greater conqueſts. Libya and Carthage would lie within our " graſp. After ſecretly departing from Syracuſe and eſcaping with a " few ſhips, were they not ſubdued by Agathocles and his handful of " men? And, having conquered theſe, who will then affirm that any " one of the enemies, by whom we are now defied, will dare to offer " reſiſtance?"

" I grant you, none."

" It is evident we ſhall then reconquer Macedonia *; and, thus " ſtrengthened, ſhall be ſecured in the poſſeſſion of all Greece."

" Well! Suppoſe all this performed: what ſhall we do then?"

Pyrrhus laughing anſwered—" Then, my dear Cineas, we will live " at our eaſe, will banquet and enjoy ourſelves in pleaſant converſa- " tion."

" And what," ſaid Cineas, " prevents us now, oh King! if we deſire

* Pyrrhus had conquered Macedonia, and loſt it again; after having been declared King of that country. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

" it,

" it, from banqueting, converſing, and living at our eaſe? now, that we " have the power? Why go in queſt of that which we have, at the " expence of ſo much labour, danger, and blood?"

Having conceived the plan of quitting Italy, Pyrrhus preferred accepting the invitation of Syracuſe to the recovery of Macedon. With Syracuſe, the Agrigentini and Leontini offered themſelves; if he would deliver the iſland from the Carthaginians and tyrants. Accordingly, he left a garriſon in Tarentum and ſailed to Sicily, with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe.

He was ſhortly in poſſeſſion of the Sicilian territories of Carthage; after he had firſt mounted the walls in perſon, and conquered the fortreſs of Eryx. To the Carthaginians who demanded peace, he anſwered it ſhould be granted, on condition that the Libyan ſea ſhould be their limits: and he humbled the Mamertini; who from Meſſina attacked the Greek towns, and obliged ſome of them to pay tribute.

Soſtratus and Thœnon, the chiefs of the Syracuſians who had invited him to Sicily, opened the city gates to him, and powerfully favoured all his meaſures: but he was ſuſpicious of them, and had no inclination either to take them with him or to leave them behind at Syracuſe. Soſtratus remarked his ſuſpicion and deſerted him; and he accuſed Thœnon of a ſecret underſtanding with Soſtratus, and put him to death. This occaſioned him to be hated by the towns; ſome of which allied themſelves with the Carthaginians, and others aſked aid of the Mamertini: ſo that the letters from the Samnites and the people of Tarentum, preſſing him to bring them aid againſt the Romans, were highly welcome to Pyrrhus. He ſeized this opportunity, ſailed back with his troops, and, caſting a look toward the iſland, exclaimed to thoſe around him, " What a theatre of war have we left, for the Car- " thaginians and the Romans!"

His prediction was fulfilled: theſe people fought in Sicily for the poſſeſſion of the iſland, and with it for the ſovereignty of the world. The occaſion was as follows.

The Campanian ſoldiers, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſina by treachery and murder *, made other towns tributary, moleſted both the Syracuſian lands and the Sicilian territories of Carthage, and found allies in four thouſand Roman ſoldiers that had been ſent by Rome to Rhegium, at the requeſt of the inhabitants as a garriſon, when Pyrrhus came to Italy. At firſt, theſe ſoldiers had obſerved their duty: but, tempted by the ſituation and proſperity of Rhegium, and excited by the example of the Campani, they thirſted to poſſeſs it, drove out ſome of the inhabitants, maſſacred others, and made themſelves lords of the city.

At this time the Romans were ſo buſily employed, with their enemies, that they could not notice the crime: but, as ſoon as they had a moment's leiſure, they ſent an army againſt theſe inſurgents; the greater part of whom, knowing the fate that awaited them, fell ſword in hand. Three hundred of them were taken, ſent to Rome, ſcourged, and decapitated; and the citizens of Rhegium were again put in poſſeſſion of their town, and its territories.

A ſhort time previous to this event an army of Syracuſians, that lay before Morgentium †, diſſatisfied with the people who governed in Syracuſe, had choſen Artemidorus and Hiero as their chiefs. Hiero was yet very young; but had already ſhewn eminent qualities, and was likewiſe deſcended from the family of the great Gelo. By the aid of ſome friends, he ſucceeded in overpowering Syracuſe and his opponents, and uſed his good fortune in ſo gentle and dignified a manner that, though the Syracuſians could not but be diſpleaſed at the audacity of the ſoldiers, they were ſtill induced to approve their choice and elect Hiero to the office of Strategus.

Acquainted with the verſatility of the Syracuſians, and knowing

* Polyb. l. i.

† Αἱ δυναμεις των Συρακουσιων, διενεχθεισαι προς τους ἐν τῃ πολει, και διατριβουσαι περι την Μοργαντινην.—So we ought to read, with Caſaubon: inſtead of Μεργαντην, a name no where to be found in Sicily.

their

their propenſity to excite commotions whenever the Strategi were in the field with the army, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen the reſpect in which he was held by marriage; and took to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man whoſe power and good qualities acquired him conſideration.

The tumultuous and depraved manners of the mercenaries he thought leſs to be truſted than his fellow citizens themſelves; and, under the pretext of marching againſt the Mamertini, he led out his army and attacked the enemy near Centoripa; a town at the foot of Mount Ætna. When, advancing to battle, he came to the river *Kyamoſorus*, according to Cluverius the *Jaretta*, he halted with the Syracuſians, as if he meant to attack on another ſide, ſacrificed the ſtrangers to the ſword of the Mamertini, and led his native troops back to Syracuſe. This action, which by ſome who know how to ſeparate the idea of the uſeful from the idea of the good, may be called a ſtroke of policy, to me appears an indelible ſtain in the otherwiſe admirable life of Hiero *.

Soon afterward, he marched once more againſt the enemy; whom he defeated, near the river Longanus: *Fiume di Caſtro Reale:* in the territory of Mylæ or *Milazzo*, took the general priſoner, and after his return to Syracuſe was proclaimed King.

After the deſtruction of their friends in Rhegium and their own defeat, the Mamertini of Meſſina found themſelves in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and looked round in ſearch of foreign aid. One party called on the

* Cicero beautifully ſays: *Aliud utile interdum, aliud honeſtum videri ſolet. Falſo! nam eadem utilitatis, quæ honeſtatis eſt regula. Qui hoc non perviderit, ab hoc nulla fraus aberit, nullum facinus. Sic enim cogitans: "Eſt iſtuc quidem honeſtum, verum hoc expedit," res a natura copulatas audebit errore divellere; qui fons eſt fraudium, maleficiorum, ſcelerum omnium.*

On ſome occaſions, one thing appears to be uſeful; another juſt. 'Tis a miſtake. The uſeful and the juſt are inſeparable; and whoever is not convinced of this truth may be guilty of every fraud, and every crime. While he thinks to himſelf, This is juſt, but this is expedient, things connected in nature he will diſjoin: which is the ſource of evil deeds, deceit, and all villainy.

Carthaginians,

Carthaginians, to whom they ſurrendered the citadel; and another appealed to the Romans, and offered them the city.

The Romans, who were deſirous of giving every act of depredation the air of an act of juſtice, were greatly embarraſſed. They felt how unworthy it would be, after they had puniſhed their own citizens at Rhegium for the very crime committed by the Campani at Meſſina, to aid and protect theſe criminals. But they likewiſe with jealouſy beheld the Carthaginians ruling over many of the tribes of Spain, Sardinia, Corſica, and a part of Sicily; and were well aware that the poſſeſſion of Meſſina would ſerve the Africans as a bridge, for the invaſion of Italy.

The Senate weighed the advantage, weighed the diſgrace, and remained undetermined: glad no doubt to leave the deciſion to the people, and foreſeeing that they would fix their eyes more on the advantage to be gained than the injuſtice to be committed. One of the conſuls, Appius Claudius, was ſent with an army acroſs the ſtrait, took poſſeſſion of Meſſina, and ſoon conquered the citadel; though it was garriſoned by the Carthaginians. Acquainted with the ſuperior power of the enemy by land and ſea, and deſirous to avert a dangerous ſiege, he ſent ambaſſadors both to Carthage and to Syracuſe; requiring peace for the Mamertini. Being refuſed, he firſt ventured a battle againſt the Syracuſians, then againſt the Carthaginians, was the victor in both, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and deſolated the country of the Syracuſians and their allies *.

Theſe fortunate events induced the Romans in the following year to ſend the two conſuls, Octacilius and Valerius, with four legions and the troops of their Italian allies to Sicily; where moſt of the towns of the Carthaginians and Syracuſians revolted.

Hiero balanced the dread of the Greeks of Sicily againſt the hopes which might be placed in the Romans; and it appeared more reaſonable to confide in Rome than in Carthage: he therefore determined to

* Polyb. l. i. cap. xi. and xii.

make an alliance with the former. The propoſal was highly welcome to the Romans: eſpecially as they began to fear the want of proviſions; the fleets of Carthage being ſovereigns of the ſea. The conditions of this alliance were that Hiero ſhould ſurrender the priſoners, and pay a hundred talents in ſilver to the Romans; and that he ſhould likewiſe ſupply them with neceſſaries in the war.

From this time, Polybius tells us, Hiero governed Syracuſe in ſafety; and, anxious to win the garland of praiſe in Greece, gave public proof that it had long been his ambition to empower himſelf and his country to enjoy the fruits of his wiſdom *.

The Carthaginians made Agrigentum their place of arms: but this city, after a vigorous defence, ſurrendered to the Roman Conſuls †.

The hopes of the Romans were great, and no leſs great was the thought they conceived: a thought that might have been called madneſs, had it not been crowned with ſucceſs. Nor was this ſucceſs the work of chance, but of that contemplative daring which characterized them above all nations, and led them to accompliſh neither leſs nor more than what they undertook: while, enflamed by courage and inſpired by political genius, they ſtrided from height to height; nor feared, nor ſuffered from, the precipice beneath.

Utterly ignorant as they were in maritime affairs, they determined to deprive the Carthaginians of their ſovereignty by ſea: as well to rob them of the advantage of threatening Sicily and Italy, with their fleets, as to be able themſelves to bear fire and ſword into the hitherto ſafely protected Africa. The veſſels by which their army had been tranſported over the ſtraits had been obtained of the Greek towns of Italy: but they now reſolved to build a fleet of their own, which ſhould not only oppoſe but conquer maritime Carthage.

A ſtranded galley of the Carthaginians ſerved as a model for the firſt fleet of the Romans; who, while their new ſhips were building, exerciſed their youth for the intended marine ſervice. They ſeated them on benches on the ſtrand, ſimilar to the rowers' benches, taught them

* Cap. xvi. † Cap. xix.

to

to bend their body at the word of command *, and thus formed them-to labours with which they were previouſly unacquainted.

Sixty days did not paſs, after the felling of the timber was finiſhed, before a fleet of a hundred and ſixty ſhips rode at anchor: ſo that, according to the expreſſion of Florus, it appeared as if they had not been built by the art of man; but that, as a preſent from the Gods, trees had been metamorphoſed into ſhips †.

The Conſul, Cneius Cornelius, who had ſailed with ſeventeen ſhips to provide for the neceſſaries of the fleet, was ſhut up by Boodes, a commander of the Carthaginians, in the haven of the iſland of Lipari ‡. The Roman mariners eſcaped; but Cornelius was made priſoner in a treacherous manner, when invited to a conference with the Carthaginians §.

Soon afterward, Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, was in imminent danger of being taken; when, with fifty ſhips in order of battle, he attacked the Roman fleet, near the ſouth promontory of Italy; and, though he ſaved himſelf, he loſt moſt of his veſſels ‖.

As ſoon as the misfortune that had befallen the Conſul Cornelius was known by the officers on board the Roman fleet, they ſent to the other Conſul, Caius Duilius, who commanded the land forces; and he took upon him the command at ſea, and gave battle to the Carthaginians before *Mylæ*; the preſent *Milazzo*, on the north ſhore of Sicily, half a day's journey from Meſſina.

Well knowing they could not equal the Carthaginians, either in the lightneſs of their ſhips or the expertneſs of their mariners, the Romans invented a means by which they might eaſily board the enemy; and thus make victory the conſequence rather of perſonal valour than of maritime knowledge. They raiſed poles, or maſts, on the prow of each ſhip; which they provided with *corvi*: a kind of grappling

* Προς τα τε κελευτε παραγγελματα. The ancients were accuſtomed to row to the ſound of the flute. The flute player of a galley was called τριηραυλης.

† Flor. ii. 2. ‡ Polyb. lib. i. 21. § Flor. ii. 2. ‖ Polyb. lib. i. 21.

irons.

irons. Theſe maſts they could ſuddenly let down upon the ſhip of the enemy, grapple it faſt, and thus enable the ſoldiers to board.

The Carthaginians, in a hundred and thirty ſhips, rowed contemptuouſly and rapidly to oppoſe the Romans; who, ſtrangers to the ſea, had dared to defy them on their own element. Hannibal commanded on board a galley, with ſeven benches of rowers, which had been taken from Pyrrhus.

When the Carthaginians approached the Romans, they were aſtoniſhed at perceiving the unknown machines: but, holding their enemy in ſmall eſtimation, they eagerly began the attack. Their ſhips however were ſoon ſtopped in their progreſs by the *Corvi*, that deſcended in an inſtant and held them faſt: thus depriving the Carthaginians of the advantage they derived from the quickneſs of their manœuvres, and preſerved to the boarding Romans the ſuperiority which they poſſeſſed in the uſe of arms. Thirty of the Carthaginian ſhips, among which was the ſuperb galley of the commander, and their crews, were taken. Hannibal himſelf eſcaped in a boat.

The Romans ſoon afterward relieved Egeſta: but Hamilcar, being informed of a conteſt in the Roman army between the legions and their Sicilian allies, profited by the circumſtance; and, as they had ſeparated their camps, he fell unexpectedly upon the Sicilians; of whom he ſlaughtered nearly four thouſand.

In the courſe of the following year, Camarina, Enna, and other towns, were taken by the Romans.

Obliged to paſs over many circumſtances, I cannot omit to mention the ſea fight that happened off the promontory of Ecnomos; or *Monte di Licata*, near the town of Alicata; in which the conſuls, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulſo, obtained a ſplendid victory over Hamilcar and Hanno, took ſixty-four ſhips of the Carthaginians and their crews, and ſunk more than thirty*. None of the Roman ſhips were taken, but four-and-twenty were ſunk. The conſequences of this vic-

* Cap. xxviii.

tory were the carrying of the war into Africa; which country became the ſcene of the victories of the great Regulus, of his defeat, of his impriſonment, and of his voluntary death.

I ſhall confine myſelf to Sicily, except juſt caſting a glance on that dignified man; who lay five years in fetters at Carthage, and, when as a priſoner conducted to Rome by their ambaſſadors, who requeſted an exchange of priſoners, warned the Senate not to grant this requeſt: although he knew the cruelty that awaited him from the Carthaginians, who would revenge their country and the rigorous zeal with which he defended the warlike fame of Rome, by inflicting on him a death of torture *.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis oſculum,
Parvoſque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab ſe removiſſe, et virilem
Torvus humi poſuiſſe vultum;

Donec labantes conſilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque mœrentes amicos
Egregius properaret exul.

Atqui ſciebat quæ ſibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
Dimovit obſtantes propinquos,
Et populum reditus morantem,

Quam ſi clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros,
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum †.

HOR. lib. iii. od. v. 41.

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* Val. Max. i. 14, and Cic. Off. i. 13.

† At the time of the firſt Punic War, the Romans poſſeſſed no diſtant country houſes; neither in Venafrum, which was in Campania, nor in the territory of the then free Tarentum: though they inhabited theſe pleaſant countries in the age of Horace: who, in order to ſtrengthen the thought, appears to have indulged himſelf in an anachroniſm.

The

The hero ſpoke; and from his wedded dame
And infant children turn'd, oppreſt with ſhame
Of his fallen ſtate; their fond embrace repell'd,
And ſternly on the earth his manly viſage held

Till, by his unexampled counſel ſway'd,
Their firm decree the wavering Senate made;
Then, while his friends the tears of ſorrow ſhed,
Amidſt the weeping throng, the glorious exile ſped.

Nor did he not the cruel tortures know
Vengeful, prepar'd by a barbarian foe;
Yet, with a countenance ſerenely gay,
He turn'd aſide the crowd, who fondly preſs'd his ſtay;

As if, when wearied by ſome client's cauſe
After the final ſentence of the laws,
Cheerful he haſted to ſome calm retreat,
To taſte the pure delights that bleſs the rural ſeat.

FRANCIS.

Xantippus, a Lacedemonian, who, as General of the Carthaginians, had gained a victory over Regulus *, returned to Sparta; in order no doubt to avoid that envy which ſo frequently attends the glory acquired by a foreigner.

War was continued with various turns of fate; and the Romans, never greater than after misfortune, had fitted out a fleet which was dreadfully viſited by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Camarina †: where, of three hundered and ſixty-four ſhips, no more than eighty were ſaved. Within three months, they built two hundred and twenty new ſhips ‡; and ſet ſail with three hundred veſſels to *Panormus*, the preſent Palermo, and took this city: which was the chief of the Sicilian provinces of Carthage.

During the following year, they again loſt a hundred and fifty ſhips in a ſtorm: or more probably through the ignorance of their mariners: after which they renounced, for a certain time, any enterpriſe by

* Pol. lib. i. † Cap. xxxvii. ‡ Cap. xxxviii.

ſea: ſending none but tranſports with the ſupplies intended for their army, on the courage of which they very juſtly depended.

The Proconſul, Cæcilius Metellus, obtained an important victory over Aſdrubal, or Haſdrubal, the Carthaginian, in the territories of Panormus: which gave the Romans the greater pleaſure becauſe they had taken the elephants that a ſhort time before had filled them with the utmoſt dread *.

In the fourteenth year of this war, the Romans ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of the whole Carthaginian territory in Sicily; Lilybæum and Drepanum, or Marſalla and Trapani, excepted; and undertook the ſiege of the firſt-named city, which was defended with no leſs zeal by the Carthaginians than it was attacked by them: both nations conſidering the poſſeſſion of Sicily as the conſequence of the capture of Lilybæum. Excluſive of the citizens, this ſtrong place was defended, with valour, military ſcience, and ten thouſand ſoldiers, under the command of Himilco. Hannibal, another general of the Carthaginians, with fifty ſhips, brought the beſieged a reinforcement of ten thouſand men, in deſpite of the Roman fleet † (for the Romans had not continued firm in their reſolution of renouncing the ſea) which had not dared to oppoſe him when he entered the harbour. Hannibal ſoon ran out again by night, without being remarked by the Romans, and ſailed to Drepanum; on the preſervation of which every thing depended.

As the Carthaginians were extremely deſirous of receiving intelligence from Lilybæum, a Rhodian, who had aſſumed the Punic name of Hannibal, undertook to ſail in and out of the harbour, in defiance of the Roman fleet. The event proved that his dependance on the lightneſs of his veſſel, and on the maritime ignorance of the Romans, was well founded; for he ſeveral times, unpuniſhed, repeated this daring act: till at laſt he was taken by the Romans ‡.

Soon afterward, the beſieged, profiting by a ſtorm which had ſhat-

* Cap. xl. and xli. † Cap. 44. ‡ Cap. xlvi. and xlvii.

tered and damaged the works of the Romans, and taking the opportunity while the wind continued to blow, ſet fire to the war machines; the greateſt part of which they burnt, and the Romans found themſelves obliged to renounce the hope of taking the city by aſſault, and to place their whole truſt in preventing it from receiving proviſions and ſupplies *.

The Romans ſent a fleet, with ten thouſand men, commanded by the Conſul, Publius Clodius, to Sicily. The Conſul attacked Atarbas, or Adherbal, near Drepanum; but was beaten, and loſt ninety-three ſhips †.

After the victory, Atarbas ſent Carthalo with a hundred ſhips to Lilybæum, that he might deſtroy the fleet of the Romans. During the time that he was endeavouring to execute this plan, Himilco made a ſally upon the Romans, who ſuſtained great ſlaughter; and Carthalo in the interim burnt and took a part of the Roman veſſels, and haſtily left the remainder: having received information that a new fleet of the Romans was under ſail, which it was his intention to attack ‡.

This Roman fleet was under the command of the Conſul Junius; who had remained for a time at Syracuſe, and had paſſed the promontory of *Pachynum*, or *Capo Paſſaro*, when he diſcovered the approaching enemy and found himſelf obliged to run among the rocks, on the ſouth coaſt of Sicily, though at the utmoſt hazard, beyond the purſuit of the Carthaginian.

Carthalo caſt anchor near a promontory, from which he could watch not only this fleet of the Romans but another, that lay in the mouth of the river: by which he was ſtationed between the two fleets.

Perceiving the ſigns of an approaching ſtorm, the Carthaginian paſſed the promontory of *Pachynum*, and gained the open ſea; while both the fleets of the Romans were expoſed to the tempeſt, and all their veſſels entirely loſt §.

The Conſul, Junius, made every effort to counteract this misfortune

* Cap. xlviii. † Cap. xlix. to li. ‡ Cap. liii. § Cap. liv.

by

by ſome advantage; and obtained poſſeſſion, through the treachery of the garriſon, of the mountain Eryx and the town of the ſame name*.

In the eighteenth year of this war, Amilcar, or Hamilcar, of the race of Barcas, the great father of the great Hannibal, was appointed the General of the Carthaginians. Amilcar was but young, when he obtained this dignity †: the choice of the Senate therefore, in this inſtance, did the greater honour to Carthage.

After having viſited the ſouth coaſt of Italy, he landed with a fleet on the territory of Panormus; where he took poſſeſſion of the mountain *Eirta*, or *Monte Pellegrino*, near Palermo. Steep on all ſides, large, abundant, unmoleſted by venomous reptiles, flat on the top, and therefore favourable for the purpoſe, Hamilcar here built as well toward the ſea as the land; with which the mountain was connected by a kind of narrow cape, which as a paſs was eaſy of defence. It appeared by nature to be deſtined not only as a fortreſs but a watch tower, that overlooked land and ſea to a great diſtance. Add to which, the foot of the mountain afforded a bay, which was a convenient harbour for the ſhips of the Carthaginians.

On this mountain Amilcar fixed his camp; and, ſurrounded by foes, unable to congratulate himſelf on the aid of any allied town, from this place he attacked the Romans by land and ſea; although they were in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. He even ventured to quit this ſtrong hold, and ſail far enough with his ſhips to lay waſte the coaſt of Cumæ; and, for a continuance of nearly three years, fought many great battles with the Roman army; which was only diſtant five ſtadia, or three thouſand feet, from Panormus.

* Cap. lv.

† *Hamilcar primo Pœnico bello, ſed temporibus extremis, admodum adoleſcentulus in Sicilia præeſſe cœpit exercitui* ‡. That is, "Hamilcar, during the firſt Punic War, but toward the end of it, while a very youth, began to command the army in Sicily." Now, as Hannibal his ſon was born in the following year, the expreſſion *admodum adoleſcentulus* is evidently too ſtrong.

‡ Corn. Nep. in Hamilc.

He

He likewiſe took the town of Eryx; although the Romans had one camp on the top of Mount Eryx, and another at the bottom. Now beſieging, and now beſieged, Amilcar proved himſelf to be a general of the firſt order; for, during two years to the end of the war, he ſupported himſelf and his little troop againſt two armies; and frequently endured the difficulties of that dearth which he inflicted on the neighbouring enemy *.

The Romans once more determined, for the third time during this war, to fit out a fleet: for which purpoſe the exhauſted treaſury was repleniſhed by voluntary donations of the principal citizens; and two hundred galleys, with five benches of rowers each, were built after the model of the veſſel in which the Rhodian had ridiculed their ignorance of ſhip-building, and navigation, at Lilybæum †.

To counteract theſe intentions, Carthage ſent Hanno with a fleet and troops; that were to land at Eryx, and there not only take in proviſions but Amilcar with his beſt warriors: after which the fleet was to give battle to the Romans.

The Conſul, Lutatius, who commanded the new fleet of the Romans, haſtened to meet Hanno; that he might give battle to the over-burthened ſhips of the Carthaginians, and avoid a combat with the dangerous warriors of Amilcar: and, what muſt appear to him ſtill more dangerous, with Amilcar himſelf. The battle was fought with better ſhips than the Romans had hitherto poſſeſſed; and they attacked the heavy loaded ſhips of the Carthaginians, the crews of which on this occaſion were haſtily collected, and unſkilful ſailors. With reſpect to the Carthaginian ſoldiers, they were not to be compared with the warlike Romans. The firſt onſet was deciſive: the Romans ſunk fifty of the enemies ſhips; and took ſeventy, with their crews.

After this defeat, the Carthaginians gave Amilcar full power to make war, or peace; and the hero, no leſs ſage than valiant, who had left no means of victory untried, and having gained it neglected no ad-

* Cap. lviii. † Cap. lix.

vantage,

vantage, yielded to neceſſity with dignified moderation, and ſent ambaſſadors to demand peace of the Conſul.

The demand was granted, with ſome ſtipulations on the part of Rome. The Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, and the Lipari iſlands; and to bind themſelves neither to moleſt the people of Syracuſe nor their allies: beſide which a tribute was impoſed upon them *.

Thus ended the firſt Punic war; 240 years before the birth of Chriſt, in the third year of the 134th Olympiad, and 512 from the building of Rome; after this war had continued four-and-twenty years.

The Romans had now made a deciſive ſtep toward the ſovereignty of the world, for they ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sicily; which was the firſt province they held beyond the confines of Italy †.

Hiero lived five-and-twenty years after the concluſion of the firſt Punic war. He had aſcended the throne by merit, and reigned over a people zealous for the freedom which they were incapable of maintaining. Nor did he ſupport his government by the ſhedding of blood, or the baniſhment of a ſingle citizen ‡. He wiſely made virtue his ſupport, continued faithful to his alliance with the Romans, and viſited their city during the *Ludi Sæculares*; in the year of Rome 515.

After the victory of Hannibal over the Romans at Thraſymene, he ordered ambaſſadors to Rome to teſtify his affliction, ſent them archers, ſlingers, corn, a weighty *Victoria* in gold, and added the information that the Romans ought to ſend their Prætor who governed Sicily with a fleet to Africa, in order to prevent the Carthaginians from affording aid to Hannibal.

The Roman ſenate made honourable mention of his kindneſs, ac-

* Cap. lx. to lxiii.

† Four years afterward, the Romans, under a trifling pretext, obliged the Carthaginians to cede Sardinia.

‡ Polybius: Examples of Virtue and Vice, lib. vii. Eutrop. iii. 1.

cepted

cepted his preſents, and placed the *Victoria* in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Pliny mentions Hiero among the Kings who cauſed agriculture to flouriſh †.

By a regulation which was not oppreſſive to the farmer, he ſecured the public revenue by levying a yearly tythe of corn. "Whether "the corn were ſtill in ſheaf, or houſed in barns, or ſheds, the coun- "tryman could neither, by removal nor by exportation, cheat the "King's office of a ſingle grain. The regulations were ſo exact that "it is evident Hiero enjoyed only this tax ‡. Acute as a Sicilian, he "was as watchful as a tyrant. This very arrangement was beneficial "to agriculture; for ſo reſtricted was the power of the tythe collec- "tors that they could not take more of the farmer than their due §."

Theſe tythes were always commuted: a regulation which, from this period to the time that the Syracuſian diſtricts of Sicily came under the Roman power, from reſpect to Hiero and becauſe it was beneficial to the people, was wiſely continued by the Romans; till it was aboliſhed under the rapacious Prætor Verres, to whom nothing was ſacred ‖.

The generoſity of Hiero not only extended itſelf toward the Romans but to his other allies. He and his ſon, Gelo, when an earthquake had injured the city of Rhodes and thrown down the famous coloſſus, ſent conſiderable preſents in gold as well as ſilver veſſels to the Rhodians; with fifty *catapultæ*, or battering engines; and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected in Rhodes, which repreſented that city crowned by Syra-

* Liv. xxii. 37. † Plin. Nat. Hiſt. xviii. 5.

‡ There are proofs of Hiero having raiſed taxes on trade. When Cicero called the tythes the only tax, he ſpoke of the taxes paid by the farmer for his lands. Theſe were very ſupportable, in ſo fertile a country; and likewiſe very productive to the State.

§ Cic. in Verrem.

‖ Cic. in Verrem.

cuſe: added to which he remitted the uſual taxes, to thoſe Syracuſians who traded with Rhodes *.

We find an ample but intereſting deſcription, in Athenæus, of a magnificent and prodigious galley; that had twenty benches of rowers, contained an extraordinary number of perſons, and was not only provided with dreadful means of aſſault but with all that could delight the mind, and charm the ſenſe. Baths of bronze and of Tauromenian marble, ſtables, a gymnaſium, ſmall gardens planted with various trees and watered by pipes, the twining vine and ivy, a library, and a ſun-dial, were all in this galley. It had three decks; the ſecond of which was inlaid with variegated moſaic work, containing the whole hiſtory of Homer's Iliad. Every neceſſary for repoſe by night, and banqueting by day, was provided with a regal luxury.

As much timber was brought from the foreſt of Ætna, for the building of this galley, as would have ſufficed for ſixty ordinary galleys. It had three maſts; and, on the upper deck, it was fortified round with a wall, and eight towers like a citadel. Each of the towers contained four combatants, completely armed, and two archers. Within, the towers were provided with miſſiles, and ſtones; and on the walls ſtood a kind of artillery-machine, invented by Archimedes, which threw ſtones of three hundred weight, and a lance twelve ells in length, to the diſtance of a ſtadium: or ſix hundred feet.

Each ſide of the wall was provided with ſixty young men, well armed; and there were ſhooters even in the maſt-cages †. Round the upper deck was an iron rim; where there were machines placed which would act immediately againſt an enemy's ſhip, hold it faſt, and draw it to the galley. A tree ſufficiently large for the main maſt was long ſought for in vain: till a hog driver found one in *Brettia*, or *Bruttium*,

* Polyb. v. 88.

† Similar perhaps to the Top, or Round-top, of a man of war. T.

the preſent South Calabria *. The lower deck could be pumped by a ſingle man, with the aid of a machine which the Greeks called Κοχλιον; the Latins *Cochlea;* and which we, after its inventor, name the ſcrew of Archimedes.

When the wonderful work was completed, it was diſcovered that ſome of the havens of Hiero would not contain it; and that in others it was not ſafe. Hiero therefore ſent the galley † to King Ptolomy, Ptolomæus Philadelphus I ſuppoſe, as a preſent, to Alexandria ‡.

You will pardon me this borrowed but abbreviated deſcription, taken from Athenæus: as it appears to me, not only intereſting in itſelf, but, uſefully inſtructive to thoſe who have formed no juſt idea of the mechanics of the ancients. To ſuch perſons, I recommend the chapter in Athenæus which contains this deſcription; as well as others, in which greater ſhips of the Ptolomies are deſcribed: and of one which was built by Ptolomæus Philopater; that, rowers and warriors included, could contain ſeven thouſand men.

The great Archimedes was the relation and friend of Hiero, and was a ſage whoſe mind was exerciſed in the higher mathematics. Deeply abſorbed in the reſearches of this profound ſcience, he was but little deſirous to employ himſelf in exciting the wonder of the multitude, who were incapable of following him in his abſtract contemplations. Happening one day, in the preſence of Hiero, to affirm that all bodies, even the earth itſelf, give him but a point to ſtand upon, might be removed, the King preſſed him to prove his aſſertion by ſome viſible

* Inſtead of Βρεττιας, it was uſual to read Βρεττανιας: which brought the main maſt of the galley of Hiero from England! Caſaubon diſcovered the error, and reſtored the true reading.

† We muſt evidently read, with Cauſaubon, Επει παντας τους λιμενας ηκασε τους μεν ως ε δυνατοι εισι την ναυν δεχεσθαι, τους δε και επικινδυνως υπαρχειν. As the haven of Syracuſe is one of the moſt capacious and ſecure in the world, I conjecture that Hiero had no inclination to widen the entrance for this veſſel.

‡ Athen. l. v. cap. 10, 11.

experiment: on which, Archimedes bought an old galley, cauſed it to be loaded and manned, and, ſeating himſelf at a diſtance from it, by the eaſy working of a machine, drew it toward him over the ground as glidingly as if it had been in the ſea. The King was amazed! and, by entreaties, prevailed on him to conſtruct thoſe famous war machines which even now, when ſcience has taken ſtrides ſo vaſt, excite aſtoniſhment but are not equalled *.

The poet Theocritus, a Syracuſian, flouriſhed in the time of Hiero.

Livy informs us that Gelo, the eldeſt ſon of Hiero, after the battle of Cannæ, deſpiſing his father's age, revolted to the Carthaginians; and would have changed the ſtate of Sicily, had he not, fortunately at the moment when he was arming the people and exciting the allies, been cut off by death: of which his father has been ſuſpected to be the cauſe †.

Hiero deſerves to be vindicated from a ſtain ſo black as this; and we have the expreſs teſtimony of Polybius that Gelo, who was above fifty years of age, had conſidered it as one of the nobleſt purpoſes of life to obey his father; and neither to value wealth nor the ſplendour of power ſo highly as that obſervance of faith, and love, which he held to be due to his ſeniors. Polybius lived only one generation after Hiero; and Livy two hundred years: the hiſtory therefore of the incidents of that age by Livy deſerves leſs to be credited than the teſtimony of the Greek writer ‡.

Hiero died in the firſt year of the 141ſt Olympiad, 538 years after the building of Rome, and 214 before the birth of Chriſt, at the age

* Plut. Life of Marcel. † Liv. xxiii. 30.

‡ Polybius, Examples of Virtue and Vice, l. vii. Of the writtings of Polybius the remains only of his hiſtory have deſcended to us; which conſiſted of forty books. The five firſt are perfect: beſide which there are large fragments of the twelve following books; and examples from his hiſtory, which were extracted by the Greek Emperor, Conſtantinus Porphyrogenetes. One of theſe is entitled "On Virtue and Vice," the other "On Embaſſies."

of

of ninety; and after he had reigned four-and-fifty years. He would have frequently reſigned the ſovereignty, and again made Syracuſe a free ſtate: but, according to the teſtimony of Polybius, he was entreated to retain it by the people. Livy ſays that, when he was very old, he would have laid down his dignities; fearful the power ſhould be abuſed that ſhould deſcend to his grandſon, Hieronymus; but that he was prevented by his two daughters, and their huſbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who hoped to reign under the name of the young King: and that Hiero, at the age of ninety, was unable to withſtand their careſſes *.

Hiero when dying exhorted the young Hieronymus to remember the principles of his education, and to continue faithful to that alliance which he had preſerved during fifty years with the Romans; and he likewiſe appointed fifteen guardians, who were to conſtitute a council of ſtate †. Soon however after the death of the old King, Andranodorus removed his fourteen colleagues, himſelf renouncing in appearance at the ſame time his guardianſhip of Hieronymus; whom he proclaimed as no longer a minor, Hieronymus being then fifteen years of age. But his true intention was to take the power to himſelf, and ſhare it with Zoippus. The young king nevertheleſs liſtened to one Thraſo, who was the only perſon that adviſed him to continue his friendſhip with the Romans.

A conſpiracy was diſcovered, againſt the life of the young king, by a coxcomb of the ſame age as Hieronymus, who was accuſtomed to be in his ſociety: but he could name none of the conſpirators, except Theodotus, who had invited him to participate in the plot. Theodotus was ſeized, and acknowledged himſelf guilty: but no tortures could wring from him the names of his aſſociates. Being at length

* Compare the ſeventh book of Polybius, on Examples of Virtue and Vice, with Livy xxiv. 4.

† Cap. iv. and v.

obliged

obliged to yield to pain, he named ſeveral of the friends of the king; and, among others, Thraſo, that he might turn aſide ſuſpicion from his confederates, by accuſing the innocent. The accuſed were put to death; while the conſpirators remained undiſcovered, not one of whom concealed himſelf, or left the city, but depended on the fortitude of a man who, it is true, ſhewed himſelf worthy of this confidence relatively to them, but who, for this purpoſe, indulged himſelf in calumny the moſt criminal and the moſt hateful*.

By the death of Thraſo, the laſt bond of union with Rome was broken: ambaſſadors were ſent to Hannibal, who in return ſent a young Carthaginian nobleman, named Hannibal, and with him Hippocrates and Epiſydes, two brothers, whoſe grandfather had been a fugitive from Syracuſe: but they were born in Carthage, of a Carthaginian mother.

The Roman territorial prætor, Appius Claudius, likewiſe ſent an ambaſſador to Hieronymus: but they treated him with ridicule, and queſtioned him concerning the circumſtances of the defeat at Cannæ. After ſeriouſly warning him againſt revolt, the Roman departed.

Hieronymus ſent his envoys to Carthage; and the treaty was concluded: Stipulating that, "as ſoon as the Romans ſhould be driven out "of Sicily, the river Himeras ſhould be the boundary between the "territories of Carthage and Syracuſe †."

Being reminded by flatterers that he was not only the grandſon of Hiero but by his mother likewiſe of Pyrrhus, he ſoon afterward ſent another embaſſy; in which he now demanded the ceſſion of all Sicily, leaving Italy to Carthage. The Carthaginians laughed at the vanity

* Cap. v.

† Not only the *Fiume Grande*, on the north, but the *Fiume Salſo*, which runs into the ſea on the ſouth ſhore of Sicily, and which both proceed from one ſpring, was probably called *Himeras* by the ancients: as I have already ſhewn there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, in the lxxxvith letter.

of

of his demand; to which however they avoided giving an abſolute refuſal, leſt he ſhould again ally himſelf to the Romans *.

In the phrenſy of his ambition, Hieronymus led an army of fifteen thouſand men againſt Leontium; intending to ſeize this city, and the Roman territories; and the conſpirators, perceiving this to be a favourable opportunity, aſſaſſinated him in a narrow way †.

Hieronymus reigned thirteen months.

At firſt, the enraged army ſtormed aloud, and the blood of the aſſaſſins they declared muſt be ſacrificed to the manes of the murdered King: but the frequently deceiving ſound of freedom, and the hopes of ſharing the treaſure of the deceaſed, whoſe cruelty and voluptuouſneſs were now no doubt exaggerated, ſoon turned the tide, and the fickle multitude, whoſe affliction and thirſt for revenge were at firſt ſo violent, were now ſo entirely forgetful of the King that they ſuffered his body to remain unburied ‡.

While the other conſpirators remained behind to ſecure the army, Theodotus and Soſis rode to Syracuſe on the King's horſes: yet a meſſenger was there before them, and Andranodorus had already placed a guard in the iſland, the citadel, and other parts. They rode through the gate Hexapylon, to that part of the city called Tyche, and from there to Achradina, every where ſhewing the bloody robe of the King. They ſummoned the people to Achradina: or *Acradina*; for ſo was that large quarter of Syracuſe called which ſeparated the iſland Ortygia, the ſtrongeſt part of the city, from Tyche and the new town, or Neapolis §.

On the following morning, Polyænus, one of their chiefs, pro-

* Cap. vi. † Cap. vii.

‡ Polybius, who well underſtood the merits and demerits of men, grants that Hieronymus had been immoderate, and unjuſt; but denies that he ought, as ſome writers have affirmed, to be compared to the moſt infamous tyrants. Polyb. lib. vii. of Examples of Virtue and Vice.

§ Cap. xxi.

nounced

nounced a diſcourſe which breathed freedom and moderation. He reminded the Syracuſians that, " being acquainted with the diſgrace " of ſlavery, they ought to be more zealous in reſiſting an experienced " evil. They likewiſe knew, from the annals of their fathers, that " contention was an evil. He praiſed them for having taken up arms: " but he would praiſe them more, were they only to uſe them in caſe " of extreme need. Deputies might be ſent to Andranodorus, which " ſhould command him to ſubmit to the ſenate and the people, throw " open the gates, and every where diſmiſs the guards. Should Andra- " nodorus perſiſt in oppoſing them, freedom ought then, in his opi- " nion, to be more ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on from Andranodorus than " from Hieronymus."

The ſenate was aſſembled which, in the time of Hiero, had been conſulted on public affairs; but which, during the reign of Hieronymus, had never been convoked.

Andranodorus was appalled by the unanimity of the citizens; and that ſtrongeſt part of the city which was in his poſſeſſion, the iſland, was no longer under the guard of his adherents. A conference was held between him and the deputies; but he was called aſide from it by his wife Demarata, the daughter of Hiero: who, inflaming him with her ambition, adviſed him to ſend for the army from Leontium, and win it over by a promiſe of the royal treaſury. He perceived however that, for the moment, he muſt yield; and promiſed the deputies to ſubject himſelf to the ſenate, and the people.

Early on the following day, he opened the gate of the iſland, and appeared at the public place in Achradina. There he held a diſcourſe, exculpating himſelf from delay, and alleging that he did not know whether the people had not probably been angry with all that were related to Hieronymus: but, now that he perceived that thoſe who had made Syracuſe free intended to preſerve it in freedom, he had no views but thoſe of ſurrendering all that belonged to him, and all that was entruſted to him by his country. He then turned to the

conſpirators,

conſpirators, and addreſſed himſelf to Theodotus and Soſis by name. "You have performed," ſaid he, "a memorable deed: but, believe "me, your glory, though begun, is not completed. Imminent danger "is yet impending: for, if you do not reſtore peace and concord, the "free republic will become a morbid corpſe *."

After this oration, he laid the keys of the gates and the royal treaſury at their feet; and the aſſembly joyfully ſeparated. The temples were filled with men, women, and children, offering up vows for the weal of the republic: and Strategi were appointed on the following day. Of theſe, Andranodorus was one: the others were chiefly choſen from among the conſpirators.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the ſoldiers, returned to Syracuſe, and demanded an armed guard, that ſhould eſcort them back to Hannibal, who was with the Locri, in Italy; alleging that all Sicily ſwarmed with Romans. The Syracuſians would have been glad of their departure, but delay was inevitable; and, in the interim, theſe two youths aſperſed the ſenate and the nobles to the people, by the means of ſoldiers and deſerters: accuſing moſt of them of being allied with the Italians and Romans; and that, under the pretence of procuring their ſafety, they meant to betray them into the power of Rome †.

The people liſtened, believed the accuſations againſt their chiefs, and not only Epicydes but Andranodorus, excited by his wife, conceived new hopes. In concert with Themiſtus, who had married Gelo's daughter, the ſiſter of Hieronymus and the niece of Demarata, Andranodorus conceived a plan of ſeizing on the government; which he communicated to Ariſton, a player, who declared all he knew to the Strategi, and Andranodorus and Themiſtus were aſſaſſinated in the ſenate.

The act excited tumult: but, when the Strategi led Ariſton to the aſſembled Senate, and he there related that the conſpiracy began at the nuptials of Harmonia, the daughter of Gelo, with Themiſtus; that the

* Cap. xxii. † Cap. xxiii.

intention of the conſpirators was to aſſaſſinate the Strategi and the principal citizens, by the aid of African and Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were to be rewarded with the wealth of the perſons aſſaſſinated; and that the body of ſoldiers that had been the adherents of Andranodorus were again prepared to ſeize on the iſland Ortygia; it appeared to the Senate that the merit of the preſent aſſaſſination was no leſs ſelf-evident than that of Hieronymus had been.

The mixed voices of an irreſolute and tumultuous people reſounded through the Senate-houſe; and the bodies of the dead were there expoſed, in order to inſpire terror. They all ſilently proceeded to the general aſſembly; before which Sopatrus, one of the Strategi who had been a conſpirator againſt Hieronymus, at the command of his colleagues and the Senate, pronounced an inflammatory diſcourſe *, and excited the fickle and enthuſiaſtic Syracuſians againſt the wives of the two perſons aſſaſſinated: who, being princeſſes of the blood royal, had inſpired their huſbands with ambition.

A wild and univerſal cry now aroſe, that neither the princeſſes nor any one of the blood royal ſhould be ſuffered to live. "Such," ſays Livy, "is the nature of the multitude: they obey like ſlaves, or they "domineer like tyrants. Of that freedom which lies between the "extremes, they cannot endure to be deprived; yet have not the "capacity to enjoy it: nor do the ſupple agents of their anger often fail "to irritate the cupidity and intemperance of the multitude to ſtain "themſelves with blood and murder †."

Thus it happened at preſent. Scarcely had the Strategi made the propoſition, that the whole royal race ſhould be extirpated, before it was confirmed, proclaimed, and aſſaſſins were ſent, to put Demarata and Harmonia to death ‡.

* Cap. xxiv.

† *Hæc natura multitudinis eſt, aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modice nec habere ſciunt: et non ferme deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem et cædes irritent.*

‡ Cap. xxv.

Heraclea,

Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, lived retired with her two daughters: her huſband having been ſent by Hieronymus to the king of Egypt, where he had rather preferred to reſide than in the reſtleſs Syracuſe. When ſhe heard that ſhe likewiſe was to fall, ſhe and her daughters fled to the inmoſt ſanctuary of her houſehold gods: where, in their mourning robes and their hair diſhevelled, the trembling virgins waited, expecting death.

In vain did Heraclea conjure the aſſaſſins, now by the memory of Hiero, and now of Gelo, not to confound the guiltleſs with the vices of Hieronymus. "Did any man now," ſaid ſhe, "inform my huſband "of the death of Hieronymus, and that Syracuſe is free, how would "he haſten to his ſhip, and joyfully reviſit his country! Alas! how "deceitful are the hopes of men! Now, in free Syracuſe, the ſword is "ſuſpended over his wife and daughters! What is to be feared from a "woman, who lives like a widow? or what from orphan virgins? If "the whole royal race be ſo hateful to you, Oh ſend us to Alexandria! "the wife to her huſband, the daughters to their father!"

Perceiving the aſſaſſins, deaf to her remonſtrances, draw their ſwords, regardleſs of herſelf, ſhe entreated only for her daughters; whoſe tender age might well inſpire compaſſion! Entreated that, while they were ridding themſelves of tyranny, they would not imitate the crimes of tyrants! Deaf to all ſhe ſaid, they dragged her from the ſanctuary, and murdered her.

They then aſſaulted the daughters; who, ſprinkled with their mother's blood, frantic in terror, broke from their gripe: again pitileſsly were ſeized, again with freſh wounds eſcaped, till, at laſt, mangled and disfigured with blood, they fell, overwhelmed with ſtabs, juſt as an order for their pardon too late arrived.

The rage of the people changed to compaſſion, in behalf of the murdered princeſſes; and this compaſſion to anger, againſt the exciters and haſty executors of the murderous command. New Strategi, to replace the deceaſed Andranodorus and Themiſtus, were demanded;

and the Strategi in office well perceived that the approaching election would not be conducted according to their desires *.

The people being assembled, one of the lowest among them put Epicydes, and another Hippocrates, in nomination; and numerous voices supported this choice: which was the more easily favoured because a great part of the assembly consisted of soldiers, and fugitives, to whom every change was acceptable. In vain did the Strategi endeavour to oppose their election: overpowered by the crowd, and fearful of commotion, they were obliged to acknowledge the candidates as their colleagues.

Wholly in the interest of Carthage, Epicydes and Hippocrates were chagrined that ambassadors had been sent to Appius Claudius, the prætor of the Roman province. Appius had sent information of this to the Consul, Claudius Marcellus, who was expected in Sicily; and he had deputed envoys to Syracuse. Their arrival however was unfavourable: for the appearance of a Carthaginian fleet, off the promontory of *Pachynus*, or Capo Passaro, was publicly announced; and Hippocrates and Epicydes, now throwing off the mask, accused their colleagues of an intention to betray Syracuse to the Romans, by putting it into the hands of the Roman soldiers and deserters. Some ships, which Appius had sent to the mouth of the haven for the encouragement of those who favoured Rome, gave a colouring of probability to this accusation; and the people immediately rose to defend themselves against the Romans, should they attempt to land †.

The citizens were convoked, and addressed; and the confusion was so great that an insurrection was feared. Apollonides, a principal citizen, calmly harangued them on the necessities of the moment, exhorted them to concord, and pointed out the necessity of coming either to an undivided and determined declaration in favour of the Romans, or of the Carthaginians. He thought the decision of greater importance than the choice: though he urged political and moral motives in

* Cap. xxvi. † Cap. xxvii.

favour

favour of an alliance with the Romans, whoſe friendſhip they had maintained above fifty years. He placed before them the example of Hiero, and the oppoſite conduct of Hieronymus; and concluded with the remark that, if war were declared againſt Carthage, there would be no immediate occaſion of combating: but, if againſt the Romans, they muſt inſtantly arm, and from that moment expect to be attacked.

The diſcourſe of Apollonides produced its effect. The people were eaſily convinced that they were incapable of ſuſtaining a war againſt Rome, and ambaſſadors were ſent to demand peace *.

A ſhort time afterward, deputies arrived from Leontium, requeſting protection for themſelves and their territory; and this appeared to be a favourable opportunity, to the chiefs of Syracuſe, of ridding the city of reſtleſs people, and dangerous leaders. The Strategus, Hippocrates, was commanded to head the ſoldiers and deſerters, who aſſembled under his banners, to the number of four thouſand men.

This enterpriſe was no leſs agreeable to the perſon ſent than to the perſons ſending, who were equally deſirous of a change of affairs. Hippocrates began with an outrageous attack on the Roman territory; and, when Appius ſent aid to the allied army, Hippocrates fell on the Romans with all his force, and put many of them to death. As ſoon as Marcellus heard this, he ſent to Syracuſe, complained of the breach of peace, and demanded the baniſhment of Hippocrates and Epicydes, not only from Syracuſe but from Sicily.

Epicydes departed to Leontium; where he found the citizens at that time diſinclined to the Romans, and, by rouſing them to their ancient love of freedom, excited them to revolt from Syracuſe: the government of which he deſcribed as tyrannical. Ambaſſadors being ſent from Syracuſe to complain of the injuries done to the Romans, they were arrogantly anſwered that the Leontini had neither agreed with the Syracuſians to conclude a peace with the Romans, nor did they hold themſelves bound by any foreign alliance.

The Syracuſians communicated this anſwer to the Romans; and

* Cap. xxviii.

declared

declared that, as the Leontini had renounced their alliance, the Romans were at liberty to make war upon them: nay that they would even aid them in this war, provided that, when they ſhould be ſubjected, it ſhould be a condition of the treaty of peace that Leontium ſhould become a part of the territory of Syracuſe *.

Marcellus now marched with his whole army againſt Leontium, commanded Appius to aid him in the ſiege, and the city was taken at the firſt aſſault by the enraged Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes took refuge in the citadel, and from thence eſcaped to *Erbeſſus*.

Eight thouſand men from Syracuſe were marching againſt Leontium, when they were met by a meſſenger; who acquainted them with the capture of the city, and related the cruelties committed by the Romans: which he exaggerated; affirming that, not only the ſoldiers of Leontium, but the citizens had been ſlaughtered. He did not believe an adult was left alive: the city had been plundered, and the property of the rich divided.

The uſage of war at that time gave probability to his relation; which was increaſed by the levity with which the Leontini had injured the Romans. The truth was, Marcellus had only ſcourged and decapitated two thouſand deſerters; but not one of the citizens, whom he had neither attacked in body nor in goods.

The calumny had a powerful effect on the army; which refuſed to proceed farther againſt Leontium, or to wait for further intelligence. Soſis and Dinomenes, their commanders, led them againſt Megara; and haſtened themſelves with a ſmall body of horſe to Erbeſſus, which place they hoped to gain by ſurpriſe: but, after an unſucceſsful attempt, they returned to head the army that they had ſent againſt Megara.

Deſpairing of being ſaved, Hippocrates and Epicydes determined to throw themſelves on the mercy of the army that was retreating: they being known to moſt of the ſoldiers, and having heard the impreſſion that had been produced by the falſehood of the meſſenger. The van-

* Cap. xxix.

guard

guard conſiſted of ſix hundred Cretans, who had lately ſerved with both theſe leaders under Hieronymus; and who likewiſe were devoted to Hannibal: becauſe, having been taken by him at the victory of the lake of Thraſymenus, he had ſet them at liberty. To theſe Hippocrates and Epicydes, according to the cuſtom of ſuppliants among the ancients, preſented the olive branch wound round with cotton; entreating that they might not be delivered up to the Syracuſians, who ſoon would deliver the Cretans themſelves to the aſſaſſinating ſword of the Romans*.

The Cretans immediately called aloud to them to be of good courage; for that they were ready, be it what it might, to ſhare their fortune. The army halted before the Generals knew why; and, when the rumour began to ſpread, that Hippocrates and Epicydes were preſent, the Generals haſtened to the banners in front of the army, and demanded of the Cretans if they were daring enough to hold intercourſe with enemies: nay more, to receive them in the army without the conſent of their leaders? and commanded Hippocrates to be put in fetters. The cries of the Cretans however were ſo frantic, and the conſent of the army was ſo loudly announced, that the Strategi were embarraſſed; and, proceeding in their march to Megara, ſent an account of this occurrence to Syracuſe.

To arrogance Hippocrates added treachery, and invented letters, from the Strategi in Syracuſe to Marcellus, which he pretended to have intercepted: letters which not only approved of the maſſacre of the Leontini, but which diſplayed intentions inimical to the ſoldiers; wiſhing that Sicily were freed from them, and even containing a requeſt that the Romans would attack the army before Megara, and by the ſlaughter of theſe men relieve Syracuſe from danger.

The reading of the letters excited the moſt furious exclamations. The ſoldiers aſſembled, ran to arms, and the fearful Strategi fled to Syracuſe; all the citizens of which, that were in the army, were

* Cap. xxx.

ſeized,

ſeized, and not one of them would have been ſpared, had not Hippocrates and Epicydes appeaſed the wrath of the revolters. This they did, not from humanity, but, that they might hold them as hoſtages.

Taught by experience how eaſily the people might be moved, they inſtructed a ſoldier, who had come from Leontium, to ſpread among the citizens of Syracuſe the falſe intelligence of the maſſacre of the Leontini; which had already produced ſo great an effect upon the army *.

Not only the multitude, but the Senate itſelf of this inflammable people, gave credit to this man's tale. They congratulated themſelves on their good fortune in having diſcovered the cruel ſpirit of the Romans before they had found an occaſion of inflicting the ſame diſgrace on Syracuſe!

The determination to ſhut the gates was general. To this moſt were induced by a fear of the Romans; but ſome took this ſtep as a well-founded precaution againſt Hippocrates and Epicydes. Theſe men however were already at the gate of Tyche, which is called Hexapylon, or the ſix-door gate, when the people immediately began to demand it ſhould be opened, and they and their army marched into the city. In vain did the Strategi command, threaten, and, forgetful of their dignity, condeſcend to entreat. The people were deaf, the army was admitted, Achradina was taken, and the Strategi were murdered; ſome of them excepted, who eſcaped amid the tumult.

Night put an end to the maſſacre; and the following day the ſlaves were ſet free, the priſons were opened, and a tumultuous aſſembly of this confuſed multitude elected Hippocrates and Epicydes as Strategi †.

When the Romans, who were at Leontium, heard of the tranſactions of Syracuſe, they began their march. The meſſengers, ſent by Appius, with difficulty eſcaped; their galley having been ſeized in the haven: ſo that not only the rights of peace but the laws of war were infringed. The Romans encamped fifteen hundred paces from the

* Cap. xxxi. † Cap. xxxii.

city at Olympion; a village ſo called, after the temple of the Olympian Zeus: whence they ſent deputies; whom, that they might not be admitted into the city, Hippocrates and Epicydes, attended by a guard, went to meet.

One of the Romans declared, "they came not as enemies, but as "deliverers: as well to thoſe who ſhould take refuge among them, as "to thoſe who were obliged patiently to ſubmit to ſhameful ſlavery. "They came as the revengers of betrayed and aſſaſſinated allies. If "thoſe who had deſerted to the Romans might be permitted to return, "and if the authors of murder and commotion were delivered up, Syra-"cuſe ſhould be reinſtated in its liberties and laws without an ap-"peal to arms.

Epicydes concluded an arrogant anſwer with obſerving that, "if "the Romans thought proper to attack them, the difference between "beſieging Leontium and Syracuſe would ſoon be diſcovered *."

The Romans now began to beſiege Syracuſe by land and water: which place conſiſted of four united towns. The fleet was commanded by Marcellus; the land forces by Appius; and both attacked the city with prodigious machines: playing upon it with *baliſtæ*, and *catapultæ*; the firſt to throw miſſiles, and the laſt to batter the walls; while the light-armed ſlingers and archers from the ſhips aſſailed the walls of Achradina, where the Syracuſians were ſeldom ſuffered to appear unchaſtiſed.

Aſſaults like theſe Syracuſe could not long have reſiſted, had not a ſage in the city, a ſingle ſage, familiarized with the ſtars of heaven and initiated in the wonderful ſecrets of ſcience, previouſly exerciſed his invention, out of friendſhip for Hiero, in the conſtruction of war machines; and had not the great man, now that his country was in danger, increaſed his former preparatory ſtores †.

* Cap. xxxiii.

† Compare Livy, lib. xxiv. 53, with Polybius viii. 5 to 8, and with Plutarch's Life of Marcellus.

Marcellus expected great conſequences from enormous ſtorming machines, or ladders; which were called after the *ſambuca*, a muſical inſtrument of the Greeks, and which were ſupported by two galleys braced to each other: the rowers of one ſitting on the right ſide, and the rowers of the other on the left. The machine was long, four paces broad, and provided with ſcaling ladders: the upper ends of which, being raiſed in the manner of a drawbridge, were let down againſt the wall. Connected as theſe ladders were with the galleys that carried them, they had been compared to the muſical inſtrument called the *ſambuca:* but the miſſile machines of Archimedes ſoon deſtroyed the *ſambuca;* for ſome of his machines caſt forth leaden bullets, and others fragments of rock of ten hundred weight: which ſhattered the *ſambuca* and the galleys.

Archimedes cauſed the walls in many places to be bored through; the outward apertures of which were ſmall, but within they were capable of containing a man; and from theſe the Syracuſians without danger to themſelves, diſcharged their ſmaller miſſiles and arrows *.

Archimedes, with inexhauſtible art, ſhowered and flung implements of deſtruction on the enemy, whether diſtant or near. Thus, when the Romans imagined that, by approaching the walls, they ſhould eſcape the danger of thoſe vaſt machines that aſſaulted them at a diſtance, they found themſelves annoyed with ſtones and arrows, from the ſecret receſſes, more furiouſly than before. The beſiegers could diſcover no protection againſt the well directed beams and ſtones, of incredible ſize, which were diſcharged upon their latticed turrets. (γερρα, *crates, plutei.*)

Archimedes had conſtructed vaſt engines behind the walls; which now ſuddenly ſunk the galleys of the Romans by inſtantly letting beams fall, at the end of which an enormous weight was faſtened; and now by the aid of other beams, provided with hooks which might be called iron hands, that no leſs rapidly ſeized on the galleys, lifted them up,

* Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxiv. and Plut. Life of Mar.

whirled

whirled them round in the air, hurling the crew on all ſides, and at laſt daſhing the ſuſpended veſſel againſt the walls.

So great was the terror that ſeized upon the Romans that, if they only ſaw but a cord hanging from the walls, or a projecting lath, they immediately took to flight: crying Archimedes is going to aſſault us with new machines *!

Marcellus thus ſaw himſelf obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade; and to cut off the ſupplies of the city, by land and water.

In the ſecond campaign he left Appius at the head of the beſieging army, and marched againſt other towns of Sicily that had taken part with the Carthaginians. Helorus and Erbeſſus ſurrendered; and Megara was taken by ſtorm, and ſacked, to the terror of the other towns: particularly of Syracuſe. This was about the time Himilco landed at Minoa; with twenty-five thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants.

Unremarked by the beſiegers, Hippocrates marched by night out of Syracuſe, with ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and encamped near Acrilla †: which ſituation muſt have been about half a day's journey north, beyond *Capo Paſſaro* ‡. Marcellus left Agrigentum, where his intentions had been fruſtrated, it having been previouſly taken by Himilco, and unexpectedly fell upon Hippocrates, defeated him, by the victory prevented ſeveral towns from revolting, and marched back to the camp of the Romans that lay before Syracuſe.

Himilco, after taking Morgentium §, endeavoured to induce ſeveral towns to declare in favour of Carthage; and Pinnarius, the Roman commander in Enna, diſcovered that the inhabitants had a ſecret underſtanding with Himilco. The chiefs of the town, pretending to feel offended at unmerited diſtruſt, demanded of him the keys of the gates; firſt entreating, then preſſing, and at laſt threatening; ſupported by the cries of the clamorous people: but Pinnarius had cautioned, armed,

* Liv. xxiv. † Cap. xxv. ‡ Vid. Cluv. Map. Sic. § Cap. xxxvi.

and arranged, his ſoldiers; who, on a given ſignal, ruſhed ſword in hand upon the inhabitants, who had no foreſight of this attack, maſſacred them in their rage, and in this manner preſerved one of the ſtrong holds of Sicily, which was impregnable, for the Romans. Marcellus favoured this action, and gave up the booty of the plundered Enna to the ſoldiers *.

Marcellus ſuffered Appius, who was deſirous of the conſular dignity, to depart for Rome; and, in his ſtead, gave the command to T. Quinctius Criſpinus; while he himſelf took up his winter quarters in a place called Leon, five thouſand paces from Syracuſe †.

In the ſpring of the third year, Marcellus was doubtful whether he ſhould march againſt Himilco and Hippocrates, and endeavour to conquer Agrigentum, or ſhould continue the ſiege of Syracuſe; which ſet his power at defiance, and unmoleſted received ſupplies from Carthage. He determined however to make a trial of artifice; by means of the fugitives from Syracuſe, who had taken refuge with him: but this was diſcovered, and Epycides cauſed thoſe in the city, who held correſpondence with the conſpirators, to be put to death with tortures.

Soon afterward, Damippus, a Lacedemonian ſent by the Syracuſians to Philip king of Macedon, was taken priſoner by the Romans. Epicydes wiſhed to ranſom him; to which Marcellus was not diſinclined, becauſe the Romans, at that time, began to ſhew themſelves well diſpoſed toward the Ætolians, who were the allies of the Lacedemonians. This negotiation occaſioned ſeveral meetings near a haven of Syracuſe; which, to diſtinguiſh it from the two others, was called after a neighbouring village the Trogilian haven.

From this place a Roman meaſured the height of the wall with his eye, counted the number of ſtones as they lay one over the other, found that according to his eſtimate the height was not ſo conſiderable as it had been ſuppoſed, and communicated his remarks to Marcellus;

* Cap. xxxvii. xxxviii. and xxxix. † Cap. xxxix.

who did not neglect the advice of the ſoldier, but only waited a favourable opportunity for carrying it into execution. This was ſoon afforded him, at the feſtival of Diana; which continued three days, and on which occaſion, as delicate viands were ſcarce in the beſieged city, the wine was the more liberally diſtributed by Epicydes.

Night being come and the ladders prepared, ſome ſelect warriors mounted the wall; and, encouraged by their example, others followed. From the wall they glided to the gate Hexapylon *; meeting with little reſiſtance, and putting their few opponents to the ſword. They now began to batter at one of the ſix doors of the gate Hexapylon. Mean while, all the trumpets of the Romans ſounded the aſſault on the walls; and ſome of the ſoldiers had already ruſhed forward to Epipolæ. When the morning appeared, the gate was forced, Marcellus marched with his whole army into that quarter of the city, and Epicydes, not ſuppoſing the enemy that had gained entrance thus powerful, haſtily left the iſland to march to Epipolæ: but, after a vain attack, retreated with his army to Achradina; leſs from the fear of the Romans than from the dread of treachery; and becauſe, if he longer delayed, he might find the gate that led from Achradina to the iſland blockaded.

When Marcellus, from the high ground where he was, overlooked the city, the tears ſtood in his eyes: partly ſays Livy from the joy excited by his ſucceſs, and partly by the remembrance of the former glory of Syracuſe. Imagination conjured up the ſunk fleets of the Athenians, and the deſtruction of their two mighty armies, with their two famous leaders. He recollected the dangerous wars that Syracuſe had waged againſt the Carthaginians, and the powerful tyrants and kings of that city: among whom he diſtinguiſhed Hiero the Great, whoſe recent memory he aſſociated with thoughts upon the fortune, the friendſhip, and the virtue of the man: which were the dearer to the Romans becauſe, while as a King he had ſteadfaſtly preſerved his

* Liv. xxv. cap. 23.

attachment

attachment to Rome, he had ſubjected his country by making himſelf its benefactor.

While this paſſed in his mind, the afflicting idea occurred that this noble city, probably within an hour, might be wholly conſumed by flames. Therefore, before he made an aſſault upon Achradina, he ſent ſome of the Syracuſians, that were with him, with conciliatory propoſitions: hoping they might be moved to a voluntary ſurrender *.

The walls and gates of Achradina were guarded by deſerters; who, deſpairing of pardon for themſelves, ſhut up every entrance againſt the perſons deputed by Marcellus, and refuſed them a hearing.

Marcellus ſtationed his army between Tyche and Neapolis; two quarters of Syracuſe; after he had made a vain attempt to perſuade Philodemus, the commander of the high fortreſs of Euryelus, to ſurrender. He choſe this ſtation becauſe the place was not the populous part of the city, that he might reſtrain the pillage of the ſoldiers; and hither deputies came to him, from Tyche and Neapolis, preſenting the olive branch, and entreating that they might be preſerved from murder and conflagration: and, after holding a council of war, he promiſed protection to the free. All others he gave up as the booty of the ſoldiers; and immeaſurable was the plunder of a city which had flouriſhed ſo long. Philodemus now ſurrendered the fortreſs of Euryelus; after he had procured a free retreat, for himſelf and his troops, to Epicydes.

Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, during a ſtormy night, ſecretly ſailed from the haven of Syracuſe, with five-and-thirty ſhips, left five-and-fifty behind, haſtened to Carthage, and ſoon returned with a hundred ſail †.

Hippocrates and Himilco came unexpectedly with an army upon the Romans; whom they attacked, aided at the ſame time by Epicydes and the garriſon of Achradina, while the Carthaginian fleet was ſo

* Cap. xxiv. † Cap. xxv.

ſtationed

ſtationed that it cut off all communication between Marcellus and Criſpinus: one of whom however repulſed Hippocrates, and the other Epicydes.

Nor were the evils of war ſufficient: they were increaſed by a peſtilence, the infection of which continued to ſpread in conſequence of the air of the place, the ſeaſon of the year, and the multitude of the ſick; eſpecially in the camps without the city, which were not ſheltered by the cooling ſhade of the houſes. The wailings of death were heard day and night; till the people were ſo accuſtomed to miſery that they firſt became indifferent, and afterward ſo bewildered that they not only beheld the dying without a tear, but likewiſe neglected to inter them: by which the air was rendered more peſtilential. The Carthaginians, who could neither fly to the towns, like their Sicilian allies, nor like the Romans had been ſufficiently long at Syracuſe to be accuſtomed to the air, all died; and, with them, their two generals, Hippocrates and Himilco. Of the Romans many likewiſe fell a ſacrifice to the contagion*.

The land army of Carthage having been thus deſtroyed, Bomilcar once more ſailed back with the fleet; and once more returned with a hundred and thirty war galleys, and ſeven hundred tranſports: but contrary winds would not ſuffer him to paſs the promontory of *Pachynus*.

Epicydes, fearful that theſe winds would induce Bomilcar once more to ſail to Africa, left the defence of Achradina to his leaders, and went on board the fleet of Bomilcar in order to perſuade him to hazard a battle.

Marcellus had likewiſe an inclination to engage, before Bomilcar ſhould be joined by his allies, and ſurround the Romans by land and ſea; for, ſhould that happen, Marcellus ſaw that all Sicily would arm, as enemies, againſt the Romans; he therefore ſailed to face Bomilcar.

The two fleets now appeared off *Pachynus*; and, as the eaſt wind began to abate, Bomilcar weighed anchor in all appearance at firſt to gain the open ſea, and paſs the promontory: but, when he diſcovered

* Cap. xxvi.

the

the Roman fleet, he was ſuddenly ſeized with terror; though his force was ſuperior to that of Marcellus: and, flying from Sicily to Tarentum, he ſent orders to the tranſports, that lay before Minoa, to return to Africa.

Epicydes, diſappointed in his hopes, went to Agrigentum; more with the intention of waiting to ſee what turn affairs would take than of acting offenſively *.

The departure of Epicydes and the flight of the Carthaginians being known in the Sicilian camp, an embaſſy was ſent to Marcellus, and a treaty of peace was ſoon concluded; by which it was ſtipulated that Rome ſhould govern Syracuſe with kingly power, and that all the tribes of Sicily ſhould be permitted to live according to their own laws.

The Sicilians imparted theſe conditions to the beſieged; repreſenting to them that they, like friends, had made a common cauſe with Syracuſe, and exhorted them to ſurrender. Three of the chiefs of Epicydes were maſſacred, and the people were inclined to give ear to the Romans: however they proceeded to elect new Strategi.

On the part of the Romans no obſtacles were raiſed; but many by the deſerters in the city, who endeavoured to bring the ſoldiers over to their opinion by perſuading them that they were in equal danger; and accordingly an inſurrection took place, in which the Strategi and many of the citizens were murdered, and the houſes were plundered. After this three leaders were choſen in Achradina, and three in the iſland: but the ſoldiers, ſoon coming to a ſenſe of their error, effected a perfect reconciliation with the ambaſſadors of Marcellus.

Among the three newly named commanders in Achradina, there was a Spaniard, whoſe name was Mericus, and to whom Marcellus ſent a countryman of his own, who ſerved with his Spaniſh allies; exciting Mericus ſecretly to favour Marcellus. Mericus agreed to the propoſitions of the Roman; to whom he opened the gate of the iſland, near the ſpring of Arethuſa. Marcellus likewiſe attacked Achradina with

* Cap. xxvii.

his

his whole army; and the Romans, being now in poſſeſſion of theſe two quarters, were thus entirely maſters of the city.

Marcellus ſent a Quæſtor to take poſſeſſion of the royal treaſury, placed a guard before the houſes of the citizens who had come over to the Roman camp, and gave up the city to plunder. It was the opinion of Livy that Carthage itſelf, had it fallen at that time into the hands of the Romans, would not have afforded a richer booty.

The deſerters had found time and opportunity for flight *.

While the ſpirit of cruelty and plunder raged, and the din of a conquered and ſacked city was every where heard to howl, Archimedes, his whole ſoul abſorbed in a mathematical queſtion, was deſcribing lines in the ſand; when a Roman ſuddenly ſtood before him, and ſavagely commanded him to follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes looked up, and bade him wait till he had ſolved his problem; and the ſoldier, impatient at the delay, ſtruck him to the heart.

This murder deeply afflicted Marcellus. He ordered the great man to be honourably interred; and revered his memory by every proof of kindneſs to his ſurviving relations †.

From one of the orations of Cicero againſt Verres, it appears that Marcellus ſpared the ſtatues of the Gods. Neither did he give up Syracuſe to unlimited ſackage: nor did he take any thing for himſelf, but with the plunder of this city embelliſhed Rome. "It was his "opinion," ſaid the wife Cicero, "that his houſe would be an ornament "to the city; provided the ornaments of the city were not confined "to his houſe ‡."

Syracuſe was captured in the 519th year after it was a ſecond time founded, by Archias the Corinthian: Rome having then been built 540 years; that being the third year of the 141ſt Olympiad, and 212 years before the birth of Chriſt.

* Cap. xxviii to xxxi. † Cap. xxxi.—Plut. Life of Marcellus.

‡ *Putavit, ſi urbis ornamenta domum ſuam non contuliſſet, domum ſuam ornamento urbi futuram.* Cic. in Verrem.

From this time, all Sicily became a Roman province; and was treated by that proud people with a diſtinguiſhed mildneſs: till, about a hundred and forty years after this period, Verres, the Roman Prætor, there exerciſed ſhameful acts of voluptuouſneſs, rapacity, and cruelty; which Cicero, with all the fire of his eloquence, in his ſucceſſive orations againſt this monſter, has deſcribed, ſtigmatiſed, and rendered immortal.

Among the many deathleſs acts of this great and dignified man, who was once the ſaviour of his country and afterward waged glorious war againſt inſatiable oppreſſion, among theſe acts, his orations againſt Verres may be reckoned as one of the chief. By theſe, he gained the approbation of the good; but drew down upon himſelf the hatred of many of thoſe men, who had either enriched themſelves by the plunder of the provinces, or hoped for future riches by means thus baſe.

There is no crime that can be conceived of which Verres was not guilty. He purloined from the public treaſury, plundered whole cities and provinces, robbed the temples, ſet juſtice up to ſale, gave up the iſland to pirates, applied the money appointed for the maintenance of the marine to his own ſecret purpoſes, extorted new taxes, and laid his rapacious hands on the private property of the rich. Many of the innocent he threw into priſon; and, in a manner till then unheard of, drove a uſurious trade with the miſeries of theſe unfortunate people. So much muſt be paid, by afflicted friends and parents, for permiſſion to ſee the priſoners: ſo much for leave to bring them food: and ſo much for the favour of not inflicting torture, when they were put to death. When long impriſonment and the very manner of the death of the victims to his cruelty had contributed to enrich him, yet, that he might deprive ſurviving friends of the laſt conſolation, the body was thrown to the wild beaſts.

Even the number of the crimes of Verres gave him confidence. His exactions had been ſo exorbitant that he hoped to purchaſe his ſafety. Nor were theſe hopes groundleſs: it required all the fortitude, extraordinary gifts, and fire of a Cicero, that he ſhould at laſt be brought to

to juſtice, and puniſhed. Yet, how puniſhed? By a moderate fine; to which he voluntarily added ſelf-baniſhment. The vigilance of his great accuſer was ſucceſsful, in diſcovering that Verres had his ſecret confederates in Rome; who undertook, as a ſpeculation in trade, to buy off the judges for a ſtipulated ſum. But Cicero rendered this incredibly impudent plan abortive; and introduced the right by which the accuſer, as well as the accuſed, might object to a certain number of the judges; and, while he made this diſgraceful project public, he laid what was probably a neceſſary reſtraint on the remaining judges.

The orations of Cicero, while they unveil the iniquity of Verres, afford us a glance of the conſtitution of the Roman Empire; at which we cannot but ſhudder. We too often ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by pictures of Roman freedom, during the laſt ages of the republic: particularly from the time of the Gracchi, while contention and corruption ruled in Italy and in Rome, and oppreſſion and rapine in the Roman world. And ſuch oppreſſion, ſuch rapine, ſuch miſery, that the moſt outrageous of the Emperors indubitably treated the provinces with leſs cruelty than was exerciſed upon them, while under this famous Republic!

From the time that all Sicily became a Roman province, Syracuſe ſhared the general fate of the iſland.

In the war between Auguſtus and Sextus Pompeius, this city ſuffered very much from the latter; and Auguſtus, by whom it was favoured, in part reſtored it, and ſent a colony thither: though he only permitted that part adjoining to the iſland of Ortygia, called Achradina, to be rebuilt *.

In the time of the Greek Emperor, Baſilius, Syracuſe, after a valiant defence, in which every age and ſex took a moſt zealous part, was conquered, plundered, and deſtroyed by the Saracens; and many of the inhabitants were maſſacred. From this time †, the iſland of Ortygia only was inhabited.

* Strabo, lib. vi. † Fazello, vi. and Amico.

In the year 1086, Roger the Norman, Count of Sicily, took Syracuſe from the Saracens. After the death of Roger, it deſcended to his nephew, Tancred; who was likewiſe called Count of Syracuſe.

During the minority of the Emperor, Frederick the Second, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the people of Piſa ſeized on the city. The Genoeſe ſunk every ſhip in the harbour, took Syracuſe, and put all the people of Piſa to death.

Alemanno Coſta, the general of the Genoeſe, who ſtyled himſelf by the grace of God, and of the Republic of Genoa, Count of Syracuſe, attacked the Venetians; and the government of Syracuſe reverted to the Emperors of the Swabian line, who were Kings of Sicily*.

In the year 1348, the city was viſited ſeverely by the plague; and afterward diſtracted by internal commotions.

The following letter will give you an account of the ruins of this once ſovereign city, and of its preſent condition; exhibiting the vaſt Syracuſe, which once conſiſted of four towns, μεγαλοπολιες Συρακοσαι, now limited to a ſmall iſland: an affecting monument of the viciſſitude of human affairs and of the inſignificance of earthly grandeur.

Ἐφαμεροι· τι. δε τις; τι δ' οὐτις;
Σκιας ὀναρ ἀνθρωποι. Ἀλλ' ὁταν διγλα
Διοσδοτος ἐλθη,
Λαμπρον ἐπεστι φεγγος ἀνδρων,
Και μειλιχος αἰων.

PINDAR, Pyth. viii. ep. 8.

Child of a day, what art thou, man?
A dream of ſhadows! nothing more:
Unleſs the Gods impart a ray
To give thee light, and give thee life.

* Amico Lex. Top. Sic.

LET-

LETTER XCII.

Syracuſe, 1ſt July, 1792.

THE moſt celebrated of the ancient writers all agree, in the general deſcription they give of the power, and the ſovereignty, of ancient Syracuſe.

In the time of its proſperity, the city was a hundred and eighty ſtadia in circumference: that is, two-and-twenty Italian miles and a half; or upward of five and a half of geographical, nearly four common German miles.

The following extract, from one of the orations of Cicero againſt Verres, will prove what Syracuſe was, long after the loſs of its freedom. "That Syracuſe is the greateſt and moſt beautiful of all the "Greek cities you have often been told; and you have been told the "truth. Its ſtrong ſituation on every ſide, by land and ſea, is lordly to "view. Its havens are encloſed by the city itſelf; by which they are "overlooked. From different entrances, they join their ſtreams in one "common outlet. That part of Syracuſe which is called the iſland, in "conſequence of the junction of the waters, is ſeparated by a ſmall arm "of the ſea from the city; to which it is again united by a bridge.

"So great is the ſize of Syracuſe that it is uſual to ſay it conſiſts of "four cities. One of theſe is the iſland; which, girded by two ha"vens, extends itſelf at the mouth of each: and in this iſland is the "building which was the citadel of Hiero, and which now ſerves as the "reſidence of the Roman Prætors. It contains ſeveral temples: of "which the two grandeſt are the temple of Diana and the temple of "Minerva. On the extreme ſide of the iſland there is a ſweet ſpring, "that is called Arethuſa; of an incredible ſize, and well ſtored with "fiſh. It would be wholly overflowed by the ſea, did not a ſtone dam "guard it againſt the waves.

" Another of the towns of Syracuſe is called Achradina: in which is " a great forum, beautiful colonnades, a handſome *prytaneum**, a ſpa- " cious ſenate houſe, and a noble temple of the Olympian Jupiter. " The remaining part of this town conſiſts of a long ſtreet, that is in- " terſected by many others; which contain the houſes of the citizens.

" The third town is called Tyche: becauſe an ancient temple of " Fortuna was here built. It had an extenſive gymnaſium, and many " ſacred buildings; and was an exceedingly populous part of Syracuſe.

" The fourth town, which was built the laſt, is called Neapolis; and, " in the higheſt part, contains a great theatre, two excellent temples, " one dedicated to Ceres, the other to Libera, and the large grand " ſtatue of Apollo, ſurnamed Teminites†."

As Cicero names only four towns, or parts of Syracuſe, and as other writers, Greek and Roman, ſtate their number at five, the remark of Cluverius appears indubitably to have been juſt; when he tells us that Epipolæ, as it is clearly ſhewn in Livy‡, was not inhabited by citizens, but was garriſoned with ſoldiers, in war time, for defence.

In the beginning of his ſecond Pythian ode, which is inſcribed to Hiero the Firſt, the brother of the great Gelo, Pindar mentions this city with an epithet by which it is characterized:

Μεγαλοπολιες ω Συρα-
κοσαι, Βαθυπολεμε

* This was the name of a hall in Athens; in which the preſidents of the Senate aſſembled, on particular occaſions. Theſe preſidents conſiſted of a part of the five hundred ſenators: a twelfth part of whom, each month in the year, enjoyed this privilege. Public feſtivals were held in the *Prytaneum;* and it was here that thoſe who had deſerved well of their country were feaſted, and even their relations after their death: as may be ſeen in Potter's Archæologia. The *Prytaneum* of Syracuſe was dedicated to the ſame purpoſe.

† Libera was a name of Proſerpine. *Vetus eſt hæc opinio—inſulam Siciliam totam eſſe Cereri et Proſerpinæ conſecratam—Raptam eſſe Liberam, quam eamdem Proſerpinam vocant, ex Ennenſium nemore.* CICERO in Verrem.

‡ Liv. xxv. 24.

Τεμενος 'Αρεος, ανδρων
'Ιππων τε σιδαροχαρμαν
Δαιμονιαι τροφοι*.

Amico eſtimates the number of the former inhabitants of Syracuſe at a million; and Riedeſel at twelve hundred thouſand ſouls. I do not know the authorities for theſe eſtimates of two modern writers; but they do not appear to me exaggerated, as Diogenes Laertius gives eight hundred thouſand people for the number of the inhabitants of ancient Agrigentum. Neither ought it to be forgotten that, on an average, there were four ſlaves to one free man. The number of free men, in ancient Syracuſe, might ſurely conſiſt of three hundred thouſand; and a city, which was four common German miles in circumference, might certainly afford room for a million of people: eſpecially as four-fifths of the number conſiſted of ſlaves, who were thronged together in a very narrow compaſs.

On the 26th of June in the forenoon, we viſited *Saverio Landolina Nava;* a knight of Malta, and a perſon to whom ſtrangers, luckily for themſelves, are uſually recommended. He poſſeſſes a knowledge of the preſent country and of antiquity, is an acute reader of Greek, and a pleaſant and worthy man. A few traits ſufficiently proved to me the perſpicuity with which he interpreted many paſſages, in ancient writers, that had formerly been thought obſcure.

He offered, in a friendly manner, to inſtruct us in the antiquities of the city: which, from a perſon who to accuracy of judgment adds ſo much knowledge, was to us highly acceptable. During our reſidence of ſix days, he, with true hoſpitality, dedicated his whole time to us: for which I think myſelf the more indebted to him as this excellent man ſo well underſtands the employment of his hours.

He accompanied us to the cathedral; one ſide of which reſts on twelve or thirteen ancient Doric pillars, which it is ſuppoſed belonged

* Oh *great town*, Syracuſe, the ſanctuary of warlike Ares (Mars), godlike nurſe of men and horſes that delight in iron.

to

to the portico of the temple of Minerva, that is mentioned by Cicero in the paſſage I have cited. At preſent, only one half of them appear: the other half having been walled in, when this temple was changed into a church. The temple muſt have been about as large as that in Egeſta.

Facing the cathedral are the ſtatues of the apoſtles, Peter and Paul. The following inſcription is under that of Peter:

Apoſtolorum Principi, Fundatori ſuo, Eccleſia Syracuſana p.

"The congregation of Syracuſe erected this ſtatue to the chief of the Apoſtles, their founder."

The Syracuſians affirm that their firſt biſhop was ſent them by Peter.

There appears to me to be much dignity in the inſcription of the ſtatue of St. Paul: who, in his journey from Jeruſalem to Rome, was overtaken by a ſtorm, ſhipwrecked at Malta, and remained three days at Syracuſe *.

Apoſtolo Gentium, Hoſpiti ſuo, Eccleſia Syracuſana p.

"The congregation of Syracuſe erected this ſtatue to the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, their gueſt."

There is a tradition, and a probable one, that Archimedes drew a meridian line in this temple: but the tale, which is told by the ignorant, that the meridian ray of light, which paſſed through the opening of the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, fell in this temple is very abſurd. One meridian ray directed through two different buildings! Buildings that were one of them in the iſland, the other in the city, on the other ſide of the haven! And, in addition, a very elevated, and almoſt perpendicular meridian ray of Sicily!

We ſaw a ſtone in the Seminary that has but lately been found, and that contains an inſcription which appears to denote that there either

* Acts xxviii. 12.

was

was a temple, in Syracuſe, dedicated to all the Gods, that is, a Pantheon, or that there was an altar thus conſecrated.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕοΣ ΑΓΕΜοΝοΣ
ΙΕΡοΝοΣ ΙΕΡοΚΛΕοΣ
ΣΥΡΑΚοΣΙοΙ ΘΕοΙΣ ΠΑΣΙ.

"Under the reign of King Hiero, the ſon of Hierocles, the Syracu-
"ſians conſecrated it to all the Gods*."

There is a library in the Seminary, which is always increaſing: but it is the only one in Syracuſe. The Seminary likewiſe contains a collection of ancient coins.

When we entered this building, the heat was not extreme: but when we returned, in three quarters of an hour, we felt the wind meeting us as hot as if it came from an oven; we being then in the open air and unprotected by ſhade. Some of us were immediately ſeized with a pain in the breaſt; which continued as long as this wind prevailed: that is, about three hours. Landolina adviſed us, when we came home, to ſhut up the windows, leaving only ſufficient light to ſee to read, and to ſprinkle the apartments with water.

By theſe means, the air of the houſe became ſupportable. Reaumur's thermometer, in a narrow but very cool court, aſcended from 22° to 31°.

In the following ſummer of 1793, the heat in England roſe to 31°.

Men were diſcovered lying dead on the ground. So true it is that the ſame degree of heat, in Italy and Sicily, is by no means ſo dangerous as when it viſits a country where the air is not equally pure. Cicero praiſes Syracuſe by ſaying, that, there is no day in the whole year ſo cloudy as for the ſun not once to appear.

* This ſhews that the father of Hiero the Second was called Hierocles: as was Hiero's grandſon and ſucceſſor †.

† Hieronymus, we are told, was the name of Hiero's grandſon: and the inſcription proves nothing to the contrary. T.

This hot wind rages with ſuch exceſs only once in three or four years; and ſeldom then during a whole day. It blows from the weſt, is loaded with the hot vapours of Africa, and is therefore ſimilar in its effects, upon this eaſtern coaſt, to thoſe of the Scirocco, upon the country round Palermo. We durſt not leave the houſe all the afternoon; but cooled ourſelves with ice, and ſtrengthened ourſelves with generous Syracuſian wine. I did not feel myſelf ſo entirely overcome by languor as I had before been by the Scirocco wind: but the Scirocco did not give me the ſame pain in the breaſt.

The cuſtom of taking ice, in Italy and Sicily, is conſidered as an indiſpenſable refreſhment; and as a powerful remedy, in many diſeaſes. The phyſicians of theſe countries do not give many medicines; but frequently preſcribe a ſevere regimen, and prevent the baleful effects of various diſeaſes by ſuffering the ſick, for ſeveral days, to take nothing but water cooled by ice, ſweet oranges, and iced fruits. They aſcribe much efficacy, and I believe truly, to the external and internal uſe of water.

Iced milk, fruits, chocolate, and other viands, are found in moſt of the towns. They do not, as with us, uſe ice as a cooler, but ſnow; which is not only more eaſily preſerved, than ice, but it is ſuppoſed by them to be more healthy. That ſnow is more eaſily preſerved appears evident; as, in warm ſummers, our ice houſes are frequently deficient: whereas there is no ſcarcity of ſnow in the hot ſummers of the South. It is preſerved partly in natural cliffs of the rocks, and partly in caverns; which they dig in the mountains toward the north. In theſe the ſnow is cloſely packed together; and, to give it a durable conſiſtency, *mixed** with ſtraw, ſand, or, in volcanic countries, with aſhes.

The municipal magiſtrates are careful to make a ſufficient proviſion of ſnow; and would be in danger, from the anger of the people, if a want of this neceſſary ſhould be felt. The Government of Naples takes upon itſelf to provide for the city; and grants a man the privilege, by

* The German word is *vermiſcht*: though I ſuſpect that *covered* is meant. T.

contract,

contract, of furniſhing four hundred thouſand inhabitants with ſnow. It is preſerved in the cliffs and caverns of the mountain *San Angelo*: between Caſtell-a-Mare and Sorento. Snow is brought every night to the ſhore on the backs of aſſes; and porters are then loaded with it, by whom the city is provided for the following day. The Neapolitans would murmur as loudly, were they without ſnow for a ſingle day, as our ſoldiers, when in camp, if they could procure neither brandy nor tobacco. The contractor is ſubjected to a fine of two hundred ducats, for every day on which the city is not ſufficiently ſupplied with ſnow.

Landolina has led me to remark the cuſtomary uſe of ſnow among the ancients.

Athenæus, in his third book, cites many paſſages from writers who ſpeak of this cuſtom. An ancient poet, Alexis, ſays

Και χιονα μεν πινειν παρασκευαζομεν.

"We likewiſe provide ſnow for our beverage."

Another poet, Euthycles, has this paſſage:

Πρωτον μεν ειδεν ει χιων ετ' ωνια.

"He firſt enquired if ſnow were ſold."

Athenæus cites a paſſage from Chares, who wrote the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great: from which we ſee that Alexander cauſed ſnow to be preſerved, much in the ſame manner that it now is in Italy and Sicily. At the ſiege of an Indian town, he ordered thirty trenches to be dug near each other, filled with ſnow, and covered with oak boughs: becauſe, ſaid Chares, the ſnow in this manner was the longer preſerved.

A poet, named Stratis, thus ſpeaks:

'Οινον γαρ πιειν ουκ αν εις
Δεξαιτο θερμον, αλλα πολυ τυναντιον,
Τυχομενον εν τῳ φρεατι, χιονι μεμιγμενον.

 "No

"No one willingly drinks warm wine: but rather ſuch as has been "cooled in ſprings, and mixed with ſnow."

Athenæus likewiſe quotes an epigram, by Simonides, the chief ſubject of which is ſnow.

Την ῥα ποτ' Ουλυμποιο περι πλευρας ἐκαλυψεν
'Ωκος ἀπο Θρηκης ορνυμενος Βορεης,
'Ανδρων δ' ἀχλαινων ἐδακε φρενας, ἀυταρ ἐκαμφθη
Ζωη Πιεριην γην ἐπιεσσαμενη,
Εν τις ἐμοι 'γ' αυτης χρεετω μερος· ὀυ γαρ ἐοικε
Θερμην Βαϛαρειν ἀνδρι φιλῳ προποσιν.

"Rapidly ruſhing from Thrace, Boreas ſcattered this ſnow on the "ſides of Olympus. Unmantled men pierced he with cold pains: but "how mild did he become, when he was living lodged in Pierian "earth! I therefore cannot think it ſeemly to offer warm water to a "friend, as his firſt beverage at a banquet."

Caſaubon ſays, γην ἐπιεσσαθαι: *dicuntur mortui quando ſunt ſepulti, ac terra ceu veſte amicti.*

The people of that time preſerved ſnow in caverns, as at preſent. Simonides was a contemporary of Xerxes.

Landolina took me in the evening to the houſe of a lying-in lady, who received viſitors at the baptiſm of her child: and here I met the whole nobility of Syracuſe; who, for a city of eighteen thouſand ſouls in which there is no court, are very numerous. The animation of the females reminded me of the women of ancient Syracuſe; of whom Theocritus, in one of his Idyllions, gives us ſo lively a picture.

The young lady had been five days delivered, and ſeemed to be perfectly in health, and only to keep her bed out of decorum. She was very cheerful. No one would have thought that her mother had borne fourteen living children, and had had twelve miſcarriages. If, as ſome people maintain, hot countries are not favourable to population, and if the women too ſoon become old, Italy and Sicily at leaſt

are

are exceptions, to the rule; for here the female flower enjoys a durable ſpring, and its late autumn is ſtill productive of fruit.

In Syracuſe, as in Calabria, we meet with many fair-haired and freſh coloured women. In the weſt of Sicily, they are nearly as brown as in Apulia: and the difference is as ſtriking between the women of Taranto and the other women of Apulia; for, at Taranto, I ſaw ſeveral that might have been taken for German or Engliſh women.

Moſt of the women that I have met with, in both kingdoms, are friendly and *naïve*.

I have read, in a late book of German travels, that the women of Sicily only give milk with one breaſt; that they ſuffer the milk of the other to dry away; and that they imagine the nutritive powers of their milk are thus improved.

Travellers ſhould be very certain of any fact, by which the manners of a whole nation may be miſrepreſented, before they make ſuch aſſertions. I have enquired in Meſſina, in Trapani, and in Syracuſe, and have been aſſured of the very reverſe. No man had ever heard of any ſuch cuſtom.

On the 27th, we went with Landolina on board a boat; and ferried over the great haven, which is five Italian miles, or a ſhort German mile, in circumference; and which receives the river *Anapo*: the *Anapus* of the ancients. Some writer ſays that Charles the Fifth, from the fear of pirates, deſtroyed this haven: but Charles the Fifth was not ſo puſillanimous. He would not have been induced, by any ſuch fear, to have deſtroyed the beſt haven in his empire; or in Europe. So far was it from being deſtroyed that, in the preſent century, after the war of the ſucceſſion, the Engliſh, Spaniſh, and French, fleets all anchored there at the ſame time; and, during the war between the Ruſſians and Turks, which was concluded but two years ago, the Ruſſian Empreſs obtained permiſſion of the King of the Two Sicilies to harbour in this haven, with a fleet that was to ſail from Cronſtadt. The unexpected

unexpected and ſudden breach of peace, that happened with the King of Sweden, was the cauſe that this fleet remained in the Baltic.

It was in this haven that the fleet of Athens, ſent againſt Syracuſe, was deſtroyed. After other preceding combats, a laſt and deciſive battle, in one day, ſunk ſixty of the Athenian galleys. We ſaw the place where the army of the Athenians was encamped; and the marſh, the pernicious exhalations of which infected it with the plague.

Leaving the great haven, we proceeded through the mouth of the Anapo up the ſtream. You know how cuſtomary it was, in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, to vaunt of their rivers. Theocritus calls this μεγαν ῥοον; the great ſtream; and it has indeed the reputation of being the only navigable river in Sicily. But it is navigable for nothing larger than a boat; and this advantage it ſhares with the ſtream that flows from the fountain *Ciane*. Its ſhores are pleaſant; and are ſhaded by tall reeds, which grow to the height of ten ells, poplars, and the wild fig tree and vine. Many nightingales charmed us with their ſong.

We proceeded up the Ciane, Κυανη, which runs into the Anapo, till we came to its very ſource; where it ſoon divides itſelf into two branches, which have poetically been called the arms of *Cyane*: becauſe the Nymph Cyane here endeavoured to oppoſe the rape of Proſerpine: for which ſhe was changed into a fountain by the angry Pluto. The deſcription of this metamorphoſis by Ovid is very beautiful *.

Diodorus relates the tradition in another manner. Pluto conducted the raviſhed Proſerpine to the fields of Enna, and here rent the earth; through which he deſcended, with his prize, to his infernal empire: and, at the place of his deſcent, he cauſed a ſpring to riſe †.

Hercules, when he brought the cattle of Geryon from Spain to Greece, paſſed through Sicily; where he taught the Siculi to ſacrifice to Proſerpine, and threw the moſt beautiful of his bulls into this fountain ‡.

* Ovid. Met. lib. v. 411. † Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 333. ‡ Diod. l. iv and v.

The

The Syracuſians held an annual feſtival; on which, following the example of Hercules, they threw bulls into the fountain. Cyane, like the fields of Enna, was in particular conſecrated to Proſerpine *.

This ſpring is ſo very large that ſome of the ancients have called it a lake. It is clear, has a bed of rock, the ſtone of which is blue, and the fiſh have a beautiful blue colour, ſuch as I never ſaw in fiſh before, with the poliſh of the goldfiſh. I conjecture that this was the origin of the name *Cyane*: for *Cyaneus*, in Greek, ſignifies a dark blue colour.

Great quantities of the *papyrus*, which is now in bloom, grows on the banks of the Ciane. It continues to produce new ſprouts through the year; and its root is odoriferous. It is a kind of Cyperus; and attains the height of ſeven, or eight, and even of ten, ells. Landolina has been imitating the ancients, who produced their paper from this plant; from which likewiſe paper has been made under his ſuperintendance. It is ſtrong, thin, and tolerably white; but does not fold ſo eaſily as ours, which in every reſpect is much preferable.

It muſt be exceedingly pleaſant to ſail up the Anapo and the Ciane in winter: but, in ſummer, the air of theſe waters is very injurious; and moſt of us returned with the headache. We ſaw, on our paſſage, on the left of Anapo, two pillars of the temple of the Olympian Zeus: in which temple ſtood the ſtatue of the God, with the golden mantle; of which, ridiculing him after his manner, he was ſtripped by the elder Dionyſius.

"The golden mantle was ill contrived: in ſummer it was too hot; "in winter too cold."

In the ſame manner he robbed Æſculapius of his beard of gold. "It was very unſeemly," he ſaid, "for a ſon to be bearded when his father, Apollo, had not a hair on his chin."

The temple of the Olympian Zeus was ſurrounded by a little town; which was called, after the building, *Olympieum*.

* Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 333.

There

There are ſtill ſtanding two ancient Doric pillars, of the temple of Diana, which is mentioned by Cicero, in a houſe at Syracuſe. This temple is affirmed to have been the largeſt in Sicily: but the pillars, which I ſaw among the ruins of the temple of the Olympian Zeus in Girgenti, appear to me to be much larger. I believe indeed that theſe of Syracuſe may be of higher antiquity; and of an age when the proportion of the beautiful in architecture was yet undiſcovered. They ſtand ſo near to each other that although, according to the ancient Doric manner, their tapering upward is very great, yet their chapiters touch each other above.

The middle part of theſe pillars are in a ſtable: below which they are covered with rubbiſh: ſo that they muſt nearly touch at the bottom.

Under the church of Saint Philip is an old well, to which you deſcend by a hundred and fifty-ſix ſteps, that is not deficient in water, and the water of which increaſes and diminiſhes with the age of the moon. A Pagan temple probably ſtood here, and the prieſts drew their conſecrated water out of this well.

At the extremity of the iſland the citadel ſtands; and an old caſtle, which was built by the Saracens; not far from which is the poetical ſpring of Arethuſa *.

The ancient fable was that an Arcadian virgin, named Arethuſa, a lover of the chace, diſdained the paſſion of the hunter, Alpheus: to avoid whom ſhe fled over to the iſland Ortygia; where ſhe was metamorphoſed into a ſpring, and her afflicted lover into a river. Love did not forſake the ſtream, but followed the beloved through the ſea, without becoming ſalt; and there mingled its waves with the waters of the virgin ſpring †.

Near this place, the bed of the ſea actually affords a ſweet ſpring; which no doubt was the origin of the fiction. Tradition farther ſays

* Ovid. Met. l. v. 574. † Pauſanias, l. v. c. 7.

that the gods preſented Diana with the iſland of Ortygia; and that the Nymphs cauſed the beautiful ſpring of Arethuſa to riſe up for her recreation. The fiſh of this ſpring were famous for their ſize, and quantity: nor durſt men attempt to catch them, except as it is ſaid in the time of war; and even then chaſtiſement from the Gods was the conſequence.

Daphnis invented paſtoral poetry in Sicily *. Theocritus, the greateſt of paſtoral poets, was a native of Syracuſe. Moſchus, who likewiſe wrote Idyllions, was born here; and Bion, though Smyrna was the place of his birth, reſided in Sicily. Virgil therefore invokes the Nymph Arethuſa, as the Muſe of paſtoral poetry. Who can forget the beautiful verſes with which he begins his tenth Eclogue? lamenting the unfortunate paſſion of his friend Cornelius Gallus, the poet, and ſinging the cruelty of Lycoris.

Extremum hunc, Arethuſa, mihi concede laborem.
Pauca meo Gallo, ſed quæ legat ipſa Lycoris,
Carmina ſunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubterlabêre Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non intermiſceat undam.

VIRG. Ecl. x. 1. 5.

Thy ſacred ſuccour, Arethuſa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'tis the laſt I ſing.
Which proud Lycoris may with pity view;
The Muſe is mournful, tho' the numbers few,
Refuſe me not a verſe to grief and Gallus due.
So may thy ſilver ſtreams, beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny ſeas, ſecurely glide.

DRYDEN.

The laſt gift which Virgil requeſts of Arethuſa is a ſong for his friend. The Nymph now affords a ſpring for the laundry maids of the city; with the waters of which the bitter Doris, *Doris amara*, the Nymph of the ſea, at the time that I viſited the former, when a ſtrong

* Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 332.

wind blew, mingled her ſtreams. Although it is ſtill a large ſpring, it is now only a part of the ancient Arethuſa; which has been deſtroyed. Neither does it any longer afford fiſh. However, when they ſink for water in the city, the concealed Arethuſa every where bubbles up.

On the 29th, we paſſed through what was formerly called Achradina to the part of the city named Tyche: both of which towns, a part only of the great Syracuſe, are now either arable lands or covered with charming fruit trees. We firſt inſpected the amphitheatre, the work of the Romans; the whole circumference of which may evidently be traced, and many of the ſeats are ſtill in exiſtence, with the places of entering and leaving the building.

A monument like this, erected to indulge the ſanguinary temper of the Romans, was by no means ſo intereſting to me as the ancient Greek theatre; the ſeats of which, cut in the rock, are in good preſervation.

Nothing of the ſcene, or ſtage, is now to be ſeen: but the proper and beautiful theatre itſelf is therefore the more conſpicuous. On one of the ſeats the following words are cut: Βασιλισσας Φιλιςιδος: the Queen Philiſtis.

This queen may create many hiſtorical enquiries. Some affirm ſhe was the wife of Gelo; and that, through her mediation, the hero granted peace to the Carthaginians: in conſequence of which they preſented her with a crown of gold, that was worth a hundred talents. This queen cauſed money to be coined: which was called after her Demaretion *.

But her name was Demareta, and not Philiſtis; and, what is more, the coins of the Queen Philiſtis are not confined to a ſingle period. Her reign muſt have been long; for, on ſome of them, ſhe is repreſented as young: on others as old: yet both diſcover the features of the ſame countenance, and both are inſcribed with the ſame name.

* Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 424.

On the reverſe of the coin, there is a four-horſed chariot. It was a delicate Greek thought to repreſent her on the coins, while young, as drawn by fiery ſteeds, full ſpeed; and to give the old Philiſtis a chariot with the horſes pacing ſlowly.

Thoſe who, to ſupport a hypotheſis, pretend that Gelo, to teſtify his love for his wife, cauſed money to be coined at ſeveral times ſtamped with her name and image, forget that Gelo himſelf reigned only ſeven years.

Some are perſuaded that the inſcription on the ſtone proves the theatre to have been built by the queen; and they further conclude that it muſt have been very ancient: becauſe that we know of no queen, of this name, who governed in Syracuſe after the time of Gelo. That Philiſtis muſt have reigned before Gelo is beyond all doubt: but it is equally indubitable that neither ſhe nor Gelo built the theatre. The poet Æſchylus lived in the time of Gelo; and perſonally fought againſt Xerxes, at the battle of Salamin: as he has ſo beautifully ſung, in one of his remaining tragedies. As a poet, he was later known: he was the firſt who gave a form to tragedy. He was the friend that led Melpomene from the car, on which ſhe had been wandering, to a ſtage of wood, of a moderate ſize.

——— *modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis.*
HOR. Ars Poet.

My conjecture is that this noble theatre was built during the ſixty years that elapſed, between the expulſion of Thraſybulus and the ſubjection of Syracuſe by Dionyſius. If not, either by Dionyſius himſelf, or very probably by Hiero the Second.

Near the theatre is the end of an aqueduct, which is led through rocks fourteen Italian miles, and is well ſupplied with good water.

In this neighbourhood there are many tombs, cut in the rock; between which there is a ſtreet, or road, where the ſteps of the horſes, and the deep ruts of wheels, may evidently be traced. It was here that Cicero diſcovered the tomb of Archimedes, among brambles;

which was neglected by and unknown to the people of Syracuſe. A ſphere and a cylinder, ſtanding on a ſmall pillar, denoted the place where the great man ſlept: while it preſerved the remembrance of his diſcoveries of the relation between the cylinder and the ſphere.

The remark of Rollin is acute, and charming; where he ſays that this decoration, of the tomb of Archimedes, was entirely in the ſpirit of that great man: who placed more value on a mathematical demonſtration than on thoſe dreadful engines by which he had repulſed the Roman army *.

The pretended Ear of Dionyſius is one of the *latomiæ*, or ſtone quarries; of which there are more in Syracuſe. You have heard of, and will be inclined with me to laugh at, the tradition of Dionyſius having given this priſon the form of an ear; and of his having conſtructed it with ſo much acouſtic art that he, unſeen, could hear the wailings and groans of the priſoners, or liſten to their converſations. That this place was at firſt no other than a ſtone quarry, like the other *latomiæ* of Syracuſe, and that it was afterward uſed as a priſon, is beyond all doubt. Holes may be ſeen in the hewn ſtones; through which probably rings were riveted, to which the fetters of the priſoners were attached. The imagination may eaſily give the form of the bend of the ear, the end of which was directed upward, to the entrance of this place. This might be the origin of the name; and afterward of the falſe interpretation.

The work is wonderful, and has different diviſions; ſome of which are overarched, others are fallen in, and maſſes of rock, which ſerved as pillars, now riſe in the open air. The firſt diviſion is thus overarched by rocks; and here there is a loud echo. We fired a gun, the report of which continued ſlowly to thunder round. Here there is a water reſervoir, the arching of which is ſupported by pillars. Among the ruins, there is a decayed ſtaircaſe, which Landolina diſcovered; who ſuppoſes it to be that down which Dionyſius, according to I know

* *Rollin, Hiſtoire Anc.* livre xx. art. iii. ſect. i.

not

not what author, cauſed thoſe principal perſons to be taken whoſe arreſt he wiſhed to conceal.

Some years ago, a bath was found in the city, to which there is a deſcent of forty-five ſteps; and, on the level of this there is a round well, the water of which is beneficial; if uſed as a bath, by the diſeaſed. This bath is entirely hewn in the rock; and there is a particular aperture, by which the water that had been uſed might be drawn off.

On the 30th, we went on board a *ſperonare*, and viſited the little haven; which was called, by the ancients, *Laccius;* where we yet could find traces of the dock yard, which the elder Dionyſius built*, and which he encloſed by the walls of his citadel.

Leaving the *ſperonare*, we went up into Achradina, and entered a Franciſcan monaſtery; where we were ſhewn a beautiful recumbent ſtatue of St. Lucia, the work of Vanini. The Saint is ſuppoſed to be dead, and her death reſembles ſleep. In one of her hands a crucifix lies, as if ſhe had beſtowed upon it her laſt graſp; and in the other, a palm branch, which ſhe gained by ſuffering martyrdom. She is honoured at Syracuſe as the patron Saint.

In this monaſtery there was a dog that, ſome years ago, performed an action which I cannot paſs over in ſilence; becauſe it denotes plan, dignity, and courage. The country was ravaged by a wolf, to the attacking of which the dog found himſelf unequal. The dog continued for ſome days to make a proviſion of meat, and bones; which he concealed, and then took other dogs to the place, gave them a feaſt, led them to the chace, and in company with them deſtroyed the wolf.

Near the Franciſcan monaſtery ſtands that of the Capuchins; in whoſe garden is the great ſtone quarry, which properly conſiſts of two *latomiæ*. This greatly exceeds in extent, that which is called the Ear of Dionyſius; and no doubt is the quarry to which the Athenian priſoners were condemned, and in which they were ſo ill treated†.

* Diod. l. xiii. † Thuc. lib. vii. p. 504. Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 567.

There

There are various ſtone quarries in Syracuſe; I am told, as many as nine; but this is the largeſt, and the one that is mentioned by Cicero in an oration againſt Verres, where he celebrates its grandeur *. The art, the amplitude, and the boldneſs, of the undertaking are aſtoniſhing. The rocks are hewn to an incredible depth; and are in parts arched over, and in parts the arches have fallen in: and the combination of the arched and unarched vaults, the pillars, the projecting maſſes, and the caverns, with their perſpective openings, form a whole which is unique in its kind.

In theſe depths, the Capuchins have a large pleaſant garden; the towering fruit trees of which, ſheltered from the wind, delight the eye, by their extraordinary and luxuriant productiveneſs, at the moment that, terrified by the bold rocks and gloomy caverns, it is in need of this relief. Some of theſe trees riſe out of the rock, where they firſt take root in ſmall cavities; which cavities are widened by the ſlow but unremitting growth of the root, that continues to extend, in length and breadth, till a conſiderable cleft is at laſt produced. The thick ſtemmed olive tree winds its rugged knotty roots, wherever the rocky cavities conduct their growth, or the ſoftneſs of the ſtone yields to their different ramifications; and, after it has conquered all its difficulties, it rears its leafy branches as if proud of its victory, and its power. From the upward rim of the rock, the ivy, and the wild vine, hang; and extend downward to where the cool air ſports with their ſuſpended

* *Opus eſt ingens magnificum regum ac tyrannorum. Totum eſt ex ſaxo in mirandam altitudinem depreſſo et multorum operis penitus exciſo. Nihil tam clauſum ad exitus, nihil tam ſeptum undique, nihil tam tutum ad cuſtodias nec fieri nec cogitari poteſt. Carcer ille eſt a crudeliſſimo tyranno Dionyſio factus.* "This work of kings and tyrants is vaſt and magnificent. It is entirely "cut in the rock to a prodigious depth by the labour of multitudes. Nothing more ſecure "in its doors and paſſages, nothing better encloſed, nothing in every reſpect more guarded "can be effected or conceived. This dungeon was the work of the tyrant Dionyſius."

Cicero does not mean to ſay that Dionyſius conſtructed theſe *latomiæ*; but that he employed them as the moſt ſtrong and ſecure priſons. He ſays, on the contrary, that they were the work of many kings, and tyrants.

ſhoots.

ſhoots. The garden grape clings to the terrific maſſes of rock, where the fig and the pomegranate tree are aiding to ſupport its ſcions.

The Capuchins cultivate for their own uſe a yellow tobacco plant, which produces a well ſcented ſnuff.

The monaſtery is poor; and is maintained by preſents in money to the monks, in return for the excellent fruit of their garden.

Some ancient tombs are found in theſe quarries.

The catacombs are in what was formerly called Achradina; where there is the moſt ancient church of Syracuſe, in which the firſt biſhop, Marcianus, who is ſaid to have been ſent by the apoſtle Peter, is buried.

On one of the ſteps of this church is the following Latin inſcription: which is probably Pagan.

MEMORIA DOMINICI MACEDONIS.

Lege et recede. Amici, nolite triſtari, quia omnes mortales ſumus.

"TO THE MEMORY OF DOMINICUS MACEDO.

"*Read and retire. Friends, afflict not yourſelves, for we all are mortal* *."

Melancholy conſolation!

The catacombs, ſome only of which I have ſeen, extended under the greateſt part of the ancient city: yet I doubt whether their extent is greater than thoſe of Naples; at leaſt they are not ſo deep, though they exceed them in melancholy magnificence. They form a true labyrinth; where a man may wander by the light of torches from tomb to tomb, and, were he not attended by a practiſed guide, there he might for ever wander. Broad paſſages continually lead to round arched chambers of the dead, which have outlets on four ſides that again ſerve as paſſages to ſimilar chambers. On the ſides of the paſſage there is tomb behind tomb, ſometimes to the number of twenty; like the compartments of a bureau, one behind another. The laſt compart-

* As, in the corrupt Latin of theſe ages *quia* was often uſed inſtead of *quod*, we may read, "*that* we all are mortal."

ment:

ment therefore was always the firſt filled with dead bodies; to depoſit which the bearers muſt continually aſcend over the other diviſions.

We met with Greek and Latin inſcriptions; and there are ſome, which I did not happen to find, that are of Chriſtian times. The red incruſtation, or mortar, of which the ancients were ſo fond, is ſtill viſible on many; and which, if you clean it, recovers its ancient poliſh. This probably was likewiſe uſed in Judea; and Chriſt might allude to it, when he compares the hypocriſy of the Scribes and Phariſees to *painted** ſepulchres. That theſe rocks were dug before there was any thought of employing them as ſepulchres, traces of an aqueduct and ſome wells ſeem to denote.

We proceeded through Achradina to Tyche, then to Neapolis, and from that to Epipolæ; the weſt part of the ancient city. Here there are two ſtone quarries, one of which Cluverius ſuppoſed to be that in which the Athenian priſoners were kept: but it is not ſufficiently ſpacious.

The walls of Epipolæ are in part well preſerved, are of an aſtoniſhing height and breadth, and are built of large freeſtone. Although they were 30 ſtadia, or a geographical mile, in length, they were completed, by Dionyſius the elder, in twenty days; on the breaking out of the war with the Carthaginians. Sixty thouſand free men were employed on the work, beſide the ſtone hewers, and ſix thouſand oxen; and Dionyſius encouraged them by rewards, and by example †.

From this wall, we overlooked the whole circumference of the ancient city, the two havens of the iſland, the third on the north, which was called the Trogilian, from the village Trogilus, the peninſula Tapſus, the country to Mount Ætna, and the two marſhes Lyſimelia and Syraca: from which laſt the city derived its name.

The height of Epipolæ, from this its extenſive proſpect, is now called Belvedere.

* Matt. xxiii. 27. Our tranſlation reads *whited*. T.

† Diod. lib. xiv. p. 614.

Landolina

Landolina is of opinion that the fortified height, which Cluverius ſuppoſed to be *Labdalon*, was the hill *Euryelus*; and his reaſons appear to me to be convincing: for Labdalon was built by the Athenians, during the ſiege, that they might have a ſtrong place in which to depoſit their money and effects *; for which this hill was very proper. But the hill of Euryelus ſhould ſeem to be much larger: for Marcellus, before he had poſſeſſed himſelf of it, was fearful of a ſally from the garriſon. It is alſo probable that the Athenians would chooſe to conſtruct their ſtrong holds at ſome diſtance, rather than immediately under the walls. Add to which, there ſtill exiſts a ſubterranean paſſage, that extends from this broad hill under the walls: and laſtly that Labdalon is not mentioned by Livy; and that probably, when the Athenian war was ended, the Athenian work was deſtroyed.

It was on this ſide that Marcellus entered the city.

I have more than once reminded you that the preſent Syracuſe conſiſts only of a ſmall part of the ancient; and that it is built on the little iſland which was called Ortygia.

Diodorus, himſelf a Sicilian, agrees with his countrymen in maintaining that Diana was born in this iſland. Other Greeks affirm that her birth place was the iſland of Rhenæa; which, according to the teſtimony of Strabo, was formerly called Ortygia †. This iſland lies ſo near to the iſland of Delos that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, united them both by a chain ‡. Homer, in his hymn to Apollo, ſpeaks of this eaſtern Ortygia, near Delos, when he ſays

Χαιρε μακαιρ' ω Λητοι, επει τεκες αγλαα τεκνα,
'Απολλωνα τ' ανακτα, και 'Αρτεμιν ιοχεαιραν,
Την μεν εν 'Ορτυγιη, τον δε κραναη επι Δηλω.

Hail, mother of the famous children! Hail,
Latona! Phœbus thine; and Artemis,
Delighting in the bow. Delos received
Thy ſon: thy daughter in Ortygia born.

* Thuc. lib. vi. Liv. xxv. 26. † Strab. lib. x. ‡ Thuc. lib. iii. cap. 104.

Yet Homer appears, in the fifth book of the Odyſſey, to ſpeak of the Syracuſian Ortygia, when he makes Calypſo ſay that the Gods had envied the love of Eos, or Aurora, to Orion; and that, at laſt, Artemis had ſlain him in Ortygia. And, in the fifteenth book of the Odyſſey, Eumæus tells Ulyſſes that there is an iſland called Syria, beyond the iſland of Ortygia, from which the ſun's diurnal motion is ſeen. Muſt not this iſland of Syria be a part of Sicily? Can we not trace its name in the word Syracuſe? The ſun there turned round becauſe the ancients, in the time of Homer, believed that thoſe who ſhould have paſſed the pillars of Hercules would have paſſed beyond the courſe of the ſun. Eumæus likewiſe ſays that Phœnician ſhips came there; and the Phœnicians were early traders to Sicily *.

The iſland, or the preſent Syracuſe, is connected with the continent by a dam; which is cut through by four canals: ſo that four bridges are to be paſſed. If I do not miſtake, the repairing of the dam, the cutting of the canals, and the building of the bridges, were the work of the Emperor, Charles the Fifth.

I will not conclude my letter without mentioning an ancient cuſtom, which has been continued in Syracuſe for 2200 years.

After the victory over the Athenians, a tree was hung round with arms, by way of trophy: τροπαιον. This was annually repeated, in memory of the great event; and deſcended from generation to generation. The ſolemn proceſſion has ceaſed: but a tree is erected on the firſt of May before the Senate-houſe, and during the whole month no man is allowed to arreſt a debtor. A few years ago, thoſe citizens who were at that time under arreſt were ſet free; that they might partake

* Since I wrote this, I met with the following remark, in Voſs's Odyſſey, 1781. "*Syria*, probably the cape on which Syracuſe ſtands; which formerly either was an iſland "or a peninſula, or was ſo ſuppoſed to be by Homer, who had but a ſlight knowledge of "theſe countries. The iſland of Ortygia was famous among the Greeks, for being the "birth place of Artemis. Perhaps the Phœnicians had a ſun-dial here; which ſhewed "the ſolſtices and the equinoxes."

of

of the public joy, and endeavour to ſatisfy their creditors. A cuſtom ſo humane as this ought not to be aboliſhed.

ADDITION TO LETTER XCII.

ON the 27th of January, 1794, I received a letter from my friend Landolina, the knight of Malta, ſent me from Syracuſe, containing the following deſcription of a phænomenon of the ſpring of Arethuſa; which I have no doubt will be intereſting to my readers.

Il giorno 17 del corrente luglio, l'acque dell' Aretuſa, alle ore ſei della ſera, incommincio a ſcorrere, torbida in tutte le diverſe ſorgenti che ſcorrono dentro il gran porto; ed anche la ſorgente che é in mezzo del mare ſgorgava torbida dal letto del mare. Il colore che dava era roſſiccio oſcuro; ma dentro il bicchiere ſembrava acqua torbida, e laſciava nel ſedimento una polvere ſottiliſſima cenericcia.

Il ſapore dell' acqua, che prima era ſalmaſtro, divenne dolce perfettamente. Notai che per tutta la città le acque ſorgive che ſono incavate nella pietra, e che ſervono di pozzi alle caſe delli ſingoli, non erano alterate nel colore, e nel ſapore erano piu raddolcite di prima. Durò tre giorni queſta torbidezza, che mancava di giorno in giorno, e laſciava fra le pietre per le quali ſcorreva, un ſedimento cenericcio.

Il giorno 21 al tramontar del ſole, ſeccò totalmente la fonte di Aretuſa, con tutte le altre acque che ſcorrono vicino alla medeſima dalle diverſe ſorgenti che mettono la loro foce nel gran porto; e ſi riduſſe totalmente ſecco il letto delle àcque, tantochè vi concorſe molta gente, e a piedi aſciutti entrarono dentro la grotta per dove ſotteraneamente ſcorre l'acqua. La ritrovarono incavata dall' arte, e che era diſtante dell luogho dove ſi vede a ciel aperto circa quaranta palmi.

Nel fine di queſta grotta era una feſſura nella pietra, per la quale ſgorgava l'acqua. Per tutta la lunghezza della grotta furono preſe moltiſſime anguille, che reſtarono nel letto. Dopo ſette minuti ritornò l'acqua, a poco

a poco, e la mattina del giorno 22 era abondante come prima. Ma é reſtata ancora dolce.

" On the 17th of the preſent July (1793) the water of the ſpring " Arethuſa, at 6 o'clock in the evening, began to run in a turbid man- " ner from all the different ſources which empty themſelves into the " great haven." (We muſt remember that theſe aſſociate ſprings are the conſequences of the decay of the now much leſs Arethuſa, with which they have a ſubterranean communication). " The ſpring " likewiſe that is in the ſea roſe turbid from its bed." (Meaning the ancient Alpheus.) " The colour of the water was a dark red; and, " being put into a glaſs, it appeared foul, and left a ſediment of " exceedingly fine aſhes.

" The taſte of the water, which before was brackiſh, then became " perfectly freſh. It was remarked, through the whole city, that the " water, which roſe in the ſtone wells and which was uſed in the houſes " of the citizens, was not altered in its colour; though in its taſte it " was more freſh, or ſoft, than uſual. This turbid ſtate of the ſprings " continued for three days; but gradually declined, and left a ſediment " of aſhes between the ſtones over which it ran.

" On the 21ſt at ſunſet, the ſpring of Arethuſa, with all the other " waters that riſe in its vicinity, and that empty themſelves into the " great haven, became totally dry: ſo that the ground was entirely " free from water: inſomuch that many people ran and examined the " inſide of the ſubterranean grotto, from which the water iſſued, with- " out wetting their feet. This grotto they found had been dug by art; " and the diſtance between the farther end of the grotto and the place " where they could ſee the ſky was about forty palms.

" At this farther end, there was a fiſſure in the rock, through which " the water roſe. Through the whole extent of the grotto, its bed was " covered with innumerable eels. After a ceſſation of ſeven minutes, " the water began to return by degrees; and, on the morning of the " 22d, it was as abundant as before: but it ſtill continues to be freſh."

Landolina

Landolina likewiſe remarks that ſimilar phænomena, no doubt, have given riſe as well to the ſuppoſition of the credulous ancients, that the water of Arethuſa was changed into blood, as to that of the philoſophers, who have ſeriouſly maintained that the colour of the water was made red by the blood of the animals ſacrificed at Olympia. Such commentators, to their penetrative acumen, add the credulity of ſuppoſing a ſubterranean communication between the river of Peloponneſus and the Sicilian ſpring.

Landolina farther adds, in his letter, *In queſto ſecolo, però in cui ſbandita la ſuperſtizione, ſi ricerca nella natura l'origine di tali fenomeni, mi conviene ridurne la cagione alle vulcaniche materie; che fermentando aprono voragini, chiudono meati, riempiſcono caverne, e fanno cambiare il corſo delle acque dentro le viſcere della terra.* "In this age, while we "baniſh ſuperſtition and enquire into nature for the origin of ſuch "phænomena, it appears reaſonable to me to attribute them to volcanic "materials; that fermenting open gulphs, cloſe up apertures, fill ca-"verns, and change the courſe of the waters within the bowels of the "earth."

LETTER XCIII.

Catania, 5th July 1792.

ON the 2d of July at mid-day, we went on board a veſſel at Syracuſe; hoping, by the aid of a favourable wind, to reach Catania in four hours: but the wind fell, and became variable; and we did not arrive at this place till half after eleven at night. During our paſſage, we ſaw Ætna right before us; and when it was dark the red ſtream of lava became viſible.

Catania, which in ancient times was called *Catana*, was one of the firſt of the old Greek colonies. It was founded by the ſame people from Chalcis who, but a ſhort time before, in the firſt year of the 13th Olympiad, 726 years before Chriſt, had made a ſettlement at Leontium. A part of them effected a ſettlement here, under their choſen leader Euarchus *.

Charondas, the famous lawgiver and a ſcholar of Pythagoras, was a native of Catana. The univerſity of Catania may juſtly boaſt of being one of the moſt ancient ſeats of the ſciences †.

Two hundred and forty-nine years after the founding of this place, Hiero the Firſt, the brother of Gelo, tranſported the inhabitants of Naxos and Catana to Leontium; and peopled the two empty towns partly with Peloponneſians, and partly with Syracuſians. To Catana, which received ten thouſand new inhabitants, he gave the name of Ætna: at the foot of which mountain it is built. To theſe inhabitants he granted, not only the ancient lands of Catana, but others from the neighbouring territories. This he did, in part to obtain warriors, on whom he could depend; and in part that, after his death, he might be honoured as a hero, or ranked among the Gods ‡.

He died in Catana; and, as he wiſhed, was there honoured as a hero, becauſe he was there conſidered as the ſecond founder of the town.

In the fourth year of the 79th Olympiad, 459 years before Chriſt,

* Thuc. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 379.

† See Weſſeling's remarks on Diodorus: vol. i. p. 485: where he proves that Charondas was not only the lawgiver of Thuria but of his native place, Catana, and of the other towns of Italy, and Sicily, that received colonies from Chalcis. Theſe were in Italy Rhegium, in Sicily Zancle, Naxus, Leontium, Catana, Euboea, Mylæ, Himera, and Callipolis. Ariſtotle ſays of Charondas that, except his laws againſt falſe witneſſes, nothing was properly his own; but that no lawgiver of his (Ariſtotle's) age could be compared to him in preciſion, and elegant perſpicuity of expreſſion. Χαρωνδȣ δ' ιδιον· μεν ȣδεν ἐςι τλην αἱ δικαι των ψευδομαρτυρων. πρωτος γαρ εποιησε την επισκεψιν. τη δ' ἀκριβεια των νομων ἐςι γλαφυρωτερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετων. Ariſtotelis Pol. lib. ii. c. 12.

‡ Diod. lib. xi. vol. i. p. 440.

Ducetius, the leader of the Siculi, bore arms againſt Catana; becauſe its citizens had robbed him of part of his territory. It was likewiſe attacked by the Syracuſians, in revival of old claims; and, after various defeats, the inhabitants of Catana, or Ætna, were obliged to forſake their town, and retire to Ineſſa*: to which place they then gave the name of Ætna.

The former inhabitants of Catana now repoſſeſſed themſelves of their town, and again called it by its former name. In the ſecond year of the 94th Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, Dionyſius the elder took Catana, ſold the inhabitants, and ceded the town to the people of Campania †.

There was a family in Catana that was called Εὐσεβίες: or the pious. It happened once, when Mount Ætna ſhed its fire over the town, two of the inhabitants only were thoughtful enough to protect their parents: one of whom bore away his father, and the other his mother. The river of fire overtook them; but immediately behind them divided itſelf into two ſtreams, and left them unhurt. This happened before the time of Alexander: yet, during the life of Pauſanias, who lived in the Auguſtan age, this family continued to be revered ‡.

A Roman colony was ſent hither, under the reign of Auguſtus. Great remains of antiquity ſtill exiſt in Catania. A part of the *Thermæ*, or warm baths, are in good preſervation; and probably we ſhould have ſeen more of them, had not the cathedral been built over them. A ſubterranean octagonal hall appears to me to be ſtill uninjured; and aqueducts, that ſupplied the water, are partly ſtill in exiſtence, and work mills.

The gymnaſium ſtood near the thermæ, and muſt have been very large; for, though a great part of it was overwhelmed by the lava of

* Cluverius and Weſſeling prove that, in the text of Diodorus, inſtead of Ἔμπιον we ought to read Ἴνησσαν. According to Cluverius, this is the place where the monaſtery of Saint Nicholas now ſtands; twelve Italian miles from Catania, on the ſide of Mount Ætna.

† Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 651. ‡ Pauſan. lib. x. c. 28.

the

the year 1669, there ſtill exiſts, on each ſide, a ſpacious ſtreet that belonged to it with many arcades.

Near the gymnaſium are the large ruins of the theatre, where not many of the ſeats of the ſpectators are preſerved: but, as from a part of the half circle its circumference may be determined, and as we ſtill ſee the place where the ſtage began, we can eaſily form an eſtimate of the breadth of the whole from its viſible length. The paſſages are ſome of them in good preſervation, and ſo are the ſtaircaſes of the three different ſtories, and many of the *vomitoria*. The late Prince Biſcari has removed the rubbiſh, under which it lay, at his own expence.

The Catanians affirm that it was in this theatre that Alcibiades made the oration, by which he fixed the attention of the people till the Athenian warriors had got poſſeſſion of the town. Thucydides and Diodorus mention the ſtratagem, but not the theatre.

Annexed to the great theatre is a ſmaller one, covered in, which was called the *Odeum:* but no one knows for what purpoſe the *Odeum* was intended. The name appears to ſignify that it was deſigned for muſic: its very roof ſeems to denote that this was its deſtination. Of the *Odeum* in Catania the external circumference only is now to be ſeen. Like the theatre of Marcellus in Rome, the greateſt part of it is changed into habitations for poor families.

What is ſaid of certain beaſts, that, having taſted of blood, from blood they cannot refrain, may be juſtly ſaid of the Romans; who, having once accuſtomed themſelves to the ferocious combats of ſavage animals, and more ſavage men, could not exiſt without ſuch ſpectacles. There are large remains of a Roman amphitheatre ſtill ſtanding in Catania.

The lower part, for it conſiſted of three orders, is covered with rubbiſh. Much of the ſecond order is remaining, but little of the third; for, in the time of Theodoric, King of the Goths, the ſtones were taken away and uſed for building the city.

Catania has ſeveral times been viſited by earthquakes, and the rivers

of

of fire that are poured out by Ætna. In the ſpring of the third year of the 88th Olympiad, 424 years before Chriſt, the fiery lava iſſued from the mountain, and laid deſolate the territory of Catana *.

In the year 1669, Catania ſuffered miſerably from the terrible eruption of the mountain. The lava flowed in a broad and deep ſtream toward the town. The farther it departed from the mouth of the volcano the more ſlowly it flowed, and the leſs fluid it became. Inſtead of melting away the walls, as had been expected, it was ſtopped by them, roſe above them, and flowed over them.

Two remarkable phænomena were produced by this lava; the traces of which will continue till they are removed by ſome earthquake, or ſome new eruption. On the weſt of the town ſtood the ancient Benedictine monaſtery, which now conſtitutes only a ſmall part of the former building. Toward the walls of this monaſtery a high ſtream of lava flowed, ſurrounded it on ſeveral ſides, and remained without touching it immediately before the wall. The aſpect of the indurated maſs is very remarkable.

Another ſtream of lava overflowed that arm of the river *Giudicello*, which was called *Canale del Duca*; and, as the water was much valued, the inhabitants made a deep opening through the condenſed lava, from which iſſued a copious ſtream: and the clear water now continues to run from the vaulted lava, like ſprings from a grotto of rock.

The river *Giudicello* is the *Amenas* or *Amenanus*, of the ancients. The *Amenas* is mentioned by Pindar, in his firſt Pythian ode. It riſes in Mount Ætna; and its principal ſtream is frequently inviſible, and divides itſelf into many ſubterranean branches: but it flows through the town above the ground. Ovid ſays of it

——Sicanias volvens Amenanus arenas
Nunc fluit, interdum ſuppreſſis fontibus aret.
OVID. l. xv. 279.

* Thuc. lib. iii.

Large Amenane, impure with yellow ſands,
Runs rapid often and as often ſtands.

DRYDEN, v. 428.

It is now inviſible; and it richly ſupplied the numerous aqueducts of the ancient town, ſeveral of which are yet remaining *.

The earthquake of the year 1169 was a dreadful one; and, according to Amico, 14,000 of the inhabitants of Catania were deſtroyed, at the ſame time that the fields were deſolated by the ſtreaming fires of Ætna.

Both theſe terrors of nature again viſited Catania in the laſt century; when, in the year 1693, the town by an earthquake was nearly reduced to a pile of ruins.

Catania however roſe out of its rubbiſh with reviving beauties. The broad ſtreets are now carried in a right-line direction, and handſomely built. As it enjoys both a conſiderable trade and is ſituated in one of the moſt fertile parts of the moſt fertile country of Europe, its inhabitants feel the bleſſings of proſperity: and, in the year 1783, when a great part of Meſſina was thrown down by the earthquake, Catania at its own expence aided in rebuilding that city. In population, it is the ſecond place in Sicily: the number of its inhabitants is continually increaſing, nor is this number limited by its walls.

According to the eſtimate of ſome perſons, Catania contains eighty thouſand people: but the ſanguine Sicilians and Italians muſt be cautiouſly truſted, when they form theſe eſtimates of their own numbers. At the time that Amico wrote his valuable *Lexicon Topographicum Siculum*, which may be about thirty years ago, the number of inhabitants was given at twenty-five thouſand eight hundred and forty-eight; which number may probably have increaſed to forty thouſand ſouls.

The Benedictine monaſtery is a magnificent building. Theſe monks formerly lived on the declivity of Ætna, at *San Nicolao della Rena*; where ſome of their lay brothers ſtill receive travellers: but, in

* Vid. Lex. Top. Sic.

the year 1558, they were removed to Catania; and they now only reſide in their former abode during ſome weeks of the hot ſeaſon, and the time of vintage, having been obliged to forſake it by earthquakes, and the vicinity of the volcano.

The monaſtery in Catania poſſeſſes a handſome church, the organ of which is celebrated, a large but ill arranged muſeum, a library, and two gardens that, according to the cuſtom of the country, afford no umbrageous bowers.

The ſervices rendered to this town by the late Prince Biſcari are well known. He was active in promoting the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, and the developing of antiquity, was a benefactor to his fellow citizens, a friend to the Muſes, and a hoſpitable hoſt to ſtrangers. His ſons, like himſelf, receive ſtrangers with friendſhip, and with unaffected amenity. The collection of their ample muſeum is much praiſed: but I am too great a novice in natural hiſtory to be able to do full juſtice to this beautiful cabinet.

They have likewiſe a very large collection of antiques. When the late Prince cauſed the rubbiſh to be removed, many pillars and ſtatues were found, that now embelliſh the muſeum. Among them was a large *Torſo*: a body, without head, hands and legs, which is very beautiful: but which of the Gods of the ancients this ſtatue repreſented I dare not hazard an opinion concerning, much leſs a deciſive judgment. When Winkelmann, from the muſcles of the back of the famous *Torſo* at Rome, imagined he could ſee the perfect ſtatue, and propheſy like the Pythia on the tripod, who could forbear to ſmile at the inebriety of this feeling man, great as his knowledge was? But the cold inebriety of ignorance is diſguſting. Riedeſel, a good judge and a diſcerning connoiſſeur, believed this *Torſo* to be a Bacchus. It does not however appear to me to poſſeſs thoſe ſoft beauties which characterized the antique ſtatues of Bacchus. And, to thoſe who imagine it to be a Jupiter, we may anſwer that, had it been ſo, the lower part of the beard muſt now have been viſible on the breaſt.

A bronze head, of Antinous, is among the moſt beautiful heads that I have any where ſeen.

The collection is rich in little deities, or bronze and earthen Egyptian and Greek idols, tear vials, lamps, and other particulars.

The Prince collected Greek vaſes with the greater ſucceſs becauſe the remains of ancient Camarina, one of the largeſt of the Greek towns of Sicily, were within his manor: and never were more beautiful vaſes any where found.

A little blue vaſe, that looks ſomething like porcelain, is conſidered as a valuable ornament to this collection: becauſe it is believed to be a *vas murrhinum*, which was very highly valued by the ancients *.

A fragment of an obeliſk of Egyptian granite probably was the counterpart of another fragment of an obeliſk, that ſtands in the great place of Catania erected on the back of an elephant of lava. Both the obeliſks may have been uſed as the goals of the race courſe of the Circus, which the Romans erected. They are of Egyptian workmanſhip, as is evident from the hieroglyphics.

A ſtone which was found in *Agirone*, the ancient *Agyrium*, the native place of Diodorus Siculus, contains the following inſcription:

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.

"Diodorus the ſon of Apollonius."

Probably this ſtone covered the aſhes of the annaliſt, who threw ſo

* It is not accurately known of what ſubſtance the *murra*, or *murrha*, of the ancients conſiſted. Pliny ſays it was brought from the Eaſt, and was held to be a humid ſubſtance, which was conſolidated by heat in the earth; and the vaſes that were made of it were famous for the play of the colours, a certain clear poliſh (*Splendor his fine viribus, nitorque verius quam ſplendor*) and their odour. The whole deſcription of Pliny is maſterly. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxvii. c. 8.

When Auguſtus took Alexandria, he ſelected nothing from the rich royal furniture but a beaker of *murrha*. *Suet. in Vit. Octav.* 71. The Prince of Biſcari has written a treatiſe on vaſes of *murrha*: the title of which is *Ragionamento de Vaſi Murrini*.

much light on ancient hiſtory; and particularly on the hiſtory of this his native iſland.

The collection of gems, cameos, and intaglios, is excellent; and the cabinet of ancient coins is perhaps the moſt perfect in Sicily.

The late Prince cauſed a large villa to be laid out on the broad back of the lava; which, in the year 1669, flowing from Ætna, ran into the ſea. This enquiring man wiſhed to make an experiment, or rather wiſhed to afford poſterity an experiment, of the time neceſſary for human induſtry to render the lava capable of cultivation. He made a broad road, at a prodigious expence, over the ridgy and by him plained lava: on each ſide of which he filled up the hollows with earth, on which he planted trees. The decayed leaves have by time ſo ſoftened the hard ſubſtance of the lava that the tender roots, after firſt inſinuating themſelves, have continued to penetrate inceſſantly; till, by the uninterrupted but ſlow progreſs of vegetation, the lava, like the rock, has been obliged to yield. It apeared to me that, in ſome parts, the beautiful caper plant, and the Indian fig, have taken root in the already ſubſiding lava, where no earth has been laid. The huge maſſes are ſtill as hard as rock; ſome parts excepted, where the hollows retain the water: and they begin to be clothed with gray moſs, which is among the firſtlings of reviving vegetation.

The nature of lava is very different; as I evidently ſaw by comparing that near Pompeii, which had remained thirty years, and that which had remained five hundred, beſide the *Lago del Re* in the iſland of Iſchia. In both, the ſcanty commencement of vegetation is nearly equal. Nay the ſame volcano will emit different lavas, that are very diſſimilar in kind. The annals of nature are highly honourable; and are like the tables of the law, written by the hand of God: but he, who believes that in them he can diſcover their author, will not be daring enough to give any accurate eſtimate of their duration. Such a man will frequently recollect the inſcription in the temple of the Delphic Apollo:

Ὀυ λεγει, ὐδε κρυπτει, ἀλλα σημαινει.

"He ſays nothing, he conceals nothing, he gives tokens."

The lava of the year 1669, on which the villa of the Prince of Biſcari was laid out, by overflowing an arm of the *Giudicello*, dammed up its mouth and changed it into a ſtanding lake, which is ſupplied by a ſpring. As the occaſional inundations of this lake made the air unhealthy, the Prince cauſed another mouth to be dug; through which the ſuperfluous water may empty itſelf, into the ſea. Theſe waters are ſtocked with fiſh, planted with trees, and encloſed in the garden. From this garden, looking northward to the ſea, we ſaw the three conic cliffs, which were called Cliffs, or Cyclops, by the ancients: their modern name is *Gli Farigliari.*

To another private perſon, who lived before the Prince I have mentioned, and who was of the family of Cutelli, the town is indebted for its *Collegio Nobile;* or college for nobles; which is of his founding and endowing, for the reſidence and education of twenty-four of the young nobility. All who are of the family of Cutelli, or who are related to it, are admitted gratis.

The building and its external appearance are beautiful. Whether the intellectual and moral parts of this inſtitution equal its outward form, and whether the education of the pupils correſponds to the founder's intention, are particulars of which I have not been able to obtain any good account. I only know that they are inſtructed in religion and languages, in the ſciences, horſemanſhip, fencing, and dancing.

The univerſity is the principal, and in a certain ſenſe the only, one in the iſland; for the ſtudents, in phyſic and law, who have entered themſelves at Palermo, if they wiſh for employment, muſt complete their education in Catania.

Don Giuſeppe Gioeni, who is a deſcendant of the famous houſe of Anjou, that once governed Sicily, is *Major-domo* to the queen, Chamberlain,

berlain, and Profeſſor of natural hiſtory, in this univerſity. The world is eager for the publication of his hiſtory and deſcription of Ætna; from which much is expected. He poſſeſſes a large and well arranged cabinet of natural hiſtory.

The lecturer in botany, an intelligent and friendly man, has laid out a botanical garden; by which he has ſupplied a public want, as far as it was in the power of a private perſon. His ſon is to be the ſucceſſor of the father. Among many plants of many countries, we here found buck wheat, the currant buſh, and the lily of the valley, as exotics. Neither do raſpberries nor ſtrawberries grow in Sicily. The lily of the valley, or May lily, grows wild, as it does with us, in ſome parts of the iſland; and blows in April. It could not be the lily of which the Cyclops, Polyphemus, told the Nymph, Galatea; for that blows in winter. Neither could it be the poppy of which he ſpoke; for that blows in ſummer.

Ὦ μοι ὀτ' ἐκ ετεκεν μ' ἁ ματηρ βραγχι' εχοντα,
Ὡς κατεδον επιτιν, και ταν χερα τευ εφιλασα,
Αἰ μὴ το ϝομα λης· ἐφερον δε τοι ἠ κρινα λευκα,
Ἠ μακον' ἁπαλαν, ερυθρα πλαταγωνι ἐχοισαν.
Ἀλλα τα μεν θερεος, ταδε γινεται ἐν χειμωνι·
Ὥτ' ἐκ ἀν τοι ταῦτα φερειν ἁμα παντ' ἐδυναθην.

THEOC. id. xi. 54.

Had I, like fiſh, with fins and gills been made,
Then might I in your element have play'd;
With eaſe have div'd beneath your azure tide,
And kiſs'd your hand, though you your lips deny'd:
Brought lilies fair, or poppies red; that grow
In ſummer's ſolſtice, or in winter's ſnow.
Theſe flowers I could not both together bear
That bloom'd in different ſeaſons of the year.

FAWKES.

I have not been able to learn what white flower it is that Theocritus calls the lily. The lily of the valley blooms here in April: the great lily

lily in ſummer. I have been told of a third kind, of a medium ſize: but this likewiſe blooms in ſpring.

I have received great pleaſure from my acquaintance with Signor Franceſco Ferrara, profeſſor of natural hiſtory; for whom I brought a letter from the great Spalanzani. He is an intereſting and friendly young eccleſiaſtic; and is the better enabled to give us the information we wiſh, on our intended journey to Ætna, becauſe he is a native of the little town of Trecaſtagne, which lies at the foot of the mountain.

The people of Catania are now building a new *molo*, or ſtone dam, the better to ſecure their haven againſt the ſea; and, in order to obtain a durable cement for this work, they cauſe *pozzolana*, or volcanic earth, to be brought from Mount Veſuvius: which they uſe after the manner of the ancients; who procured *pozzolana*, before they knew what it was, to mix with lime. The mixture of earth and aſhes muſt therefore be very different at Veſuvius to what it is at Mount Ætna: ſince that of Veſuvius is thus brought to the very foot of the former mountain.

The principal trade of Catania is in corn and pot-aſhes.

LETTER XCIV.

Giarre, at the foot of Mount Ætna, 7th July 1792.

THE day before yeſterday, at four in the afternoon, we proceeded on our journey; and ſaw before us the ſmoking Ætna, the grand boundary of our tour.

The mountain was more than once concealed by clouds: nay it once began to rain, and we were alarmed leſt bad weather ſhould, to our great

great diſappointment, arrive at the moſt intereſting moment of our peregrination. But we were ſoon relieved: the ſky was clear, and the white pillar of ſmoke roſe before us in the blue horizon.

In the vicinity of Catania, we were ſtruck at the aſpect of the lava of the year 1669; which ſpreads a gloom over the entrance of the *Val Demone;* abundant as it is in the grandeſt beauties of nature, and, if my ſenſations do not deceive me, the moſt delightful country I have ever beheld. It contains within itſelf Ætna, the ſhores of the ſtraits, and the north coaſt of Sicily, as far as the *Fiume Grande;* which runs between Cefalu and Termini. The *Val di Noto* ceaſes at Catania; but, in the time of Fazello, Catania was conſidered as a part of the *Val Demone.*

The vineyards of Catania are now reckoned as a part of this province; and are planted among the black projecting lava, which is often embraced by the ſpreading branches of the vine.

Here the lower region, or *regione pie montana*, of Ætna begins. Like Veſuvius, Mount Ætna, by the influence of its volcanic air and aſhes, ſpreads round it an extraordinary fertility; and thus compenſates for the ravages it commits, ſeven fold.

Some of the ancients conſidered it as the higheſt degree of happineſs, to be able to heap all poſſible miſchief on their enemies; and all poſſible benefits on their friends. To ſuch, Ætna was a perfect image of the grandeur after which they aſpired.

Soon after we had left the town, we ſaw the two *Monti Groſſi*, in the neighbourhood of the monaſtery of *San Nicolao della Rena:* or Saint Nicholas of the Sand: twelve Italian miles from Catania. The whole country conſiſts of volcanic matter; from the black back of which we are aſtoniſhed to ſee the verdant and vigorous produce of corn, wine, and oil. This occaſions it to be very populous; and the people appear to be induſtrious, and to enjoy their well deſerved proſperity. Their houſes are moſt of them built of lava, without any cement of mortar; and look like black ſpots, amid this dazzling ve-

getation. The villages Gravina, Maſcaluccia, Mazzanunciata, and Nicoloſi, follow each other in quick ſucceſſion. Beyond Mazzanunciata, on the left, there is a foreſt of oak; and, on the right, piſtachio trees. Immediately afterward, a waſte of lava ſpreads itſelf; between the high rugged maſſes of which there is a narrow path.

The village of Nicoloſi ſtands near the *Monti Groſſi:* which mountains ſwell in a ſemi-circular manner, like the two breaſts of a woman; and join each other at the bottom like the two hills at the foot of Mount Veſuvius, that emitted lava in the year 1767: which ran into the ſea, near the ruins of Pompeii. The *Monti Groſſi* of Ætna however are much more lofty. At Ætna, nature employs a ſtandard very different from that with which ſhe meaſures Veſuvius. The *Monti Groſſi* likewiſe roſe from the terrible eruption of the year 1669. The ſurrounding lava begins to wear a thin vegetation; and, in the bareſt parts, is generally covered with a grey moſs.

I know not whether the gloom excited by this lava be not exceeded by the black bed of aſhes, which is nearly a mile in breadth, that lies between the village of Nicoloſi and the monaſtery of *San Nicolao della Rena.* But this does but render the vines, pine trees, fruit trees, poplars, and cheſnuts, that ſurround the monaſtery, the more charming.

Here we arrived at eight in the evening: but it is only inhabited by a lay brother, belonging to the great Benedictine monaſtery of Catania; and that ſolely for the convenience of travellers.

This ancient monaſtery was founded in the year 1156; and was inhabited by the monks till the year 1558, when they removed to Catania. According to probable conjectures, it ſtands in the place where the ancient Ineſſa was built.

After having refreſhed ourſelves and our animals a little, we proceeded farther; it being then ten o'clock at night. During an hour, we ſaw by moonlight nothing but lava. We then arrived at the middle region of Ætna: which is likewiſe called the woody.

On this ſide, it is covered with oaks, and ſome beech trees: the ſight of

of which gave us the greater pleaſure becauſe this charming tree is ſeldom met with in Italy, and Sicily. But neither the tree nor its foliage attains the ſame beauty, here, as they do in our country.

Many pines and firs formerly grew in the foreſts of Ætna. The elder Dionyſius felled the half of his ſhip timber there: but, in the time of Diodorus Siculus, the growth of theſe trees muſt have ceaſed; as this writer expreſsly remarks that they had *formerly* been found here in great abundance *. Even in the time of Hiero the Second, Ætna abounded in pines: for this King cauſed as much timber to be felled from theſe foreſts, for the conſtruction of his prodigious galley, as would have been ſufficient for building ſixty galleys †. Pindar, a contemporary of Gelo and of Hiero the Firſt, ſpeaks of the black-leafed heights of Ætna in his firſt Pythian ode.

The full moon, with interchanging hills, valleys, and woods on our left, and on our right the flaming clouds of ſmoke, which, riſing over the erupting floods of fire concealed the ſummit of the mountain from us, and which wound themſelves like a ſpiral pillar of flame, imparted to this night ſuch a combination of beauties as only can be found on this mountain; and even here but ſeldom, though not more unfrequent than dignified. Never did I before behold the moon and ſtars ſo bright, as in this high and pure region of air.

At the end of the foreſt is what is called the goat-cavern: which is a deep arching formed by the overhanging lava. When I returned the following day from the top of Ætna, and ſaw a ſhepherd paſturing his goats and ſheep in this cavern, I could not forget the goatherd of Theocritus: who, in the full feeling of his happineſs, exclaims:

Αἰτνα ματερ ἐμα· Κηγω καλον αντρον ἐνοικω,
Κοιλαις ἐν πετρησιν· ἐχω δε τοι ὁσσ' ἐν ονειρῳ
Φαινονται, πολλας μεν ὁις, πολλας δε χιμαιρας.

THEOC. Id. ix. 15.

* Diod. vol. i. p. 676. † Athen. lib. v.

Ætna's my parent! there I love to dwell,
Where the rock-mountains form an ample cell.
And there, with affluence bleſt, as great I live
As ſwains can wiſh; or golden ſlumbers give.
By me large flocks of goats and ſheep are fed:
Their wool my pillow and their ſkins my bed.

FAWKES, 2F.

Soon after this, the high deſert country began; and the air was very cold. At one o'clock in the morning, we alighted from our mules, and gave our frozen limbs the protection of another lava cavern: where we lay down under the overhanging lava, among black aſhes and ſharp angular droſs; a ſituation that would have been very welcome to us for ſome hours, had time permitted us to take this repoſe. We ſtayed only a quarter of an hour; and did but feel the cold more ſenſibly when we again continued our journey.

As the laſt was a mild winter, and the preceding ſummer had been very hot, the moderate ſun of the preſent ſummer has almoſt melted the ſnow from the back of Ætna. The ſnow that is here preſerved in cliffs and caverns, trodden down and covered over with aſhes, will probably not be ſufficient to laſt till the ſeaſon of new ſnow: although it uſually begins to ſnow on Mount Ætna as early as September: eſpecially as, in caſe the ſnow ſhould fall late in the ſeaſon, they have no reſource but in theſe hoards. Each of the neighbouring towns has its particular magazine: the man who brings the ſnow to Catania was our guide.

The Cyclops, Polyphemus, invited his beloved but not loving nymph, Galatea, to the freſh water of the rivulets; which were formed of the ſnow of Ætna. After tempting her by deſcribing the riches of his ruſtic poſſeſſions, he adds—

Ἔντι ψυχρον ὑδωρ, το μοι ἀ πολυδενδρεος Ἀιτνα
Λευκας ἐκ χιονος, ποτον ἀμβροσιον προϊητι.
Τις κεν των δε θαλασσαν ἐχειν ἡ κυμαθ' ελοιτο;

THEOC. Id. xi. v. 47.

From

From grove-crown'd Ætna, rob'd in pureſt ſnow,
Cool ſprings roll nectar to the ſwains below.
Say, who would quit ſuch peaceful ſcenes as theſe,
For bluſtering billows, and tempeſtuous ſeas?

FAWKES.

We now ſoon ſaw the *Monte Roſſo:* a very large hill of Mount Ætna; and indeed the higheſt, except the ſummit of Ætna itſelf. Some travellers have confounded this *Monte Roſſo*, which is three Italian miles from the ſummit of Ætna, with the two *Monti Groſſi;* which are at the diſtance of eighteen miles from its ſummit.

I quote the following paſſage concerning it from a pamphlet publiſhed by Don Giuſeppe Gioeni: the title of which is, *Relazione della Eruzione dell' Etna, nel meſe di luglio,* M,DCC,LXXXVII. *ſcritta.* D. C. G. G. *(dal Cavaliere G. Gioeni. Catania,* 1787*).

"This mountain was formed by a remarkable eruption of the year "1751; and, from the colour of its matter, it has been called the red. "It riſes over another more ancient mountain, to which it forms a "back. Its fire is not yet extinguiſhed, for it frequently emits ſmoke "from various cavities; which is conſidered by the inhabitants of the "mountain as a prognoſtic of bad weather, or of new eruptions from "Mount Ætna."

This *Monte Roſſo* twenty-five years ago made a fearful eruption. Deceived by the moonlight, we ſuppoſed it to be the lofty head of Ætna; the top of which was concealed by the clouds of night, and its own ſmoke.

We ſoon however recovered ſight of it; and, in the grey twilight, alighted from our mules at the foot of its ſummit: which cannot indeed ſo properly be called the ſummit as the higheſt of the mountains piled upon mountains. We expected that our guide would have conducted us to the uppermoſt height: but he led us to the eaſtern foot of

* An account of the Eruption of Mount Ætna, in the month of July, 1787; written by the Cavaliere, Joſeph Gioeni. *Catania,* 1787.

the

the ſummit; at which we were at firſt diſſatisfied. We were ſoon however convinced that we could not have reached the top before ſun riſe; and that, had it been poſſible, we could not have endured to remain on the eaſtern ſummit: becauſe a weſt wind blew the ſmoke, and ſulphurous vapour, that roſe from the crater, toward the eaſt.

It was ſo cold, on the height where we ſtood, that the Reaumur thermometer fell a degree and a half below the freezing point. The eldeſt ſon of Landolina *, a youth of about twenty, who had come with us from Syracuſe, juſt as we alighted from our mules, was overcome by the cold: however, he ſoon in part recovered himſelf; though not entirely during ſome hours.

We now beheld, by day light, fields of deſolation around us, wildly hurled, and intermingled with droſs, black aſhes, ſnow, and vaſt maſſes of lava; which had been vomited, at different times, from the mouth of Ætna: on the left, the ſmoking crater roſe. Before us lay, in the diſtant deep, the Toro and other hills; and a continued bellying bed of clouds, the darkening extremities of which the eye could not clearly diſtinguiſh, either from the mountains or the ſea, till the majeſtic ſun roſe, in fire, and reduced every object to order. It was a new "divid-" ing of the light from the darkneſs; and of the dry land from the " gathering together of the waters †." Chaos ſeemed to unfold itſelf, where no four-footed beaſt, no bird, interrupted the ſolemn ſilence of the formleſs void.

Wo ſie keinen Todten begruben; und keiner erſtehn wird ‡: MESS. *cant.* i.

as Klopſtock ſays, of the ice-encircled pole.

Ætna caſt his black ſhades over the grey dawn of the weſtern atmoſphere; while round him ſtood his ſons, but far beneath: yet volcanic

* Landolina the father is a knight of Malta: but one of the *Cavaliere di divozione*, who are allowed to marry.

† Geneſis, chap. i. ver. 4 and 10.

‡ No dead are buried there; nor any there will riſe.

mountains

mountains all: in number ſix-and-thirty, each a Veſuvius. To the north, the eaſt, and the ſouth, Sicily lay at our feet; with its hills, and rivers, and lakes, and cities. In the low deep, the clouds, tinged with purple, were diſperſed and baniſhed from the preſence of the golden ſun: while their ſhades, flying before the weſt wind, were ſcattered over the landſcape far and wide.

After pauſing, aſtoniſhed and enraptured by the ſublime ſpectacle, we began our aſcent to the ſummit of the mountain. To attain this, we had to croſs a large tract of aſhes, and lumps of droſs: where extreme caution was required, to prevent falling over the rugged *ſcoria*. Nor could caution itſelf afford any certainty that an arm, or a leg, might not be broken: ſo continually did the hollow cinders turn under the foot, and fall upon it at every ſtep.

Theſe obſtacles being overcome, we ſtill had to aſcend the ſummit; which is very ſteep, and in many places ſo ſlippery that you can with difficulty get foot-hold: though the deſcent is not ſo very ſudden as frequently to make a fall dangerous. We found ſulphurous vapours occaſionally riſing ſo powerfully, through apertures, that we were obliged ſuddenly to turn from them.

Being frequently under the neceſſity of reſting to take breath, we were about two hours before we arrived at the top: and yet, miſled by the deſcriptions of ſome travellers, we actually figured to ourſelves greater difficulties than we found.

And now we ſtood beſide the vaſt, circular, and to the eye impervious, throat of Ætna. The form it has aſſumed is that of a tunnel: except that the circle is not regular. Its contracting abyſs is ſoon loſt to the ſight. In various places, thin clouds of ſmoke aſcended out of ſmall cavities, as from ſo many chimneys: while the mouth itſelf tempeſtuouſly emitted its whirlwinds of black and white clouds, in a ſpiral column. To go round the crater, or to remain a moment facing the wind, were things impoſſible. Even with the wind on your back, by which you are ſecured againſt the ſmoke of the grand crater, you are

pained and ſuffocated by whiffs of ſulphurous vapours; which aſcend from the backs of the ſummit.

As in Solfatara, near Pozzuoli, ſo here likewiſe, on the top of Ætna and round the rim of the crater, ſmall lumps of pure ſulphur are found: which they alſo are round the ſmall cavities.

The circumference of the mouth, or crater, is eſtimated at from three to four thouſand paces. Within, as far as the eye can diſcover, it is coated with ſulphur.

On the north, ſeparated from the ancient crater by a thin wall, or cruſt of ſulphur, there is a new mouth; which was opened by a falling in of the ſummit, in the month of May, in the preſent year. This likewiſe is round, tunnel formed, and impervious to the eye. Standing on its rim, we ſaw the whole weſt part of the iſland (which, for ſome hours, had been concealed from us by the mountain) to its extremeſt point; as far as the high *Monte di Trapani*, or *Eryx*, and the ſea beyond. Our guide endeavoured to point out the Lipari iſlands, on the right: but, being leſs acquainted with the country than he was, I could not diſtinguiſh them from the blue clouds of the horizon.

We threw ſtones into this crater; which rolled like diſtant thunder, till they at laſt fell, with a loud din, into the water below. After throwing the ſtone, I counted eight-and-forty pulſations before I heard the daſhing of the water. This experiment ſeems to me to ſtrengthen the opinion of thoſe who believe that the mouths of the volcano are open to, and communicate with, the ſea.

On a ſudden, we heard the gulph begin to roar, with a ſound like that of boiling waters, in this prodigious cauldron; and our guide adviſed us immediately to depart.

When this mouth firſt opened itſelf, about eight weeks ago, it continued for ſeventeen days to pour out lava; and it ceaſed when the lava began to iſſue, which now continues to flow from a mountain adjoining to the Monte Roſſo.

We

We found it leſs difficult to go down than to aſcend the mountain; though this was ſufficiently inconvenient, beſide that we were again obliged to paſs over a long bed of ſlack and cinders.

I was aſtoniſhed to find every where over the ſummit, round the crater of Ætna, among the droſs, and even on the ſnow and ice, the beautiful little red *ſcarabæus* * with black ſpots; which is ſo commonly found in Germany among the graſs, the foliage, or the corn: where it is accuſtomed to feed: while here, in this deſert, as far as the eye can reach, the vegetation of moſs itſelf ceaſes; and yet I never any where ſaw theſe inſects more full of life, or ſo numerous. We found them moſt frequently covering the lumps of ſulphur; on the vapour of which no doubt they feed, while the warmth of the ſulphur increaſes their numbers and their vivacity.

Before we remounted our mules, we went upon a hill of aſhes; on which, a few years ago, there were great remains ſtanding of the building which was called *La Torre del Filoſofo*: or the tower of the philoſopher. It has been affirmed that Empedocles reſided here, to obſerve the phenomena of the mountain; and nothing can be more probable than that this great Sicilian naturaliſt particularly dedicated himſelf to the obſervation of Ætna: but the tale concerning the building is as fabulous as that which you know is related by Horace—

———*Deus immortalis haberi*
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit. HOR. *Ars Poet.* 464.

Then will I tell Empedocles's ſtory;
Who, nobly fond of more than mortal glory,
Fond to be deem'd a God, in madding fit
Plung'd in cold blood in Ætna's fiery pit.
FRANCIS.

Horace found it difficult to believe this tradition. He only uſes it

* *Kæfer*: the lady-bird, as I ſuppoſe. T.

as a ſimile; and the old woman's tale, that Ætna betrayed the philoſopher by caſting up his ſlipper of braſs, is not mentioned by the poet.

Formerly, a temple, dedicated to Vulcan, ſtood on Mount Ætna; and Cluverius ſuppoſed this *Torre del Filoſofo* to be the ruins of that temple: but the temple muſt have been built in a lower region, for there was a grove near it; and in it the ſacred fire was contained, and dogs were kept. The philoſopher's tower muſt every winter have been half buried in ſnow: a place where neither man nor dog could houſe, and near which no tree could grow. At preſent, very few traces of the building are remaining; and the little that is to be ſeen appears to denote it was of later ages. The Greeks would have built of hewn ſtone, or lava, and have conſtructed their building without mortar.

We rode the way that we came, back to *San Nicolao della Rena;* where we arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, wearied and overheated, but heartily glad of having accompliſhed our enterpriſe.

An hour after midnight, we once more proceeded to view the ſtreaming lava by night; and rode for ſome leagues beſide that which, in the year 1682, was thrown out of the volcano called *Salto del Cane;* or hound's leap.

Our narrow way led us through many windings; ſo that we now ſaw before us, now behind us, and again at our ſide, the glowing river: and, whenever it eſcaped our view, we ſtill could trace its courſe, by the red fiery vapour that it emitted. Before our arrival, we ſaw on our left the lava of *Monte Roſſo*, which was thrown out in the year 1767; and rode, while approaching the fiery ſtream, between black maſſes of former eruptions.

The preſent lava is caſt from the heights of *Soliſicio*, a ſide hill of *Monte Roſſo*, like a waterfall; till it arrives near the place where we ſtood in a kind of bottom, but is there preſſed forward by ſucceeding ſtreams, and again continues its courſe to the diſtance of fourteen Italian miles: or full two German miles. Little of the proper lava is

ſeen, that conſiſts of the liquefied earths and rock: for it is covered with the glowing droſs. The ſtream is "a worthy pioneer," as Hamlet ſays of the ghoſt of his father, and has dug itſelf a deep bed between the ſhores of its fiery ſlack and cinders. In the place where it falls from above, it collects the black parts in the middle; and forms, with its correſponding black lines in a lateral direction, ſomething like the figure of a fiſh: the body of which is of a fiery red, and the outline of the back black.

As the droſs of the ſtream was drawn to the two ſides, when it touched the black droſs of the banks it adhered; and the relieved lava flowed the quicker; and, as the banks were ſomewhat hollowed under, we could there ſee the clear flame-coloured ſtream. The running, or to ſpeak more properly the driven, maſs is hard; ſo that, if a ſtone be thrown upon it, a ſound is heard of a dull or dead kind, as if thrown on iron droſs; and the ſtone is carried along the ſtream. Every inflammable ſubſtance kindles in an inſtant; and the light communicates a dark purple colour, to the inſide of the droſs of the ſhore. The aſcending ſmoke gradually becomes clear; till at laſt it has a morning red appearance. At day-break, bubbles ſwam and played in the ſmoke; and reflected the objects of ſea and land. We approached very near to the bank of the ſtream, climbed the wall of droſs, and looked into the fiery river; but could not remain there a moment.

The whole aſpect and courſe of this conflagration, deſcending from above and collecting in the deep below, then dividing into meandering ſtreams and forming iſlands, was inexpreſſibly ſublime. Even when the dawn appeared, nay after the ſun had riſen, though leſs fiery, when near, it continued to be of a glowing red colour. At a diſtance, by day, its appearance is black.

We followed for a little way its downward courſe; and ſaw below vineyards, and gardens, ſurrounded by its ſcorching arms: then ſuddenly, with loud cracks, we heard the high droſſy ſhores, at different places, fall into the ſtream. We could likewiſe diſcover, through aper-

tures, the red lava ſhining, and in ſome places preſſing forward on the ſide on which we ſtood; and perceived how very poſſible it was for the wall of droſs which we climbed to have fallen in.

In the places where the ſtream broke down theſe walls, it loſt much of its flaming red appearance, and of its motion. One of theſe that we looked at, of a condenſed kind, was tardy in becoming liquefied; as if unwilling to move: but was at laſt ſlowly obliged to yield, and be dragged along.

This lava flows to the north eaſt into the ſea; and already has deſtroyed many fruitful fields and gardens. Uncertain what courſe it will take, the afflicted people ſtand watching its ſmoke by day, and its flames by night.

Quitting theſe fiery abodes, we came at firſt to the deſerts of ravaged nature; till by degrees ſhe again began to ſmile. The declivity of the mountain was covered with cheſnut foreſts. Remember, when I ſpeak of the cheſnut tree in Italy and Sicily, I mean the beautiful and noble cheſnut, the fruit of which we eat; but which in Germany is ſo ſcarce, and is only produced on ſmall trees. Our common horſe cheſnut, which, if I do not miſtake, was brought to us from Aſia, through Italy, in the fifteenth century, is very rare in theſe countries; and is only here and there to be found in gardens.

We now ſoon ſaw vineyards and orchards, on hill and dale; while the widening proſpect over the ſea preſented to our view the blooming fields by its ſide, the outſtretching mountain of Toro, and the high ſhores of Calabria. We beheld the moſt ſouthern Italian promontory of Spartivento: hated and defamed by ſeamen. After the fearful ſublimity of volcanic regions, how laughing did theſe lands of paradiſe appear! the charms of which were rather heightened than diſturbed by the contraſt of the black lava, that ſtreamed forth in the year 1682.

Near Ferreri where we halted at noon, we ſaw in a vineyard fifteen tall, ſtraight, young cheſnut trees; all of which ſprung from the root of a tree that was cut down, and forming the moſt beautiful foliage I ever beheld.

Colson del. 1792.

The Tree called

Dei cento Cavalli !

Letter XCIV.

beheld. The trunk of each was thicker than the body of a middle-ſized man.

In the afternoon, we rode through cheſnut foreſts that grow on the north ſide of Ætna. This tree flouriſhes beſt in the neighbourhood of volcanoes; near Veſuvius, Solfatara, and Epomeo, in Iſchia; but no where ſo highly as on Mount Ætna, the chief of the volcanoes. We viewed on all ſides the verdant fullneſs of ſwelling vegetation, in the beautiful fields which are every where found, from the declivity of the mountain to the plains of the fertile ſea coaſt; which is ſhaded with fruit trees of various kinds.

The trees of the cheſnut foreſts of Ætna conſiſt in part of the ſlender ſcions from old roots, ſuch as I have deſcribed above, and partly of trunks that are unequalled perhaps in the whole world; and certainly in Europe *. We met with ſome which were thicker than the prodigious oak trees near Bomte, in the biſhoprick of Oſnabürg; and yet how diminutive were theſe to the tree *dei cento cavalli*; or, the hundred horſemen: as it is called, by the Sicilians.

This tree, which for centuries has been hollow, conſiſts at preſent of five prodigious trees: ſeveral of the inward ſides of which are ſmooth, though time has covered them with a kind of bark; and which we indubitably ſee all actually belong to one great trunk, through which wide cavities have been made by the decay which time produces. They ſtand in a circle, and form a vaſt connected bower; denoting the natural rounding of the tree, which has only been perforated by a ſucceſſion of centuries.

Swinburne, a traveller of underſtanding and veracity, ſays: "When

* Even the famous African tree, which is called *Barbab*, and deſcribed by Proſper Alpinus, Cluſius, and ſince them by Adanſon, a French Botaniſt, after whom it has likewiſe been named *Adanſonia*, does not in circumference equal the ſize of theſe giants of Ætna. Adanſon found trees the diameters of which were nearly five-and-twenty feet: but the largeſt cheſnut tree of Ætna has more than twice that thickneſs. See *Linné's Pflanzenſyſtem, nach der 13ten auſgabe überſetzet. Nürnberg, 2ter Theil* 1777, *ſ.* 151. 166.

"I firſt

" I firſt ſaw this tree, I concluded myſelf impoſed upon, by the de-
" ſcriptions of preceding travellers; and was convinced that the origi-
" nal tree had been cut down, and the preſent group formed by new
" ſhoots ſprung out of the old root; but, upon a cloſer examination,
" I changed my opinion. This wonderful production of the vegeta-
" ble kingdom, conſiſts of a trunk, now ſplit to the ſurface of the
" earth, but, as I found by digging all round, united in one body at a
" very ſmall depth below *."

We meaſured the circumference of this tree; and found it to be twenty-five *canne* and ſix *palmi*, or one hundred and ſixty-two French feet: *pied de Roi:* which is ſomething larger than the Rheniſh foot. A *canna* contains eight *palms:* the *palm* a *ſpan*, including the firſt joint of the thumb.

We and our whole eſcort, mules and all, found more than ſufficient room within this tree: nor were we incommoded by the remains of a ſtone houſe and an oven, which had been built there; and you will eaſily perceive, from its circumference, that the name, *dei cento cavalli*, is no exaggeration. Huge branches ſpread from its principal trunks on all ſides; and the vigorous vegetation of its green old age increaſes the admiration which its aſpect excites: eſpecially having ſuffered as it has done from the ravages of time, in deſpite of which its venerable ruins rather reſemble a grove than a tree. View it on which ſide you will, its appearance is as beautiful as it is unique.

Another tree, which from the form of its branches is called *La nave*, or the ſhip, has likewiſe ſuffered much from the hundreds, or from the tens of hundreds, of years that it has exiſted. Like the firſt, it is hollow, and only half ſtanding; yet its boughs ſtretch out to a great diſtance. Its circumference is now eight *canne*, and a palm: or forty-nine French feet.

In this foreſt, on the 7th of July, we heard the nightingale ſing.

* Travels in the Two Sicilies by Henry Swinburne. Vol. iv. p. 157. Octavo 1790.

In

In the evening, we rode through countries as beautiful as thoſe we had paſſed on our deſcent; till we came to the ſmall town of *Giarre*, which ſtands on the ſea ſhore.

The inhabitants of this place were in great terror, when the lava, in the month of May laſt, which was thrown from the crater, appeared to threaten them. During the firſt three days, the earth heaved at every rumbling of the mountain; and the window ſhutters of thoſe houſes that had any were ſprung.

We ſaw from our inn a ſolemn proceſſion, with torches, which was made to the declivity of the mountain to entreat that the ſtream of lava might not injure them in its courſe. Were it not a common cuſtom to bear torches in nightly proceſſions, I ſhould have believed this to be the remains of a Pagan ceremony. The fable of the ancients was that the torch of Ceres ſet Mount Ætna on fire; when ſhe ſearched the world for her daughter Proſerpine, who had been carried away by Pluto. A race by torch light was inſtituted, in commemoration of this ſearch. Agathocles alluded to this cuſtom, when he adviſed the army to change the ſhips to torches, after he had vowed to ſacrifice them to Ceres and Proſerpine*: λαμπαδευειν απασας τας ναυς. What could be more probable than that the Sicilians ſhould make ſolemn proceſſions to Ceres: eſpecially at times when their harveſts were menaced by the fiery ſtreams of Ætna?

* Diod. lib. v. vol. i. p. 333, compared with lib. xx. vol. ii. p. 410 and the remarks of Weſſeling.

LET-

LETTER XCV.

Meſſina, 10th July 1792.

EARLY on the day before yeſterday, ſoon after we had left Giarre, a noble proſpect opened upon us. To the left, we ſaw Mount Ætna; which, if it be permitted to compare the ſublimeſt objects of nature to the inſignificant efforts of human art, when ſeen on this ſide, reſembles a Greek theatre. It riſes in woody gradations over the fertile plains: and extends itſelf in a chain of mountains as far as *Monte Toro:* the craggy ſummits of which project from the ſouth weſt to the north weſt, and it ends in placing its rocky foot in the ſea. To the right the ſea is ſeen, and the ſouthern coaſt of Calabria; which, from its diſtance, appears to unite with the *Monte Toro.*

We twice rode through the *Fiume Freddo:* the *Aſines* of the ancients. Its modern name is very applicable, for its water is very cold; and is likewiſe limpid, and freſh. Notwithſtanding its cold quality, it may probably be healthful either for bathing or beverage; and therefore it might be called by the Greeks *Aſines;* ἄσιννς; or harmleſs. We met with a grove of large mulberry trees between its two arms, and refreſhed ourſelves with the charming fruit.

I know not whether that kind of mulberry, which bears white fruit, can better endure the winter than the nobler ſpecies, that bears black, or more properly dark-red fruit; or whether the firſt be for that reaſon preferred in Germany, for the culture of ſilk. I met with many of both kinds in Sicily: but in Sicily they prefer the tree with the dark-red fruit, of which there is conſtantly ſo great a quantity of the beautiful berries that any perſon may pluck them who pleaſes. You are aware that, by plucking this fruit, the hands and mouth become

ſtained. A Sicilian taught me an eaſy manner of freeing myſelf from theſe purple ſpots; by taking ſome unripe fleſh-coloured berries, preſſing out their juice, and rubbing it over the ſtains.

On the left bank of the river Aſines ſtood the town of Naxos, which muſt not be confounded with the iſland of Naxos, in the Archipelago. The people of Chalcis and Eubœa founded this colony, under their leader Theocles, a year before Syracuſe was inhabited by the Greeks, in the third year of the 11th Olympiad, or 732 years before Chriſt *. They erected an altar to Apollo, the Leader: Απολλωνι Αρχηγετη: becauſe the oracle of this God at Delphos had adviſed the emigration of the Greek colonies to Sicily. Naxos was the firſt of theſe colonies that followed the advice of the oracle; and Syracuſe the ſecond.

In the ſecond year of the 94th Olympiad, 401 years before the birth of Chriſt, and 330 from its foundation, Naxos, through the treachery of Procles, a native, was taken by the elder Dionyſius; who ſold the inhabitants, ſparing none but the relations of the traitor. Their property he gave up to the ſoldiers, deſtroyed both the houſes and the walls, and ceded the territory to the neighbouring Siculi †.

Seven-and-thirty years after this event, Andromachus, the father of the hiſtorian, Timæus, aſſembled the ſurviving fugitives of Naxos, and founded *Tauromenium*, on Mount Taurus, or *Toro*; and there formed a ſettlement. The word *Tauromenium* is derived from the name of the mountain, and from μενειν: to remain. The town is now called *Taormina*.

When Hiero the Second made a treaty of peace with the Romans, Tauromenium was the laſt town that acceded to the alliance.

The people of Tauromenium threw down a ſtatue, which they themſelves had erected to the rapacious Verres: but they ſuffered the pedeſtal to remain, to eternize his diſgrace.

When Auguſtus, deſirous of rewarding the legions that had aided him in ſubjecting the Roman world, had given them moſt of the lands

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 379. † Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 651.

of Italy, after having tranſplanted the ancient poſſeſſors, or without compenſation driven them away, he likewiſe ſent a colony to Tauromenium.

The Saracens were maſters of the greateſt part of Sicily before they ſucceeded in conquering this town; and the remembrance of their cruelties is preſerved to this day. Count Roger the Norman, by cutting off the proviſions of the enemy, re-conquered Taormina.

This town is built on a height of *Monte Toro*; ſo that the aſcent to it is difficult; and the little town of Mola lies on a ſtill more lofty ſummit. The lands below Taormina are fruitful, well watered, abounding in trees, and very pleaſant. I ſaw very large citron trees in a village below the town.

Some miles from the town, the river Cantara runs; called *Onobalus* by the Greeks, and *Tauromenius* by the Romans. Its bed ſhews that, in winter, it is a broad ſtream; but in ſummer it is nearly dry. There is a bottom however in which its waters collect themſelves, and always form a ſtream: which was ſufficiently rapid, when we rode through it, to drive the horſes and mules rather ſideways. From this power it no doubt obtained its Greek name, *Onobalus*, the Aſs-thrower.

Not far from the place through which we forded, there is a bridge; which is called the Devil's bridge. The credulous country people relate that God told the Devil, if he would build a bridge there, the firſt that went over it ſhould belong to him; and the Devil immediately flew to perform the taſk. No ſooner was the bridge finiſhed than it was paſſed by a dog; and the raging Devil, ſtamping with his foot, puſhed out a ſtone, leaving an aperture which no ſtone that could be brought would fill up. At laſt however the bridge was bleſſed, and has ever ſince been in uſe. We did not think it worth while, in the heat of the day, to make a circuitous route to ſee this bridge.

Between the Cantara and Taormina are the ruins of an ancient tower, and an aqueduct. The tower is called *Caſtello Schiſone;* and ſome believe that this is the place where Naxos ſtood: but Cluverius

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with juſtice ſuppoſes that Naxos, according to the teſtimony of the ancients, was built on the banks of the *Aſines*. The lava of Ætna, eruptions from which muſt have happened in very early ages, forms the baſe of the tower and the aqueduct. This lava ſtretches out into the ſea; and I am inclined to believe that no other ſtream of lava has ſince run ſo far.

Near Taormina are the remains of water ciſterns of the ancient Tauromenium; and the arching of the largeſt of theſe ciſterns throws light on the ſo much doubted deſtination of the much greater reſervoir near Baiæ, which is known by the name *Piſcina mirabilis*. The arching of the ciſterns near Taormina is, like the arching of the *Piſcina mirabilis*, ſupported by pilaſters. The traces of the aqueducts, which ſupplied the ciſterns with water, are ſtill diſcoverable. Below the four other ciſterns of Taormina there has been one particularly large; which was uſed to fill a place with water, which place was plaiſtered and walled, and here the people enjoyed the ſpectacle of a ſea fight. By the ſide of this Naumachia *, the arcades are ſtill ſtanding in which ſtatues were placed. Above theſe were the ſeats of the ſpectators: of which ſeats ſome remains are ſtill exiſting.

I conjecture that this was the work of the Romans; partly becauſe it is built of ſlate-ſtone, and partly becauſe thoſe people, in the times of the Emperors, who from ſtate policy flattered their wiſhes, had an abſurd and remarkable propenſity to luxury. I ſuſpect that the Greeks, whoſe perception of the true was much more refined, would never have thought of building a place like this by the ſea ſide; on which ſea fights were to be mimicked. It was a property of theſe people to profit by every advantage of ſituation; and, if I dare ſo to ſay, to ſeize on every gift of nature. Theſe qualities appertain to genius. The conquering of difficulties which never ought to be encountered,

* Naumachia, Ναυμαχια, ſignified a fight, or combat, by ſea; and, if I do not miſtake, the Romans were the firſt who gave the pools on which ſea fights were imitated this name.

except when unavoidable, thoſe viſible efforts which are ever the death of the graces, and that love for the prodigious which is ſo much more eaſily attained than the ſublime, are the characteriſtic marks of a ſpirit of imitation; which was the more natural to the Romans becauſe they continually made it their endeavour to combine this ſpirit of imitation with their ancient character of victorious ſtrength.

As the preſent town does not contain above five thouſand inhabitants, it includes only a ſmall part of the ancient town, which was laid waſte by the Saracens. Above it are the great ruins of the theatre, in which there appear to be more and better connected parts than in the remains of perhaps any other ancient theatre. Some of the ſeats of the ſpectators were cut in the rock. Behind them are the walls, with niches for the reception of ſtatues; on which probably, as in the Roman theatres and amphitheatres, were the ſeats for the women; and farther back than theſe the ſeats for the common people were erected, on high arcades.

I am not ſufficiently acquainted with architecture to give you an adequate idea of the remains of thoſe parts which, becauſe of their preſervation, render this theatre particularly remarkable. The *podium*, that is, the front ſeat next the orcheſtra, where the chiefs uſed to ſit, is ſtill to be ſeen. The Senators and the Veſtals, in Rome, ſat on the *podium*. The orcheſtra, the *pulpitum*, the *proſcenium*, the ſtage, and the *poſtſcenium*, are ſtill very diſtinguiſhable.

I ſuppoſe this theatre to be a Roman work, becauſe it is built of ſlate-ſtone. There is no doubt but that it was coated with marble, taken from the mountain on which it ſtands, and in which the ſeats were hewn. The marble quarries of Mount *Taurus* were famous among the ancients; and Hiero the Second embelliſhed his prodigious and magnificent galley with baths of Tauromenian marble *.

The ſcience of the architect is honourable to him; for even now, when ſo many parts of the theatre are deſtroyed, ſounds from the ſtage

* Athenæus, lib. v.

are audibly heard on the ſeats. The *Cicerone* who conducted us rehearſed a ſcene here, which we could perfectly hear on the uppermoſt ſeat. How frequently have our theatres, and our churches, the defect of not being built with acouſtic ſcience; and how often do the ſounds die away in corners, or become confuſed by being echoed! How much more difficult likewiſe was it to render ſounds in the prodigious theatres of theſe ages articulate, where the players from the ſtage muſt indubitably have been diſtinctly heard by many thouſand ſpectators in the open air!

The ſituation of this place gave me much greater pleaſure than the theatre itſelf; for here you have a proſpect toward the ſea, and toward Ætna; which you behold towering in all its ſovereignty. The building of the ſtage deprived moſt of the ſpectators of this view: but it was enjoyed by thoſe who ſat on the ſeats of the women, and by the upper gallery.

On the back of the ſeats, toward the north, the ſtraits of *Faro* and the two coaſts are ſeen. If you turn your face immediately to the ancient caſtle, built by the kings of Arragon, you have then on one ſide a proſpect of Italy, the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily, and the Sicilian ſea; and on the other the entire ſtraits of *Faro*, between their lordly ſhores, the *Capo Spartivento*, and the mouth of the Adriatic.

I have ſeen proſpects more extenſive than theſe, but none more beautiful. While one ſea retires from the eye, another preſſes forward; between Calabria and Sicily, the two moſt delightful countries of Europe! And where is the mountain that can be compared to Ætna?

We took up our abode in the Capuchin monaſtery; where the good Monks gave us a friendly reception. They poſſeſs a large garden; in which, with other fruits, *agrumi* grow of various kinds and of great beauty. I here ſaw a ſpecies of citron which is produced twice a year on the ſame trees: the firſt time in April and May, the ſecond in Auguſt and September.

Yeſterday, on the 9th, we continued our road along the ſea coaſt,

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in cool yet clear weather; and heard the nightingale, in the groves of a well-watered place, near Taormina.

In the morning, we rode over ſome ſteep heights. There is a rock that riſes near *Capo di San Aleſſio*, which advances into the ſea, to which it ſtands almoſt perpendicular, with an ancient caſtle on its ſummit. On the left we almoſt continually ſaw either rocks or mountains which had a charming effect; though ſtill not ſo pleaſant as the north coaſt of the *Val Demone*, between Meſſina and Cefalu, the hills of which are clothed with woods, corn fields, fruit trees, and vines. To the right, we ſaw the lower part of Calabria, and the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily; from the country of Meſſina to Syracuſe.

Between Taormina and Meſſina, not far from the baths on the ſea coaſt, which are the reſort of the diſeaſed, there are gold and ſilver mines that belong to the *Principe di Ceſaro*. Like the royal mines, they are not worked; and there are people who blame this apparent neglect, but in my opinion they are wrong. In a country where the wheat is twenty, thirty, and forty, fold productive, a country perhaps ſuperior to all others in the various gifts of nature, ſome of which it ſpontaneouſly preſents and the reſt are obtained with little trouble, in ſuch a country, men ought not to dig in the bowels of mountains for ſilver or for gold. They ought rather, by the induſtry of agriculture and the application of commerce, to draw ſilver and gold from other countries. Well tilled, well regulated, well governed, Sicily and Naples would become the heart of Europe; through the grand arteries and petty veins of which the precious metals of foreign lands would freely circulate.

About a ſhort German mile from Meſſina, a row of houſes begins, and runs in a right line; interrupted by ſpacious and pleaſant gardens, which appear like the ſuburbs of Meſſina: in the juriſdiction of which they are. This row, or ſtreet, is called *Il Dromo:* no doubt from the Greek word, δρομος: a courſe, or race courſe: and probably in the times of Greece there was a *ſtadium* here, for racing.

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We arrived at Meſſina by day light; and thus concluded our journey through Sicily, made in a ſeaſon of the year during which our countrymen are inclined to believe this iſland is inſupportable. We frequently laugh at the ideas that are formed by the people of the South of the cold of northern countries; but the ideas which we Germans have of the heat of theſe ſouthern regions is not leſs extravagant. I readily grant the heat in the Two Sicilies is much greater than it is in Germany; and, on certain days, when in Palermo the *Sciroccо* blows, and the *Ponente* or weſt wind predominates in Syracuſe and in Catania, it can ſcarcely be endured. An inflamed ſtate of the air, like that which prevailed on the 26th of June in Syracuſe, is dreadful to foreigners: but ſuch occurrences are rare. The whole city ſpoke of the heat as ſingular. We muſt no more determine by the thermometer, on the average ſummer heat of theſe countries, than we muſt on the average winter cold of Ruſſia. In the December of 1785, I walked with great pleaſure in the country near Peterſburg, and was not froſt-bitten; although Reaumur's thermometer ſtood at twenty degrees below the freezing point. I experienced the benefits of a pure air, a clear ſun-ſhine, and a profound calm. During the extraordinary cold winter of 1788, when the thermometer ſunk as much below the freezing point in Germany, we all found the cold to be inſupportable. And no leſs inſupportable is the heat of Germany, when Reaumur's thermometer riſes from 22 to 28° above the freezing point: yet we rode with pleaſure, through Sicily, when the air was of this temperature.

Under the pure atmoſphere of this country no one complains of that ſuffocating ſtate of the air, by which we are frequently viſited in ſummer. At nine o'clock in the forenoon the heat in Sicily has generally attained its higheſt degree; and cooling ſea breezes then riſe, which freſhen the air, while the heat is qualified by theſe and by the mountain gales, the rivers, and the numberleſs ſprings which the country affords.

The province of *Val Demone*, which appears to me to be an earthly paradiſe, is chiefly cooled by the woody mountains, and by Ætna; and its northern coaſt, from Meſſina to Cefalu, would be ſtill far more beautiful than its eaſtern, from Meſſina to Catania, did not the deciſive Ætna make the balance preponderate: Ætna, the ſummit and the volcanoes of which and of its colleagues are armed in all the terrors of Nature; while its lower regions are embelliſhed with all her delights, all her beauties, and all her abundance! Theſe regions enjoy a balmy atmoſphere, under the prolific beams of which every fruit mellows, and no diminutive herbage ſprings. And how nutritive are the fruits of Ætna! How ſanative is the aromatic odour of this herbage! Well acquainted with the virtues of numerous herbs and roots, with which theſe favoured countries are ſo eminently enriched, the healthy and friendly inhabitants of Ætna have little need of phyſicians.

But indeed how abundant are Italy and Sicily, every where, in their manifold fruits! True it is that, from ignorance and neglect, the cherry, although its tree in theſe countries is very large, the plum, the apricot, and the peach, do not here attain that degree of perfection which our gardeners have the art to communicate. But is not this perfection, accompanied as it is by our ſcarcity, more than replaced by the abundance which is common to theſe countries? Aye, much more: if we have the juſtice and the benevolence to recollect that the gratification of the few ought not to be bartered for, or compared with, the enjoyment of the many.

Beſide, who will dare to bring our figs in competition with the numerous kinds of this pulpous and ſweet fruit; which here, and in the ſouth of Italy, twice a-year preſent themſelves on the high-ſtemmed and wide-ſpreading branches of theſe trees?

Melons and water melons are as plentiful as our cucumbers.

The eatable berries of the Service tree, *ſorbus eſculenta*, which reſemble little apples, except that they have rather flat kernels and hang on twigs like bunches of grapes, grow on large trees; and are only diſtin-

diſtinguiſhable from our bird ſervice tree, or *ſorbus aucuparia*, by their fruit.

The ſine acid taſte of the azerole *, the fruit of which is white and red and reſembles that of the *arbutus*, except that it grows upon high ſlender ſtems and is pendent from a ſmall ſtalk like a cherry, is as much unknown to us as our gooſeberry, currant, and raſpberry, are to the Italians and Sicilians.

I do not know whether the myrtle berry be common to the woods of theſe countries. The abundance which they have of mulberries ſupplies the want of any other fruit. If they have not as many apples and pears as we have, they may tell us that, did not the countries of the South ſend us their lemons and ſweet and Seville oranges, we ſhould be wholly without them. Gathered before they are ripe, nay while they are green, and packed up in cheſts, they neither attain that ſize, juice, nor flavour, which are common to them here; where they are plucked from the tree in every ſeaſon of the year. And how few of the numerous tribes of theſe *agrumi* are we acquainted with! The art of our gardeners is ſucceſsful in producing the pomegranate flower: but here this beautiful tree attains a vigorous growth, and its red bloom flouriſhes in ſpring and ſummer, and here and there refreſhes the eye, amid the verdant poliſh of the foliage, while the ripening fruit weighs down the productive branch.

The grapes begin to ripen at Syracuſe as early as the middle of July; ſwelling with their nectareous juices. Who has not heard of the Sicilian wines; noble though neglected as they are? Few are the wines that can be compared with the glowing and high flavoured *Caſtelvetrano*, with the odorous *Amarenaforte*, or with its neighbours the white and red muſcadel of Syracuſe. Both theſe kinds of muſcadel are known, not only in Germany but in Calabria and Sicily, by the name of Calabrian wines; becauſe, before the time of Gelo, Pollis, from

* Cratægus oxyacantha.

Argos, a ruler of Syracuſe, introduced the vine from Italy; which had more early been brought from Thrace*.

The vintage of the muſcadel uſually begins as early as the 24th of Auguſt; in a fortnight after which other grapes are ripe for the preſs, and in another fortnight a new ſucceſſion.

Landolina has likewiſe ſhewn me that the treatment of the vintage, in the countries near Syracuſe, is agreeable to the rules that were known as early as Heſiod. The poet ſays

Ευτ' ἀν δ' 'Ωριων και Σειριος ἐς μεσον ἐλθῃ
'Ουρανον, Ορκτυρον δ' ἐσιδη ῥοδοδακτυλος 'Ηως,
Ω Περση, τοτε παντας ἀποδρεπε οἰκαδε βοτρυς.
Δειξαι δ' ἡελιῳ, δεκα τ' ἡματα και δεκα νυκτας†.
Πεντε δε συσσωσαι, ἐκ τῳ δ' ἐις ἀγγεῖ ἀφυσσαι
Δωρα Διωνυσῳ πολυγηθεος.

HESIOD, Works and Day, b. ii.

Orion and the Dog, each other nigh,
Together mounted to the midmoſt ſky,

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* The Cavaliere Landolina, to whom I am indebted for ſo many intereſting hints, pointed out the following paſſage in Athenæus to me: Ἱππιας ὁ Ῥηγινος την ἑιλεον καλουμενην ἀμπελον Βιβλιαν φησι καλεισθαι ὑπ Πολλιν τον Αργειον, ὁς εβασιλευσε Συρακεσιων, πρωτον ἐις Συρακουσας κομισαι ἐξ Ιταλιας. Ειη ἀν ὑπ ὁ παρα Σικελιωταις γλυκυς καλουμενος Πολλιος, ὁ Βιβλινος οἰνος. "Hip-"pias of Rhegium ſays that the winding vine, which Pollis of Argos, who governed Sy-"racuſe, firſt brought from Italy to that city, was called the *Biblinian*. The ſweet wine "which the Sicilians called Polian, was alſo *Biblinian*."

The muſcadel was what the ancients called *Biblinian*, after that part of Thrace, named *Biblia*, which produced excellent wine. Heſiod likewiſe mentions this Biblinian wine. Pollis muſt have come from Argos before the time of Gelo; for, had he ruled Syracuſe in later times, he could not have been ſo unknown to hiſtory.

† I do not mean to juſtify the negligence of the expreſſion of Heſiod; but when he ſays the grapes are to be expoſed to the ſun ‡ ten days and ten nights, he evidently means that they are to be ſo long expoſed to the open air.

‡ Cooke's tranſlation is not ſufficiently literal for the remarks of the Count. Heſiod ſays "Then gather "thy grapes, oh Perſes, and bring them home and expoſe them ten days and ten nights to the ſun." T.

When

When in the roſy morn Arcturus ſhines,
Then pluck the cluſters from the parent vines.
Forget not next the ripen'd grapes to lay
Ten nights in air; nor take them in by day.
Five more remember, ere the wine is made,
To let them lie to mellow in the ſhade:
And, on the ſixth, briſkly yourſelf employ
To caſk the gift of Bacchus, ſire of joy.
COOKE, l. 302.

The commentators have not underſtood Heſiod. Some have conjectured that Perſes muſt have poſſeſſed a little vineyard; becauſe he was to bring all the grapes home, and expoſe them firſt to the ſun and then lay them in the ſhade: but this was not the poet's meaning, which is explained by the preſent manner of the vintage in Syracuſe.

The grapes are there plucked when they are ripe: but the ripe grapes are inſufficient for the wine preſs, if the intention be to make muſcadel; for, in this caſe, the maker expoſes the grapes to the open air without obſerving any determinate number of days, but is regulated by the weather; by which means the ſun extracts the remaining watery parts. He then lays them in the wine preſs; where they remain without being cruſhed, for ſome days, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be too dry to produce wine, after lying in the ſun, unleſs they are previouſly put into a ſtate of fermentation. This is what the poet calls lying to mellow in the ſhade.

Εἰς ἀγγε' ἀφυσσαι: to ſhed in the vat: means ſimply only what it can mean, the preſſing of the muſt, and letting it run into the receiving veſſel. Why ſhould the poet detail a circumſtance ſo generally known? He does not treat the ſubject in a didactic manner: he only means to teach Perſes a particular method of making a kind of generous wine. It is a ſingular miſconception, of thoſe who wiſh to find the cruſhing of the grape deſcribed in theſe verſes, when they underſtand the word ἀγγεα to ſignify the wine-preſs. The word ἀγγος generally denotes a veſſel capable of containing fluids, and not a preſs; and the word

ἀφυσσειν, to pour, to ſhed, cannot be underſtood of the grape, but of the wine. The Italians and Sicilians call the action of letting the muſt run from the preſs into the receiver *ſvinare* *.

In Germany, we call our vineyards vine hills. The Sicilian huſbandman likewiſe plants on the hill, but he prefers the plain. The German ſeeks ſunny heights; the Sicilian plants the ſhady mulberry and fig tree, to guard the vine: but neither he nor the Calabrian props the plants; neither do the people of Puglia: in which country, as I have already remarked, the vine is frequently not taller than the potatoe ſtalk, or than flax grows, with us. In Sicily and Calabria, the vine ſcarcely attains the height of man. This plant is no where ſo flattering to the eye as on the ſhores of the bay of Naples; where it throws its tall arms around, and ſpreads from tree to tree.

Wheat excepted, wine conſtitutes the principal branch of the trade of Sicily.

Landolina has remarked that, at the end of November, about eight days after the fall of the vine leaf, the ſap again begins to riſe in the plant. He is therefore of opinion that it would be better to trim the vine plants at that time than, as is uſual, in January: becauſe, by the latter manner, much of the ſap is expended, which would remain in the vine as it riſes, and feed it, were it trimmed more early. He has not however been able to find any labourer who would introduce a

* The produce of the fields and vineyards of Sicily is eſtimated by *ſalme*. A *ſalma* of ſeed wheat in ſowing will cover a ſpace of 6666 ſquare *canne*. One *canna* contains 8 palms; and one palm a ſpan. A thouſand vine plants, near Syracuſe, yield from 4 to 7 *ſalme*. The *ſalma* contains 80 flaſks. The price of the white muſcadel of Syracuſe is from 4 to 5 *oncie* the *ſalma*; and the *oncia* is worth three rix dollars and nine good *groſchen*: reckoning five rix dollars to an ancient *Louis d'Or*, or a *Frederic d'Or*. The red muſcadel of Syracuſe ſells for from five to ſeven *oncie* the ſalma. In the country between Terranovo and Lentini, the famous *Campi Geloi*, a thouſand vine plants yield from 60 to 100 *ſalme* †.

† The diſproportion between this produce and that juſt mentioned of Syracuſe is ſo great as evidently to ſhew there is ſome miſtake. I imagine that, after *Campi Geloi*, we ſhould read *ten* thouſand. The Frederic d'Or is a Pruſſian coin. T.

cuſtom,

cuſtom, which appears to the peaſants to be ſo abſurd. That he might himſelf afford an example, he ordered his gardener to make the experiment on a ſmall vineyard of his own. A few days afterward, he went to examine the ſtate of his vines; and found that not many of them had been trimmed. The excuſe of the gardener was that the neighbours had ridiculed him ſo much that he could not endure to continue at his work.

The people near Syracuſe have an inconceivably abſurd cuſtom: from which they can neither be weaned by its ſelf-evident folly, nor by the better example of the other provinces of Sicily.

They beat the olives, before they are perfectly ripe, with twigs from the trees. The branches are wounded; and the oil is preſſed, while young and acid, from the immature berry. This oil is excellent for the lamp: but it is wretched economy to make that into lamp oil which would be equally good for the table. The oil of the country of Girgenti, which was chiefly exported to Carthage, ſtill maintains its ancient renown. Sicily gains much by the culture of oil.

The chief branch of commerce of this diſtinguiſhed iſland is wheat. I am unable to ſpecify all the kinds, but the following are among the principal.

The *cicirello* would be preferred before every other ſpecies, becauſe of its fructiferous nature, had not its corn, and even the meal after it is ground, the defect of ſoon ſpoiling. Its produce is frequently ſixty fold.

Ventina and *trentina* are ſpecies that have theſe names, becauſe the produce of the firſt is twenty fold, and of the ſecond thirty.

Triminia is ſo called from a Greek word, τριμηνιος: or three-monthly: becauſe this wheat is ſown at the end of April and frequently in three months, or as I have been told in forty days after ſeed time, is reaped. It is an excellent kind of wheat. Triminia is reared in fields from which barley, being ſown in November, is cut while green for fodder in February *.

There

* Triminia, from τριμηνος. The Sicilians were not acknowledged even in ancient times

There is likewiſe a kind of wheat, that is highly eſteemed, which, from its black bearded ears, has acquired the name of *Barba nera.*

Our ſmooth kind of winter wheat is called *Majorca;* and was probably brought here from the Spaniſh iſland of that name.

Turkey corn, which in Germany is likewiſe called Turkey wheat, or maize, is cultivated in many places. In Sicily and Italy, this kind of corn is called *Grano d'India:* or Indian corn: and *Granone:* or great corn.

Rye is ſeldom ſeen here. In Sicily, as in the kingdom of Naples, it is called *Grano Germano:* or German corn.

Few oats are grown in Sicily. After the cuſtom of the ancients, the horſes of both kingdoms are chiefly foddered with barley.

Diodorus tells us, on the authority of other authors, that Sicily was the firſt country that produced corn †. The lands round Leontium, and in many other parts, bore wild wheat.

Homer expreſsly ſays of Sicily:

> Αλλα ταγ' ασπαρτα και ατηροτα παντα φυονται,
> Πυροι, και κριθαι, ηδ' αμπελοι, αιτε φερεσιν
> Οινον ερισταφυλον, και σφιν Διος ομβρος αξει.
>
> Od. xi. 109.

> Untaught to plant, to turn the glebe and ſow,
> They all their products to free nature owe.
> The ſoil untill'd the ready harveſt yields:
> With wheat and barley wave the golden fields.
> Spontaneous wines from weighty cluſters pour;
> And Jove deſcends in each prolific ſhow'r.
>
> POPE, 121.

A plant which grows wild, and ſo plentifully, in Sicily might well

times to poſſeſs purity of language: ſome few great writers excepted. This example therefore is no better a proof than the modern Greek that the Greek letter η ſhould be pronounced as an *i:* for otherwiſe the Sicilians and Neapolitans would prove that the Italian *e* ſhould be pronounced like *i* *.

† Diod. vol. i. lib. v. p. 331.

* The *i* has various ſounds in the German language: but the moſt common is that of the ſame letter, as pronounced by the Engliſh, in the words *limb*, *lick*, &c. T.

have

have given riſe to this tradition. The plant I mean bears a kind of ear, but is low of growth, and is a ſpecies of graſs. Among botaniſts, it is called the *ægilops ovata.*

I remember to have read, in *Buffon's Hiſtoire Naturelle*, that this writer was of opinion that every kind of corn was originally ſome ſpecies of graſs; which had been improved by the induſtry of man. Were that the caſe, theſe plants, like the flowers that are improved by cultivation, would bear either no ſeed or very little: or, ſuppoſing them to continue fruitful, if they were once neglected by man, they would ſoon degenerate to their wild ſtate. Neither could their improvement by cultivation be effected, except in a favoured climate.

Of this we every where diſcover the reverſe. The ſeeds that fall on the following year produce a few ears; and theſe ſo ſeldom come to perfection that I do not ever remember to have ſeen, a ſecond year after the harveſt, ears ſprout ſpontaneouſly. They are not degenerated; they are extinct: although many tender plants, which demand the art of the gardener to prevent them from degenerating, will continue to blow many years, while they gradually decline.

The preſervation of the human race is intimately connected with the preſervation of the wheat plant; inſomuch that man is more indiſpenſable to wheat than wheat is to man, without whoſe care and culture it could not exiſt. Without wheat, our exiſtence would be hazardous, but not impoſſible, though it greatly promotes our improvement. We may thank agriculture for our property, our municipal rights, the mildneſs of our manners, our ſciences, and our arts.

I can only conſider wheat as the immediate gift of God. Traditionary relations of this donation, may probably have given riſe to the Greek fable, that Ceres herſelf taught agriculture to men. The Holy Scriptures tell us that the firſt-born ſon of our common mother tilled the earth. Much was left for the powers of man to develop: but the divine endowment of ſpeech, with the leſs dignified but neceſ-

ſary

ſary gift of corn, was an immediate proviſion made by the Creator and Preſerver to the riſing race of man. Without the former, the concealed capabilities of man would have left him, in this life, no better than the beaſts of the field: and, without the latter, he would have remained a ſavage; a real and not a fabulous Cyclops. When the firſt man was ſentenced to eat his bread with the ſweat of his brow, the paternal Judge, who had ſo lately taught him to cover his nakedneſs, might probably give him corn before his flight from Eden. A plant of paradiſe, taken to a ruder ſoil, could not be ſupported without the aid of the men whom it was intended to ſupport.

The cattle paſture the whole year: among the mountains in ſummer, and on the plains in winter. They are all red, in Sicily, without exception. The oxen, like thoſe of Puglia and the oxen near Rome, which are originally of the ſame breed, have large horns. This breed is excellent, not ſo high boned nor ſo very large as the cattle of the *Terra di Lavoro*, but of a noble kind, ſtrong, and compact. Virgil would have been highly pleaſed with them, for they anſwer to his deſcription of excellent cattle.

The horſes of Sicily have at all times been famous. Sophocles ſomewhere ſpeaks of the horſe of Ætna. Pindar more than once praiſes the Sicilian horſe, and Virgil the horſe of Agrigentum. In the towns, I met with handſome and animated horſes: in the country, they are ſcarce; becauſe mules are preferable to ride among the mountains.

The mules of Sicily are ſtrong, and appear to me to be preferable to thoſe of Calabria: but the Calabrian horſe I conſider as ſuperior to the Sicilian. However, there are good breeds, in the inland parts of the iſland. Coaches are met with in the towns; but I remember to have ſeen only a few carts, and thoſe on the north ſhore of the ſtraits of Faro. They have two wheels, and are drawn by oxen.

The ſheep and goats are of a good kind: though I have ſeen finer in different parts of Italy.

The

The hogs, in Sicily, are black; as in Italy.

I know not whether the ſtag, the deer, and the roebuck, are to be found in this iſland. The chamois inhabits Ætna: though I met with none.

In addition to the ſingular ideas, which the people of the North entertain of theſe countries, they likewiſe add the ſuppoſition of venomous and ſtinging reptiles. There are indeed ſnakes, of a prodigious ſize, occaſionally to be met with in the foreſts: but I believe they are not poiſonous. The common kind are here as little poiſonous as they are in Germany.

There is another ſpecies however that is dangerous: which is the aſpick, the bite of which is alſo dangerous with us, and its poiſon is here more active. In the country round Syracuſe, the ſting of the ſcorpion is ſometimes fatal; if antidotes be neglected, or too long deferred. Hitherto I have ſeen no ſcorpion, except the ſcorpion of the firmament, which in our horizon is only viſible in part *.

I did not meet with more waſps, or ox-flies, than are met with in Germany: but I found ſome of an unknown ſpecies. The ſting of the gnat is much more venomous than with us.

The harmleſs lizard is very beautiful, in Italy; and ſtill more beautiful, and animated, in Sicily. It is larger than in Germany, is of a poliſhed green colour, and ſome have blue heads. In the two kingdoms, they run up the trees to the topmoſt branches; and remind me of a beautiful paſſage in Horace, where a coy maiden is compared to a young fawn, which, palpitating, ſeeks its dam, and trembles through all its limbs, if the green lizard glides up the wild mulberry tree.

* Some months afterward, I found a ſcorpion in my chamber in the *Piano di Sorento*. Since that, I met with a very little ſpecies, of the ſize of a ſpider, in Iſchia. This ſmall kind is grey, and not poiſonous. It has much the ſame affinity to the true ſcorpion, which is black, as the ſmall ſea-crab has to the lobſter. Thoſe which are found at the mouth of the Weſer, and called *granate*, are much leſs than the lobſter, and grey; neither have they any claws †.

† The latter part of this note is obſcure: I have only been able to tranſlate the words; perhaps they will be intelligible to the naturaliſt. T.

Vitas hinnuleo me ſimilis, Chloë,
Quærenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem, non ſine vano
Aurarum et ſylvæ metu:
Nam, ſeu mobilibus vitis inhorruit
Ad ventum foliis, ſeu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertæ,
Et corde et genibus tremit.

HOR. lib. i. od. 23.

Chloe flies me like a fawn,
Which through ſome ſequeſter'd lawn
Panting ſeeks the mother-deer,
Not without a panic fear
Of the gently-breathing breeze
And the motion of the trees.
If the curling leaves but ſhake,
If a lizard ſtir the brake,
Frighted it begins to freeze,
Trembling both at heart and knees.

FRANCIS.

The birds, that enliven our woods in ſuch numbers, are but ſeldom ſeen in Sicily, and Italy: for every peaſant has his gun, which frequently ſtands not far from him while he is ploughing his field.

Moſt of the farmers are tenants to the noblemen; who, according to an ancient cuſtom, furniſh the tenants, when they enter the premiſes, with ſeed-corn, labouring-oxen, implements of huſbandry, and other articles. At the concluſion of the agreement, the farmer returns them all. Theſe neceſſaries of the farm are called *la colonna*. The huſbandman, for one *ſalma* of ſeed-corn, is obliged to pay five in return. A *ſalma* contains ſixteen *tumuli*, the *tumulo* from twenty to twenty-two *rotoli*, and the *rotolo* two pounds and a half. Eight *ſalme* and four-fifths are equal to a *laſt* of Amſterdam; and the *laſt* of Amſterdam is about a thirteenth larger than the *laſt* of Hamburg.

The value of a *ſalma* of wheat is from three to five *oncie*. *Caraccuoli*, the late viceroy of Sicily, deprived the landlords of the right of im-

impriſoning the huſbandman, if he did not return the ſtipulated *ſalme* of corn, or the *colonna*; and it is now aſſerted that the proprietors, having no ſecurity for the produce of their lands, frequently rather ſuffer them to lie uncultivated than to let them, in the uncertain expectation of neither receiving their rent nor their property. But how eaſily would this evil be removed! How can the nobleman be inſecure, if the farmer have gathered in his harveſt? The impriſonment of the debtor, who is obliged to maintain himſelf and his family by labour, is a barbarous and abominable cuſtom. The farmers pay a ground rent for their houſes; which deſcend from father to ſon, and are held on condition of tilling the land: and, were they to hold the land that belongs to the houſe on the ſame conditions, the tenant, the landlord, and the whole iſland, would be infinite gainers: except that the rent to be paid, whether in money or in kind, ought at certain periods, if not every year, to be regulated according to the price of wheat.

Commerce here is very much ſhackled. In England, a premium is given for exportation. In Sicily, exported articles are heavily taxed. Not that I conſider this as the principal evil: for this regulation has, in ſome ſenſe, its advantages. The people do not ſuppoſe themſelves ſo much oppreſſed, while they imagine that foreigners alone pay the tax; and the farmer does not recollect that, if ſuch taxes did not exiſt, his corn would fetch a better price. It is neceſſary not only to avoid real oppreſſion but the very feeling of the ſuppoſition of oppreſſion. Man lives not on bread alone: nor is the weight of the burthen ſo effectually oppreſſive, as the temper if embittered in which it is borne. I grant that this tax properly falls on the inland vender: but it falls on him at that favourable moment when he is in the receipt of money for his corn.

The real evil appears to me to be this: the farmer is not allowed to ſell his corn to the foreign merchant; the nobleman only poſſeſſes this right. Nor is the merchant certain that even the nobleman himſelf

can exerciſe the right: becauſe the exportation of corn is often ſuddenly prohibited. It is ſaid that the underlings in office, by falſe pretences, have the art to open or ſhut the ports, for or againſt exportation, to the advantage of a few; who ſhare the ſhameful gain, at the expence of the land-owner and the farmer.

The law pronounces the huſbandman free from all vaſſalage: but the ſtewards, who likewiſe generally farm lands, ſometimes require the huſbandman to help them in their labour; and the huſbandman of theſe countries is very loth to refuſe the requeſt of a ſteward. The nobleman has no power over the perſon of the huſbandman, either to impriſon him or to beſtow bodily chaſtiſement: yet he is ſo far a ſerf that he cannot quit the farm, at his pleaſure.

The glaſs-wort is reared in ſuch quantities that this country annually exports two hundred thouſand *cantari* of pot-aſh. A *cantaro* contains a hundred *rotoli*: or a hundred and ſixty pounds weight of Amſterdam.

A reſpectable merchant of Meſſina, who is a foreigner, told me that the export trade of this country conſiſted of eighty-one principal articles: among which, and next in rank to thoſe that I have named, are raw and wrought ſilks, oranges, and lemons, manna, and ſaffron.

Trade is not only ſhackled by the limitations of the laws but by the fear of corſairs; to free the ſea of which the Government levies large ſums. This end would be better attained if theſe governors would abandon the practice of building ſhips of the line, and content themſelves with frigates, xebecks, brigantines, and galleys, to protect their trade againſt the African corſairs. Commerce ought to flouriſh, and ſeamen by that means be formed, before any Government ſhould think of erecting itſelf into a maritime power. When I was firſt at Meſſina, I was informed that a corſair, from the coaſt of Barbary, ſailed through the ſtraits of Faro, in defiance of a royal galley that was lying at Reggio. The pirates were daring enough to capture two feluccas, between Palermo and Naples; and other of the Africans even followed a ſhip

to the very haven of Trapani, and took a veſſel, loaded with wine, between Girgenti and Marſalla.

As the ſhips that take an African corſair are ſubjected to a rigorous quarantine, many of the captains ſuffer the corſairs to eſcape; and, to remedy this evil, the Government has given it in command, to all captains of the royal navy, to ſink every corſair; even though the pirates ſhould ſtrike their colours—A rule which riſes in dreadful contradiction to the very eſſence of the laws which are common and natural to all nations.

The Venetians have lately waged a ſeven years' war, againſt the pirates of Tunis; of whom they cleared the ſeas: yet ſcarcely had they, in the beginning of the preſent year, concluded a peace, before two-and-forty corſairs ſailed from the port of Tunis. Ships it is true were ſent againſt them from Naples: but they were neither ſufficient in number nor did they ſail at a proper ſeaſon.

The conduct of the Portugueze Government has been very different; to which, for ſome years, the Atlantic has been indebted for its ſecurity. A ſquadron, conſiſting of ſhips of the line and frigates, has cruized at the mouth of the ſtraits of Gibraltar; and thus has made the pillars of Hercules the boundary of the pirates of Africa.

One great cauſe of the palſied ſtate of the country is, that people of the third claſs have ſo few rights and ſo little juſtice done them. Repreſentatives, it is true, are ſent to the Parliaments by the royal towns: but the rights of this claſs do not obtain ſufficient attention, becauſe moſt of theſe repreſentatives are choſen from the lower order of nobles. In many towns however the lower nobility concern themſelves in trade; and, having a common intereſt with the commercial citizens, defend their rights: by which this defect of the Conſtitution is a little counteracted.

When the nobles take any part in trade, the wall of ſeparation between them and the third claſs is not ſo viſible as it is in Germany; where the gentlemen, to their own honor in my opinion, and to the benefit

benefit of their country, leave every kind of commerce to the lower ranks.

The nobility of Sicily conſiſts of four orders; the firſt of which are the *Baroni*, who originally were much the ſame as the Peers of Great Britain are at preſent, or as the Peers of France were in the middle ages. Theſe *Baroni* have equal rights, but unequal ranks; as their titles are Princes, Dukes, Margraves *, Counts, Viſcounts, and Barons. Their ſeat in Parliament is hereditary: like as in the Houſe of Lords in England.

Knighthood conſtitutes the ſecond order; and the Knights in part conſiſt of very ancient nobility. Among theſe muſt be included the perſons on whom the King can confer the hereditary title even of Prince, or Duke: but not hereditary rights. Theſe are the *nobleſſe titrée*, as they would be called, by the French; a rank which in Germany does not properly conſtitute any part of the high nobility, which conſiſts only of the principal families of the States of the Empire.

A third order ariſes out of thoſe families which, according to an ancient right, aſſume to themſelves the rank of Knight; in continuation of ſuch houſes as become extinct.

The fourth order was in danger of nearly overrunning the country with a new race of Nobles. The holding of certain offices gives the rank of Noble to the ſucceſſors of the holder: the conſequence of this privilege became viſible, and the offices are generally beſtowed on the nobility.

The ancient and formerly democratic Syracuſe is the only place in which two of the citizens ſit as members, in the Council.

The chief vaſſals of the high nobility, to whom whole towns belong, feel their dependance, and often complain: they cannot however diſavow that the baronial towns are in a better condition than the royal. Any complaints againſt the powerful *Baroni*, who are regarded by Government with a jealous eye, gain a much more ready attention than if preferred againſt a royal *Governatore*.

* *Markgrafen: Marcheſi*, or Marquiſes, I ſuppoſe are meant. T.

The Parliament is aſſembled by the Viceroy, at no appointed time, in any one of the royal towns. The laſt was held in Cefalu. It conſiſted of the ſpiritual arm: *Il braccio eccleſiaſtico:* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors. The military arm: *Il braccio militare:* the Baroni of the kingdom: and laſtly of the Deputies of the Towns: *Il braccio demaniale.*

The rights of the Parliament are great: although through abuſe they are ſeldom exerciſed, becauſe the moſt powerful members in a variety of ways are made dependant on the Court. No extraordinary tax can be impoſed, without the conſent of Parliament.

The ſpiritual beneſices are ſome of them very rich. Sicily has only two Archbiſhops, and ſeven Biſhops: whereas, in the kingdom of Naples, there are one-and-twenty Archbiſhops, and a hundred and ten Biſhops.

The *Canonici* have conſiderable revenues; and ſome of them afford excellent examples to their countrymen, by rationally employing themſelves in Agriculture. Others of them dedicate themſelves to the ſciences; and they are all generally ſpeaking very hoſpitable. The virtue of hoſpitality is likewiſe exerciſed by the ſpiritual orders of moſt of the monaſteries.

The travellers who maintain that the chief deſtination of men ought to be the circulation of money, by active commerce, ſhould at leaſt, in return for the friendly manner with which they have been received by the monks, do them the juſtice to acknowledge that many laymen are maintained by the monaſteries.

To be equitable toward monks, we ought to judge them according to the principles of their church. Do that and, ſay what we will, we ſhall find that the life of any ſpiritual order is a ſevere life. He who ennobles himſelf by abſtinence, and ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and who, that he may ſecure an inviſible good, renounces the ſweeteſt joys of life, who humbles himſelf before God by the obſervation of rigorous rules and penances, and who yet preſerves his amenity to mankind, deſerves

deſerves by them to be reſpected and honored. Such a man is ſuperior to the mockery of the vain; as he is to the diſcourteſy of thoſe travellers who, having been hoſpitably, kindly, and without diſtinction of ſect, entertained in his cloiſter, return home and, at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of miles, divert themſelves and their unfeeling ſarcaſtic readers at the expence of their hoſt; on whom they bluſh not to beſtow the contemptuous name of Prieſt; while they will probably ſpeak with literary veneration of the mutilated prieſts of Cybele, or of other Pagan deities of the ancients, and honour the word *prieſt* while they pronounce it.

Far be it from me to deny that many monks and eccleſiaſtics deſerve the contempt which is ſometimes annexed to the word *prieſt*. Every unworthy clergyman, be he Catholic or Proteſtant, who feeds upon the church, yet lives and ſpeaks in contradiction to her precepts, is a prieſt in the worſt ſenſe. But every eccleſiaſtic, who conforms to the faith of his church and lives in the performance of his duties, is a man whom we muſt honour; and our reſpect will be increaſed if, in obedience to God, he live in the exerciſe of true ſelf-denial, and paſs here a life of pain in hopes hereafter to obtain a life of glory.

Let each man judge for himſelf: but let no one conſider himſelf as a free-thinker, who models his judgment after the opinions of the trifling, ſhort-ſighted, and pretended-deep enquirers of the laſt hundred, or rather of the laſt ten, years.

A diſcreet traveller will be careful how he paſſes ſentence, at leaſt unfavourably, upon the character of the inhabitants of a country; unleſs his reſidence among them has been a reſidence of years. Long and continued obſervation, particular opportunities, and various incidents, muſt all concur to enable a foreigner to ſpeak deciſively, and equitably, on the manner of thinking, and feeling, of any nation that he has viſited.

The Sicilians praiſe themſelves for their open liberal character: the Neapolitans accuſe them of a very oppoſite quality, and attribute all the

the praiſe of liberality to themſelves. For my own part, I found both nations friendly, prepoſſeſſing, and capable not only of politeneſs but of good intention: nay more, of confidence.

The Neapolitans to me appear to be the moſt ſanguine, and joyous: the Sicilians the moſt ſerious, and ardent. Both are irritable: but each in concord with their character. The Neapolitan is impetuous, and his anger ſudden: but a word unremarked ſinks deeply, and ſows the ſeed of reſentment, in the heart of the Sicilian.

Creſcit occulto velut arbor ævo.

Hor. Od. xii. Lib. i.

Conceal'd an age the rooted vengeance grows.

Francis.

It nouriſhes the ſenſe of injury; and, daſhing down the cup of vengeance, ſheds its ſanguinary contents. The difference of characters in different towns is very great. The people of Trapani are moſt accuſed of the paſſion of revenge.

The love of liberty is common to the inhabitants of both kingdoms; and, be it told to the honour of the Neapolitans, they have conſtantly reſiſted the introducing of that dreadful and deteſtable tribunal, the Inquiſition. Sicily was firſt relieved from it by the preſent King.

The defects of a hot climate have free play among the Sicilians, Neapolitans, and Italians, in general; from the public and private education of youth, which is neglected in a moſt indefenſible manner. Like as, in this climate, the manifold fruits of the fertile ſoil are intermingled with numerous kinds of thiſtles of uncommon growth, ſo do failings and vices luxuriantly rankle, in the national character of this people; whoſe talents and capabilities are uncommonly great. Voluptuouſneſs, anger, and revenge, glow in their fiery temperament with unabated heat. When not irritated, they are a well meaning people.

To this good intention muſt be attributed the prepoſſeſſing and noble

hoſpitality of the inhabitants of both kingdoms; and to this the ſecurity with which ſtrangers live in Rome: although there are annually five hundred murders committed in that city; not as the ſacrifices of rapacity, but of jealouſy, ſudden anger, and revenge.

Their infant children teſtify violent anger; and their tears are accompanied with tokens of obſtinacy, and vehemence. A part of theſe failings may probably be placed to the account of inherited qualities*, and heat of blood: but as great a part, at leaſt, may be juſtly attributed to the unreaſonableſs of parents, and their impetuous manner of teaching their children. Accuſtomed to play with ſtones, the boys are armed with this dangerous weapon of paſſion; and, if a ſtone be thrown at a dog, all the boys hurl at the unfortunate animal; while their elders not only encourage this bad practice by their ſilence, but frequently by their example. Their general treatment of animals is a proof of the rude ſtate of their feelings.

In a country ſo fruitful as this, idleneſs is native. The inhabitant of the north is obliged to ſupply his wants by the ſweat of his brow: among which wants are a ſtrong diet, warm clothing, much firing, and diſtilled liquors. The more abſtemious Italians and Sicilians are lightly fed, and lightly clothed. Although their fiery wines in many places are as cheap as our table beer, yet drunkenneſs is with them an uncommon vice. In Italy, I ſaw one or two men intoxicated; and in Sicily none. The climate is ſo mild that they are in need neither of a ſubſtantial nor of a roomy habitation; and their very mechanics generally work in the ſtreets. Shade and repoſe are their natural wants, and the origin of their indolence; which, however theſe circumſtances may plead in its excuſe, is ſtill fearful in its conſequences.

One of theſe conſequences is the number of beggars, who are often

* The good and the bad qualities of theſe people, like the good and the bad qualities of all human beings, are the reſult of the circumſtances under which they exiſt. Change thoſe and their qualities will change. T.

impudent;

impudent; and appear more ſo to travellers than they are in reality. The traveller too frequently forgets that beggars themſelves cannot but partake of the national vivacity.

The Italians and Sicilians are accuſed of ſelfiſhneſs; nor is the accuſation entirely groundleſs: though I have found among them men of all ranks who poſſeſſed generoſity. It was no uncommon thing for the lower order of people to refuſe any recompenſe from me, or my fellow travellers, for the trouble they had taken, or the civilities they had ſhewn. Neither ought a nation to be judged by people whoſe profeſſion it is to live by ſtrangers. How would thoſe be miſtaken who, judging from the ſelfiſhneſs of many innkeepers, and their ſervants, in the German part of Switzerland, ſhould make them the characteriſtic ſtandard of the German Swiſs; who are the nobleſt people on God's earth!

In countries where nature produces much ſpontaneouſly, and much more with little labour, men ought to have been allured to an active life by the opening of new channels of induſtry: but here its efforts are frequently neglected by the tardineſs of government; and, what is worſe, frequently oppoſed by the obſtinacy of caution.

A lively fancy, miſguided by a defective religious education, becomes the nurſe of credulity. Hence trifling ceremonies uſurp the place of ſerious duties; and the muttering of words without meaning is the ſubſtitute of love, and purity of heart. To theſe muſt be attributed depravity of manners, and frequently a want of faith.

The ſuperabundance of nature and the neglect of education are diſcoverable, both in the language and in the beautifully formed yet violently agitated countenances of the Italians, in their loud clear-toned voices, that wound while they pleaſe the ear, and in the compariſon that may be made between them and their children.

I never have any where ſeen more beautiful or intelligent children, among the common people, than in theſe countries. Rapid in their progreſs at firſt, as rapidly is that progreſs at an end. I have no where

met with ſo few crooked, ſo few deformed, infants at their birth as here: nor any where ſo many that have become ſo by neglect: never in any place ſo many one-eyed, blind, lame in the hands, withered, diſtorted objects, and cripples of every kind, as in Italy and Sicily: eſpecially in the former. How frequently do you meet on the iſland, as well as on the continent, with unfortunate men and women, whoſe countenances have been half eaten away by cancer, or by leproſy! The ſpectator ſhudders, and doubts whether the poor wretch be ſuffering for the ſins of youth, or for the irregular paſſions of parents. He turns involuntarily from the ſight, and with irreſiſtible abhorrence; which, in a moment, is changed into compaſſion.

There is a cuſtom, proper to Sicily, which I muſt not forget to mention. This is a right of purchaſe of a ſingular kind. If any man buy an eſtate, be it houſe, land, or vineyard, the neighbour of the purchaſer, for the ſpace of an entire year afterward, may eject him by an advance of price. In vain would the firſt purchaſer give more to the original owner. This ſingular law is generally evaded by a falſehood. The purchaſe money is ſtated, in the articles of agreement, at a higher ſum than has been agreed upon in the preſence of four witneſſes.

There is another no leſs ſingular law in Sicily: according to which any man can oblige his neighbour to ſell his houſe, if he will pay him three times its value. The intention of this law was the improvement of the towns. It was to encourage the poſſeſſors of large houſes to purchaſe the humble abodes of the poor.

LET-

LETTER XCVI.

San Iorio near Naples, 18th July 1792.

ON the 10th, at ſeven in the evening, we went on board a little veſſel, in the port of Meſſina, of the kind that are called *ſperonari*. They are long, ſmall, conſequently light, have ſeven rowers, and carry much ſail. The people of Malta are the inventors, and almoſt the only poſſeſſors, of this kind of veſſel. They have only been imitated by the Syracuſians. Our ſperonaro was from Syracuſe. We ordered it round to Meſſina, becauſe, in the preſent uncertainty of theſe ſeas, ſuch veſſels uſually eſcape the corſairs. Larger veſſels, unleſs armed for their defence, if met by the corſairs generally become their booty. The corſairs are built not for trade but for piracy: conſequently they have great advantages over other ſhips. Quick as the *ſperonari* can ſail, yet the ſailors, if purſued by the Barbarians, will not truſt to this, but take up their oars, and row againſt the wind; in which exerciſe they are unequalled by the Africans. There is no example of a *ſperonaro*, unencumbered with merchandize, having been taken by the corſairs.

At ſun riſe on the 11th, we ſaw almoſt all the Lipari iſlands; partly facing us, and partly on our left. Some ſay they are ſeven in number, ſome ten, and others twelve: according as the eſtimate does or does not include *Alicudi*, and *Felicudi*, on the weſt, and other ſmall iſlands, which are properly no more than rocks. The Italians and Sicilians, like the ancients, are inclined to exaggerate; and willingly call a cliff an iſland, and a brook a river.

Of theſe Lipari, which is a biſhop's ſee, is the largeſt; and is held, both by ancients and moderns, to be the Æolian iſland of Homer: in which Æolus, the friend of the immortal Gods, to whom Jupiter entruſted the care of the winds, was the hoſt of Ulyſſes; and gave him all

all the winds impriſoned in a leather bag: the weſt wind excepted, becauſe that was favourable to his navigation. Ulyſſes would not truſt the helm to his companions; and, on the 10th day, ſaw himſelf near his beloved Ithaca, when he was overcome by a ſweet ſleep. His fooliſh comrades opened the bag; imagining it contained a treaſure: when ſuddenly the winds blew a tempeſt, drove the ſhip again to ſea, and at laſt brought them back to Æolus *.

As theſe iſlands, which riſe like mountains out of the ſea with ſteep ſhores, are ſeen to a great diſtance, and as you turn toward them, like the wandering rocks of Homer in face of Scylla, always appear to have a different ſituation, the great poet, profiting by theſe circumſtances, called the iſland of Æolus the ſwimming iſland.

Lipari, like its companions, is high; and, like theirs, the declivity of its ſhores is ſteep. Theſe ſhores have the colour of iron: at leaſt when ſeen, as they were by us, at a diſtance. This ſuggeſted the idea of Homer, that the iſland of Æolus was walled round with braſs: a remark for which I have to thank the good *Padre Minaſi;* a friar of the order of St. Dominic, at Naples.

The iſland of Lipari was formerly volcanic. The following is the account which Diodorus gives of theſe iſlands.

" The wind burſts forth with great ruſhing and noiſe, from the " caverns of *Strongyle* (Stromboli) and of *Hiera Hephæſta:* (conſecrated " to Vulcan, and now called the Volcano.) They caſt out ſand, and " hot ſtones: ſo that ſome believe they have a ſubterranean paſſage, " and are connected with Ætna; and that they mutually vomit fire.

" *Liparus*, ſon of the Italian King Auſon, driven away by his bro- " ther, firſt peopled and cultivated the Æolian iſlands; and after him " *Lipara* (Lipari) took its name. Æolus, the ſon of Hippotas, came " there; and married Cyane, the daughter of Liparus. He was King " of Lipara; and aided his wife's father, who ſighed after Italy, to " conquer Sorento.

* See the tenth book of the Odyſſey.

" Ulyſſes

"Ulyſſes viſited this Æolus; who was an upright man, and was "called the friend of the Gods. The invention of ſails is aſcribed to "him. By obſerving the tokens which the fire afforded" (the aſcending ſmoke that appears fiery by night) "he could prognoſticate concerning the winds, to the inhabitants: from which the fable aroſe "that he was the lord of the winds. Æolus had ſix ſons; one of "whom reigned in the country of *Rhegium* (Reggio in Calabria), the "five others in Sicily. The fame of their father, and their own mild "and juſt behaviour, induced the Sicani and the Siculi, who had "always before been at variance, to obey them. The family reigned "long, till it was extinct; and the Siculi afterward elected their own "princes: the Sicani waged civil wars.

"Galled by the yoke of the Perſian Kings, the people of *Caria* from "*Cnidus*, and ſome *Rhodians*, about the time of the 50th Olympiad, "(five hundred and ſeventy-five years before Chriſt) determined to ſeek "another country. After an unſucceſsful attempt in Sicily, being on "their return, they were kindly received in Lipara; where there were "only five hundred of the deſcendants of the ancient inhabitants remaining, with whom they intermingled.

"They armed a fleet againſt the Tyrrhene pirates; and poſſeſſed in "common the whole of the lands; and the booty, taken in the naval "war. At laſt they divided the lands of all theſe iſlands by lot; and "in ſuch a manner as that a new diviſion ſhould take place every "twenty years. They overcame the Tyrrheni in many combats by "ſea; and ſent great preſents of plunder to Delphos. Lipara was "proſperous, and celebrated for its natural and beautiful haven; as "likewiſe for its warm ſprings, the peculiar properties of which were "not only beneficial, to certain diſeaſes, but rendered them pleaſant to "bathe in. Their alum mines likewiſe brought incredible wealth to "the inhabitants. This little iſland was well provided with the fruits "of the earth, and with whatever was neceſſary for food; particularly "with the fineſt orchards, and with fiſh of every kind *."

* Diod. vol. i. l. v. p. 335.

This deſcription is generally applicable to Lipari, at preſent: though I am ſurpriſed that Diodorus did not mention wine; for the muſcadel wine of that iſland is excellent.

The fiction that Æolus ruled the winds, and the account of his being able to foretel the change of the wind by the prognoſtics of fire, on which this fiction was grounded, were occaſioned by the opportunities he had of obſerving the wind, which changes ſooner in the high regions than in the low: and mariners to this day predict the change of the wind from the ſmoke that riſes out of the volcanic iſlands, and from the vapours that aſcend from the others.

In the war between Syracuſe and Athens, the people of Lipari took part with the firſt. The following account is given by Thucydides.

"In the winter (of the ſecond year of the 88th Olympiad, 426 "years before Chriſt, and the 5th of the Peloponneſian war) the people "of Rhegium, and the Athenians, ſailed together againſt the iſlands "called after Æolus. It was not poſſible to make a campaign there in "ſummer; becauſe water was wanting in theſe iſlands*. The people "of Lipari, the deſcendants of the *Cnidii*, poſſeſſed theſe iſlands; and "inhabited one of them, *Lipara*, which is not large; and went from "Lipara to the others, the lands of which they tilled †. Their names "are *Didyme*, *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*. The people there believe that "Hephæſtus (Vulcan) forged in Hiera: becauſe much fire was ſeen to "aſcend out of it by night, and ſmoke by day. The Athenians ra-"vaged their lands, becauſe they took part with the Syracuſians: but "the people of Lipari were ſtedfaſt in their alliance, and their enemies "returned to Rhegium ‡.

Agathocles ſailed to Lipari, and levied a contribution of fifty talents;

* This is not true of all of them. I found good water in Stromboli.

† Modern geographers are miſtaken, when they affirm that to be the caſe at preſent. The largeſt of the Lipari iſlands are inhabited; the ſmalleſt only are tilled by their neighbours.

‡ Thuc. lib. iii. p. 221.

part of which had been dedicated to Vulcan, and part to Æolus: and the people became confirmed in the belief that Æolus governed the winds, becauſe eleven of the ſhips, that bore away this money, foundered *.

The people of Lipari adhered to the houſe of Anjou, after the French had been driven out of Sicily. The houſe of Arragon, at the concluſion of peace in the year 1363, firſt got poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands †.

The iſlands of Volcano, Volcanello, and Stromboli, emit fire. Volcanello is only a rock in the ſea, and muſt have riſen in modern times; as it is not mentioned by the ancients; and no doubt it was thrown up by a ſubterranean eruption of fire.

We had ſeen the iſland of Stromboli lying before us the whole morning, and its height made it appear to be at a little diſtance: yet, though the wind was favourable, we did not reach it till the afternoon. Stromboli was called *Strongyle*, which ſignified round, by the Greeks; and it is ſtill called *Strongoli* by its inhabitants, and the Sicilian ſailors. It conſiſts only of a very high mountain; on the eaſtern coaſt of which we landed, where the ſtrand is covered with black aſhes, which are mixed with ſhining ſand. Seeing us land, ſome of the inhabitants approached us armed, and demanded to ſee our paſſports, and bills of health: which bills of health are called *prattica*. We had paſſports from the viceroy, but not from the *governatore* in Lipari; for we had not been there; and our bills of health did not ſtate that we ſhould land at Stromboli. We durſt therefore only proceed along the coaſt at a certain given diſtance, without approaching the habitations. They gave us permiſſion however to aſcend the mountain, and viſit the crater; by which Jacobi profited: but the heat and ſteepneſs of the mountain deterred the reſt of the company.

I went to a projecting rock on the ſhore, behind which I bathed in the ſea; and thither an iſlander accompanied me as a guard, whoſe wife ran haſtily, from her hut on the declivity of the mountain, and

* Diod. lib. xx. † Amico, Lex. Top. Sic.

brought him a gun. Notwithſtanding their watchfulneſs, which has an appearance of wildneſs and ferocity, theſe few Iſlanders are very friendly. We bought ſome good white muſcadel of them; and a kind of red wine, which is ſo very ſpirited that the taſte of the *lacryma* of Veſuvius and Poſilipo, in compariſon, ſeemed inſipid.

The wind was fair, and, failing to a diſtance, we ſaw the red ſmoke aſcend by night out of the ever reſtleſs crater of Stromboli. At one o'clock in the day on the 12th, we deſcried a ſhip; at which our ſailors often looked through a teleſcope, while we remained unconcerned. However they ſuddenly took to their oars; and with viſible anxiety rowed, with might and main.

They believed the ſhip to be a Barbary corſair; and I imagine they were right: for, though we could not accurately examine the crew through the teleſcope, yet they appeared to us to wear long garments. They hailed us: we did not underſtand them; and our ſailors, far from any deſire to parley with them, plied their oars with double diligence. They immediately ſailed in our direction: but, as they might well deſpair of coming up with our *ſperonaro*, they ſoon continued their courſe.

Some hours afterward, we ſailed round the promontory which Virgil tells us derived its name from *Palinurus:* the pilot of Æneas, who here fell into the ſea. It is ſtill called *Capo Palinuro.* We delighted our eyes with viewing the beautiful ſhores of the *Principato citra.*

Toward evening, a ſtrong favourable wind ſprung up; and we hoped to reach Salerno, intending to complete our journey by land: but a ſtorm came on, and our ſailors took ſhelter in a little bay.

Early on the 13th, we rowed farther out to ſea; and our ſailors were not able to weather the promontory of Licoſa. We were therefore obliged to land at the port of *Lazarolo*, which conſiſts only of a few houſes, after having been in danger of being ſtranded on a rock. The ſea ran ſo high that we were conſtrained to remain there the whole day. I had gone on board a *ſperonaro*, with the eldeſt Mr. Von Droſt;

Droſt; and we had not ſeen our friends ſince we left Stromboli: ſo that we were anxious concerning them, as well from the ſtorm as from the ſuſpected corſair.

We at laſt left *Lazarolo* in the evening, ſailed by night through the bay of Salerno, and early in the morning ſaw the iſland of Capri, lying before us; the ſouth coaſt of which has a much ruder aſpect than the north. High rocks, ſeparated from it and forming a ſmall ſtrait, towered toward the weſt; through one of which there is an aperture, that has probably been made by the daſhing of the waves; and the ſea is ſeen through this as through an arched gateway.

In the afternoon, we landed at Naples; which I left in ſearch of my wife and children: whom I once more met, after having parted with them on the 27th of April.

LETTER XCVII.

Piano di Sorento, 19th September, 1792.

INCLINED to ſpend ſome ſummer months in one of the moſt beautiful countries of Italy, and enjoy ourſelves in freedom and undiſturbed, we ſailed on the 21ſt of July in the afternoon, to this valley; which has charms of a great and a peculiar kind. It appears to be diſtinguiſhed by nature from the whole of the remaining world.

Its approach by land is exceedingly difficult; and for its acceſs by ſea it is indebted to the hand of man. It may be about four leagues in circumference, and lies in the form of a half moon, backed by its mountainous coaſt; which is circular, and lofty. Its ſhores conſiſt of ſteep rocks; which, fearful in their height and aſpect, now ſink perpendicular to the ſea, and now form a narrow ſtrand, with ſpace for

the fiſhermen and ſailors to build their houſes, and profit by their grottos, in which they lay up ſome of their veſſels.

The road, that leads from the ſtrand to the valley, is cut in the rocks; the tops of which are ſhaded with large trees, and among others with the fineſt pines I have ever ſeen. Few trees produce ſo great an effect as theſe prodigious pines; which riſe, on their upright trunks, high above the rocky ſhore, and, with their broad branches forming an umbrella, tower in the air.

The lofty mountains are embelliſhed by the oak, the cheſnut, and the olive; and the *piano*, or the plain, which itſelf is high, is covered with houſes: to each of which there is a plat of ground, planted with vines, fruit trees, and *agrumi*.

Some of the vines twine round the high ſtems of fruit trees, and ſpread from tree to tree: others, higher than any that I have ſeen before, the wild vines of Calabria only excepted, cling to the peeled trunks of ſlender cheſnut trees, which are brought chiefly for that purpoſe from the mountains.

Theſe cheſnut trees, like the beech in Harz foreſt, and the elder in the north of Germany, are planted from ſhoots; which take root and grow. When they are ten years old, they are peeled. I ſaw ſome of them in the iſland of Iſchia, where vegetation is remarkably vigorous, that were only ſeven years old, which were at leaſt as tall as our beech of five-and-thirty, in the north of Germany, and covered with fruit.

The *agrumi* trees of every kind attain an uncommon height, and degree of fertility, in this valley; and the lemons and oranges are ſent from here in great quantities to Naples, Salerno, Rome, Leghorn, and Ancona.

We live in a pleaſant country-houſe, half a league from the little town of Sorento, near the village of *Carotta*. Looking between orange groves and vineyards, both of which riſe much higher than the ſecond ſtory of our houſe, we have on one ſide a proſpect, from our windows and

and from two large open balconies, over many gardens to the high woody mountains; and on the other ſide over fruit trees and vines to the ſea, and its curving ſhore, Naples and Portici: with intervening country ſeats, which, by their diſtance, ſeem to give to thoſe two places the appearance of one undivided and prodigious city; and thus render this retirement of Paradiſe more heavenly. In the back ground, the proſpect is divided into four rows of mountains: the laſt of which towers in the province of Abruzzo. The lofty iſland of Iſchia appears to be in our very neighbourhood, on the left; and every evening, at ſun ſet, to ſwim in the glowing horizon.

Great beauties are met with in many parts of the two Sicilies: but this valley is ſingular in its various rocky dells, or cliffs, from the narrow paths of which the eye looks, with dread and pleaſure, on the verdant lap of earth below. Here, in the very hotteſt days, you find the moſt refreſhing repoſe. At one moment the cliffs divide, affording openings through which a conſiderable part of the dark-appearing atmoſphere is ſeen; as are the tops of many trees that ſhade their rocky brows; and, in the depth below, the rank ivy every where winding its tendrils, with ſhrubs, and clumps, innumerable: at another, the cliffs cloſe again, in ſo narrow a compaſs that the reign of night appears eternal, and the ſhrill twittering of the bat is heard.

Thus, I ſaw, on one ſide, the golden beams of the ſun falling through the tops of the trees on the ſuſpended ivy: and, on the other ſide, the ſhining of the glow-worm; as if it were night.

One of theſe valleys, in the road to *Caſtell-a-Mare*, is ſo wide as to contain a whole grove of *agrumi*.

In another very deep dale, not far from Sorento, there is a little caſcade; that falls over the rocks.

In a central height, there is a ſmall chapel, built on a projecting rock; the burning tapers of which, when it is dark, produce a beautiful effect over the gloomy valley.

I men-

I mentioned, in my letter of the 19th of April, a ſimilar place on the other ſide of Sorento; where we ſaw a Monk catching quails.

Immediately behind our garden, there is a long rocky dell; and, in ſimilar places, the vineyards of various proprietors ſtand ſeparate from each other. I have no conception what could be the accidents of nature, that have produced theſe deep clefts, and beds of earth: but, in a country where her terrors are contraſted with the flowers of eternal ſpring, ſuch cliffs, cavities, and dells, poſſeſs an inexpreſſible charm.

The *Piano di Sorento* is backed by the ridge of mountains which, ending with the *Capo Campanello*, form a ſide of the bay of Naples; and ſeparate it from the bay of Salerno. The mountains of theſe bays, in many parts, abound in aromatic ſhrubs; and here the eye overlooks ſea, iſlands, and lands, from *Capo Licoſa* to *Monte Circella*; and, immediately on the ſhore of the *Golfo di Salerno*, thoſe ſingular cliffs are ſeen which are called *Le Galle*; and which, by many of the ancients and moderns, have been held to be the iſland of the Sirens.

One of the moſt beautiful places I have ſeen in my whole journey is the garden of the Capuchin friars, near Sorento; which lies upon the rocks of the ſhore.

From this, you have a view of the whole bay of Naples; with the numerous ſmaller bays, to the right and left of the ſtretching coaſts, one of which conceals the iſland of Capri.

No where are Mount Veſuvius and the lofty iſland of Iſchia ſeen to ſuch advantage. Yet, even from theſe grand and diſtant objects, the eye turns to contemplate the ſurrounding rocky ſhores; the caverns and crags of which ſwallow up or repel the foaming waves, while the roaring of the angry ſea is inceſſant.

Many ſhrubs, particularly the caper with its charming flower, ſprout among the rocks: which are topped with high overhanging trees. Through theſe rocks ſteps are cut from the garden down to the ſhore; where

where the daſhing of the waves is the moſt violent: and here there is a wide cavity cut, the two ſides of which are of unequal depth; ſo that you may waſh your feet in the one, and ſwim in the other.

I have juſt reminded you of the pleaſure this ſituation afforded me when, in April, I was below in a boat, and ſaw a Monk ſtanding above, ſpreading nets to catch quails. Prodigious numbers of theſe birds of paſſage are caught twice a year, in ſpring and in autumn, on the ſhores of the bay of Naples; and particularly in the iſland of Capri.

The population of the *Piano di Sorento*, allowing the town itſelf to contain four thouſand inhabitants, is eſtimated at eighteen thouſand ſouls: and this in a circumference of ſcarcely four leagues!

Formerly, the whole plain of Sorento belonged to the town; which was inhabited by many of the nobility: but the inhabitants were impoveriſhed, ſome centuries ago, by the African pirates; who landed, and carried off their wives and daughters, in great numbers. The lovely priſoners were ranſomed by their fathers, huſbands, and brothers: but for this purpoſe their lands were neceſſarily ſold.

A ſoft yet ſerious melancholy, combined with amenity, characterizes the inhabitants of Sorento, and its plain; and diſtinguiſhes them, in a very ſtriking manner, both from the ſanguine noiſy Neapolitans and from the ardent natives of Iſchia, who are as hot as the atmoſphere to which they are expoſed. The inhabitants of the plain are proſperous, and pay no taxes, except for the ſilk that they ſpin, and the wine that they export. Thoſe who till lands hired out of their own diſtrict frequently pay an extravagant rent: for they have many competitors for the farming of theſe lands. Thus, though they live by the ſweat of their brow, they live in indigence.

This valley, being protected from the mid-day heats by the mountains, enjoys a mild air. The heat, even in the dog days, is not oppreſſive. Thus happily ſituated is this corner of the earth, in which the fineſt fruits attain the very higheſt degree of perfection; and where I yeſterday, at this ſeaſon of the year, ate the fruit of the *cactus opuntia*,

which here grows wild, and which in Germany is the produce only of the hot-houſe; where, at the moment that I am now writing, I ſee before me ſwelling cluſters of the gold and purple grape, large and beautiful beyond conception, pendent from the tall branches. Some of the lemon trees are now a ſecond time in full bloom.

It is now more than a week ſince the vintage was over. I cannot give any reaſon for its beginning more early, in this cool valley, than in the hot countries of Italy. In Iſchia, ripe grapes have been eaten theſe ſix weeks: yet the vintage does not begin there before the end of September.

We ſpent the laſt fortnight of Auguſt, and the firſt week of September, in the iſland of Iſchia; and have made the tour of the whole iſland, which is three German miles in circumference, on the backs of aſſes. The trees, which I ſaw covered with bloom in April, I now beheld loaded with fruit. The *agrumi*, which then afforded their golden produce, full, ripe, and dazzling among the boughs, are now colouring with a ſecond crop; and ſhip loads of ſweet oranges have already been ſent to Rome. The apple of the pomegranate is reddening, and here and there new buds, ſhall I ſay are continuing, or are beginning, to appear.

The fruit of the ſtrawberry tree, the foliage and ſlender growth of which reſemble the laurel, is now ripening. This fruit hangs, like the cherry, to a ſtalk, is round, and of a ſhining ſcarlet colour. The red and white azerole now ripen; a fruit that has a charming acid taſte: and now too the white and red *ſerbe* *. Various figs are here as large as at Sorento. The figs that we are able to rear no perſon here would eat: they give better to the hogs.

This iſland produces a kind of vine, which, if I do not miſtake, is peculiar to itſelf. It bears three crops: one in Auguſt, one in December, and another at the end of February. Its grapes are called *tre*

* I know not whether the *cerbera* be meant. T.

volte

volte l'anno: or three times a year, and, before the ripe fruit is plucked, the plant is again in bloom!

The fig-tree in many parts of both kingdoms, bears twice a year. Whether the thrice-bearing vine flouriſh in any other country than in Iſchia is more than I can ſay: but Homer appears to have been acquainted with the ſpecies. How applicable to this heavenly iſland is the following deſcription of the garden of Alcinous!

Ἐνθα δε δενδρεα μακρα πεφυκει τηλεθοωντα,
Ὀγχναι και ῥοιαι, και μηλεαι ἀγλαοκαρποι,
Συκαι τε γλυκεραι, και ἐλαιαι τηλεθοωσαι.
Τεων ἀπο μεν καρπος ἀπολλυται, οὐδ' ἀπολειπει
Χειματος, οὐδε θερευς, επετησιος· ἀλλα μαλ' ἀιει
Ζεφυρος πνειουσα, τα μεν φυει, ἀλλα δε πεσσει.
Ὀγχνη ἐπ' ὀγχνῃ γηραοκει, μηλον δ' ἐπι μηλῳ,
Αὐταρ ἐπι σταφυλῃ σταφυλη, σῦκον δ' ἐπι συκῳ.
Ενθα δε οἱ πεδονομος αλωη ἐρριζωται.
Της ετερον μεν θειλοπεδον λευρῳ ἐνι χωρῳ
Τερσεται ἠελιῳ· ἑτεραι δ' ἀρα τε τρυγοωσιν,
Ἀλλας δε τραπεουσι· παροιθε δε τ' ὀμφακες εἰσιν,
Ἀνθος ἀφιεισαι· ἑτεραι δ' ὑποπερκαζουσιν.

Hom. Od. vii. 114.

Cloſe to the gates a ſpacious garden lies;
From ſtorms defended, and inclement ſkies:
Four acres was th' allotted ſpace of ground,
Fenc'd with a green encloſure all around.
The branch here bends, beneath the weighty pear;
And verdant olives flouriſh round the year.
The balmy ſpirit of the weſtern gale
Eternal breathes, on fruits untaught to fail:
Each dropping pear a following pear ſupplies,
On apples apples, figs on figs ariſe:
The ſame mild ſeaſon gives the blooms to blow,
The buds to harden and the fruits to grow.

Here ordered vines in equal ranks appear,
With all th' united labours of the year;

Some to unload the fertile branches run,
Some dry the black'ning cluſters in the ſun,
Others to tread the liquid harveſt join,
The groaning preſſes foam with floods of wine.
Here are the vines in early flow'r deſcry'd,
Here grapes diſcolour'd on the ſunny-ſide,
And there in autumn's richeſt purple dy'd.

POPE, Od. b. vii. 142.

However, this third time ripening kind of winter-grape is not very highly eſteemed. The berries of February ſeldom ripen: and, when they do, they are never uſed for wine.

Nothing can be more lovely than the woods, the vineyards, and the diſtributed habitations on the ſides and at the foot of the mountain Epomeo: or than the ſituations of the little towns, villages, and country houſes, on the declivities of the hills toward the ſea: the enchanting proſpects of which acquire new and variegated charms, from the cragged ſhores of the iſland.

The population of Iſchia is given at twenty-two thouſand.

The land proprietors are very wealthy, the tenants frequently poor. The former pays no other tax than a *ſcudo*, or two convention florin: *, for each *faſs* † of wine which is exported. A *faſs* contains ſix *eimer*: an *eimer* eighty *flaſks*.

The baths of Iſchia are famous for their different qualities, and for the cure of different diſeaſes. There is a great inſtitution called *Monte di miſericordia*: where there are annually ſix hundred poor patients bathed, taken care of, and fed, for a fortnight, at the expence of a private ſociety in Naples.

The air of Iſchia is very healthy; except for thoſe perſons who have diſeaſes of the lungs, or the nerves: but it is far from being as cool as that of Sorento.

* *Zween Gulden Conventionsmünze.*

† I do not know the accurate contents of the meaſures here enumerated. T.

The

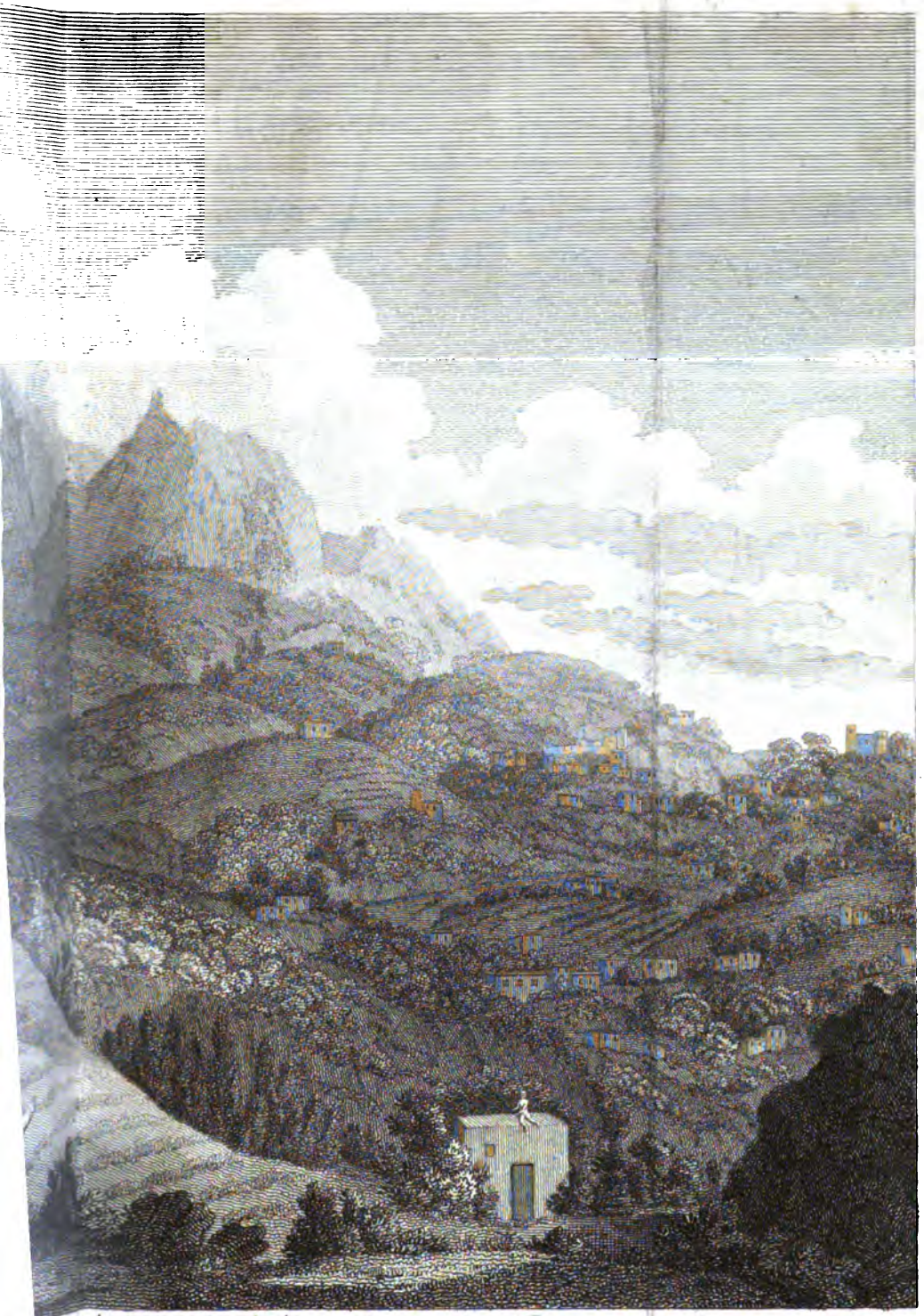
Designed after Nature by G.N.L.Nicolovius.

A View in the Isl

land of Ischia.

Designed after Nature by Nicolovius

A View in the Island of I..



...ia; and of the Mountain Epomeo.

Letter XCVII

The natural beauties of the *Piano di Sorento* poſſeſs a more ſerious character; and perhaps a more dignified ſublimity. The charms of Iſchia are cheering, and fill the heart with delight: and its inhabitants are perhaps the moſt deſerving of affection on earth. The blood flows ſparkling through their veins; and their whole being is friendlineſs and joy. Friendlineſs is always heartfelt; and joy is never deprived of ſimplicity of manners, or unaccompanied by innocence.

In their perſons they are handſome, particularly the women: yet I have ſeen more beautiful women in Taranto, and finer men on the north coaſt of Sicily. The young girls of Iſchia have many native graces. Some of them danced to the *tamborine*, in the court of the houſe where we lived, almoſt every evening, a dance which is called *Tarantella*; becauſe it comes from Taranto. Two people dance together: never two men; ſeldom a man and a woman; but generally two women, or young girls. The *tamborine* too is always played by a woman.

This inſtrument conſiſts of a broad circular rim, one ſide of which is covered like a drum. On the rims are flat bits of metal, that ſtrike againſt each other; and little bells fixed croſs way, over the holes in the ſides of the rim, the muſic of which accompanies the beating of the drum.

This is enlivened by the ſinging of the girls that play. The ſongs they ſing abound in *naïveté*, and ſenſibility; and, in general, are the complaints of lovers, of the cruelties of the maiden beloved. The ſubject is never the love of woman: though it is woman by whom the ſongs are ſung. Thus are the fair every where flattered, by the homage of the ſtrongeſt ſex. The muſician ſings with ſo loud a voice that you would rather hear her at a diſtance than be by her ſide, did not her ſerious and animated mien fix your attention. You imagine you behold a prieſteſs of Apollo, ſeated on the tripod; and that the muſic is the inſpiration of the God.

No dance is ſo full of decorum, and grace, as this. The head in-

clining, the down-caſt eye, the noble dignity of mien, and the inimitable elaſticity with which they move, ſcarcely touching the ground, then raiſing their arms, entwining them and running the ever-changeable mazes of the dance, inſpire feelings which I cannot deſcribe.

Fortunata, a delicately-formed and beautiful creature of fifteen, excelled them all in grace, agility, and imagination. Franceſca, with her blooming cheeks, was the very perfection of kind and courteous ſerenity. A common ſervant maid, who, like girls of her claſs, was employed in the loweſt offices, danced with a dignity in her motions that abſolutely excited our aſtoniſhment.

Every two months a new national ſong is compoſed, at Naples: which, with its tune, immediately ſpreads among the ſurrounding coaſts, and iſlands. It is ſeldom tranſcribed, but fixes itſelf in the memory by its attractions. It yields to its ſucceſſor, like the flowers and fruits of the changeable months. Some, however, which, from their peculiarly ſimple charms, or becauſe they contain ſome afflicting ſtory of a lover, or heartbreaking complaints of a cruel maiden, produce ſtronger ſenſations than uſual, are preſerved.

We were once ſitting on a hill, on which there were many young ſlender cheſnut trees; and little boys, of from five to ſeven years of age around us, were climbing theſe trees. When they were high enough to make the tree bend, they caught hold of ſome other tree with great caution, and ſwung from the firſt to the ſecond. Sometimes they could bend the ſtem ſo low as to be able to reach the topmoſt branch; and, profiting by the naturally elaſtic power of the tree, which they let go, one of them would ſuffer himſelf to be ſnatched as it were to the top. In this manner they played each other various tricks: but none of them took offence at his companions. When they were weary they ſat down beſide us on the graſs; and, as if we had all been long acquainted, ſhelled their cheſnuts, ate themſelves, and aſked us to eat in ſo friendly a manner that we could not forbear participating of their unroaſted fruit.

Through

Through all Italy, particularly in the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, there are many Saint's days; and these are times of festivity: but those who imagine that the people do not work on such days are mistaken, Sunday is the only day on which they entirely cease from labour. The festivity of a Saint's day is particularly great in Ischia; and the churches and chapels, built at the foot and on the sides of the continually fire-emitting Epomeo, being illuminated in the evening, form a beautiful spectacle. The houses are likewise frequently lighted up; on which occasions lamps are placed on the flat roofs: while boys, and youths, burn old barrels, and shout in honour of the Saint.

The good old people sit at their house doors, participate of the mirth of their children, and perhaps cast a look, tinged with regret, at the burning cask; which many a year has held their wine: but hope at the same time that the Saint will remember their piety, and bless them with the rich vintage of the following season.

On the eve of every festival, little mortars are fired off, in the front of the church; and sky-rockets are frequently thrown into the air. The Italians are never wearied with the sight of fire, nor with the sound of powder. Thus they will shoot at snakes, to hear the sound of the gun.

The first eight days, which we spent in the fortunate island of Ischia, were among the happiest of our whole journey; and the feeling of this happiness impelled me to write the poem I send our Edward *. I call it the Hesperides; after these blooming but not fabulous gardens.

God intentionally gave the vintage before the winter; and, in like

* This Poem, which is in three cantos, I have forborne to translate: partly because it contains only descriptions of scenes already described, and partly from the difficulty of preserving the spirit of the author. The poetical metaphors of nations are reconcileable each to itself from custom, though each are frequently offensive to every other nation; and I think this peculiarly the case in the German language: some of the metaphors of which we should conceive to be too extravagant, some too insipid, and some too mean. With the short poems that I have already translated, I have thought myself justified in taking great liberties. T.

 manner,

manner, frequently indulges us in a peculiar vintage of joy when pain is impending. My little daughter, born at Naples, was taken ill and died, after ſix days bodily ſuffering; which certainly was more grievous to the mother than to the child.

She is gone home, from this earthly to a ſtill more beautiful and heavenly paradiſe. Happy for her that ſhe could not miſtake the way! That ſhe was

Werth ſchnell wegzublühen, der blumen Edens beſſre geſpielinn *.

KLOPSTOCK.

The affectionate character of the people diſplayed itſelf during the ſickneſs of the infant. They were eager to encourage my wife with the hope of the recovery of the child, of which they themſelves were very deſirous. Strangers, whoſe names were unknown to me, enquired after the health of the patient; and, from the winding hollow path below our window, I frequently heard them aſk *Che fa la bambina?* How does the little girl?

They have a pleaſing cuſtom in this iſland, when a grown-up perſon dies, of aſſembling all their friends in an evening to pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed: but, if it be a child, to congratulate the afflicted relations on its beatification: on which occaſions the friends are all feaſted.

An old countryman, with a dignified and friendly ſagacity, thus addreſſed us: "Do not grieve for the death of your child: ſhe is in "paradiſe. She is now praying to God for you. You have ſent a "ſoul to heaven. She will hover over you during your journey, and "will guard you from danger."

Happy iſlanders! The ſea has ſeparated you from cities and nations! May you remain as you are, bleſſed by the ſame cuſtoms, animated by the ſame piety! So will your joys remain: and, as from generation to generation you ſhall be gathered to your fathers, thoſe joys will everlaſtingly increaſe!

* An early gueſt of blooming Eden worthy found.

LET-

LETTER XCVIII.

Naples, 26th September 1792.

TWO days ago, we left our beloved *Piano di Sorento:* but were deſirous not to quit the kingdom of Naples, till we ſhould firſt have viſited La Cava, and Vietri. We ſet ſail from our valley, and coaſted along the ſhore till we croſſed to Caſtell-a-mare. I have already deſcribed the road to La Cava and Vietri, in a letter dated at Salerno; which lies beyond Vietri. You experience a remarkable contraſt, when, after leaving the extremely fertile plains that lie between Caſtell-a-mare and Nocera, you arrive at the high Apennines. In thoſe plains the loaded vine, planted in fruitful corn fields, twines its tendrils round the lofty elm.

The Apennine mountains with grandeur combine a kind of friendly character. They are well wooded, and they do not ſtretch out in long uninterrupted backs, but conſiſt of diſtinct hills; the middle regions of which meet each other, while you have an open proſpect of the horizon between their ſummits.

We ſaw many round towers on theſe lofty heights; which, ſeen from afar, appeared like ſingle prodigious pillars, and are built along the mountains at nearly equal diſtances. We were informed of their deſtination at Vietri. The country abounds in pigeons; to catch which large nets are ſpread. On each of theſe towers, a man is ſtationed with a ſling, and, when a flight of pigeons comes near enough, he throws a ſtone out of the ſling, which they ſuppoſe to be a bird of prey, hovering over them. The ſlinger knows how with great dexterity, by the direction in which he throws, to guide the flight of the pigeons; and continues to throw till, at laſt, they are taken in a net.

There is a deep valley, near La Cava, from which no doubt the place derives its name: although the valley itſelf, from the mills which

are worked by its waters, is called *Mulina*. This valley is juſtly celebrated for its beauty; embelliſhed as it is with large trees, *agrumi*, fruits of every kind, and every where the clinging vine, while it is arched over by the bold projecting rocks, the forms of which are various. Theſe rocks conſiſt of *ſtalactites*, that hang like icicles in ſplinters of ſpar. One of theſe great caverns is peculiarly beautiful: its cavities open like prodigious jaws; the hollow throats of which are ſunk deep in the rock. Here, in its innermoſt darkneſs, the waters ſtream on all ſides from the ſtone, which is overgrown with ivy, and maiden-hair: *adiantum, capillum Veneris*. Theſe waters unite in the cavern; from which they ruſh and form a charming rivulet, that empties itſelf into the ſea near Vietri.

Vietri is built on a rock of the bay of Salerno, immediately fronting that town. I have more than once ſpoken of the enchanting proſpects which this bay affords. The gardens of Vietri ſtretch out, from the heights where the town is built, to the very ſea ſhore: while all that is grand and benevolent in nature is here united.

Every traveller has not an opportunity of paſſing through the ſouthern provinces of this kingdom, and Sicily: but no one ſhould quit Naples without having firſt viſited the iſlands of Iſchia and Capri, the *Piano di Sorento*, La Cava, and Vietri.

On our return, we again had a glance at the antiquities of Pompeii; and it was a ſatisfaction to me to remark the quantities of rubbiſh, that had been removed by the daily labour of ſeventy men in ſix months.

Now, while writing to you from Naples, I look toward the ſea; and there view multitudes of boats, in each of which a torch is burning, that, by its light, attracts a certain ſpecies of fiſh. The moon at the ſame moment glitters upon the waves; and on the left, for theſe ten days paſt, a new double-armed ſtream of lava has been pouring down from Mount Vefuvius.

Thus beautiful is the leave that we take of Naples. To-morrow morning we ſhall ſet off on our return homeward.

LET-

LETTER XCIX.

Rome, 2d October 1792.

ON our journey from Naples, we made a delay of about four-and-twenty hours in Caſerta; where we were entertained, in a friendly manner, by Mr. Hackert.

In my letter dated the 6th of February, I have ſpoken of the great aqueduct; which may be compared to the greateſt of thoſe that were built by the Romans, and which was conſtructed by the late King, to whom the Two Sicilies are ſo much indebted. The plan was by Vanvitelli; one of the moſt celebrated architects of Italy, who likewiſe built the royal palace, which ranks among the fineſt in Europe. It conſiſts of four diviſions, or palaces, with four great courts. The ſtaircaſe is in the centre; where the palaces are connected by vaulted perſpective colonnades; and it is admired as a ſingular maſterpiece of art. Above it is a grand circular hall; with two colonnades, and a lofty cupola.

The great Engliſh garden is pleaſant, becauſe of its extenſive proſpects toward the ſurrounding mountains, its ſhady walks, and its continued variety. It received new charms from the improvements made by Mr. Gräffer; a German gardener, who had formed himſelf by twenty years reſidence in England; and who, to the art of laying out grounds, has added botanical ſcience. He has not been five years in the King's ſervice; yet, favoured by the climate of Italy and the fertile ſoil of Capua, he has done enough in this ſhort time to excite general aſtoniſhment. In a country where the Indian fig grows wild, and under the care of a man of underſtanding, many of the exotics of the ſouth will flouriſh; and moſt of the plants of the north will delight in the ſuperior mildneſs of the air.

The King, about five years ago, eſtabliſhed a large ſilk manufactory, near Caſerta; at which they weave plain and brocaded ſilks. Between three and four hundred girls here find a livelihood; and, if any one marry a workman in the manufactory, and continue to work for this eſtabliſhment, they and their families are ſupported. Each bride receives a portion of a hundred ducats; and the whole community, which began with forty perſons, conſiſts already of more than a thouſand: conſtituting a little State, the laws of which have been given by the King himſelf. He has apartments in the building, which he frequently inhabits.

I now viewed the countries of *Santa Agatha*, *Mola*, *Itri*, and *Fondi*, again in all their charms; which I had thought ſo beautiful in the beginning of February.

We paſſed haſtily through the Pontine marſh; and for having croſſed it without injury we may perhaps thank the uſe of camphor, and of that kind of vinegar which the French call *vinaigre des quatre voleurs:* the vinegar of the four thieves; and the Italians, who ſeldom are ſatisfied with ſmall numbers, *aceto de i ſette ladri:* or vinegar of the ſeven thieves. The danger is always very great; yet it was this year leſs than the laſt: partly becauſe the means taken by the Pope to dry the marſh are productive of annual improvement, and partly becauſe the falls of rain have been greater this ſummer than uſual; and therefore the firſt autumnal rains, which are frequently ſo pernicious, have been leſs dangerous in their effects.

Leaving the high road, we went from Albano to Fraſcati; and ſaw on our way the *Grotta ferrata:* which is the name of an abbey inhabited by monks; who, combining the Greek and Latin churches, live according to the order of St. Baſil. They fled from Calabria in the tenth century, and took refuge here under the conduct of St. Nileus.

This abbey deſerves to be viſited, becauſe it contains noble pictures in freſco, by Dominichino; by whom a whole chapel has been painted.

Some

Some of them have ſuffered from age. One of them repreſents a friar of the monaſtery, who went to meet Otho the Third, at the head of his army. Otho embraces the Saint. The Legend relates that the Emperor offered him the choice of any gift he ſhould demand; and that he anſwered, "The gift I demand is thy ſoul." The Emperor is ſurrounded by many warriors, and horſes; all full of life, abounding in the ſimplicity of nature. Nor can we ſufficiently admire the pure ordonnance of the picture, or the dignity and truth of the expreſſion.

Another ſmall picture, in which a Saint is repreſented in the act of exorciſing a poſſeſſed boy, is in my opinion ſtill much more beautiful. The boy, held by his father, throws himſelf back, his body raiſed upon his toes, his arms ſtretched out, and raging, and his whole mien and attitude exhibiting the ſymptoms of the dreadful conflict. Garrick objected to a famous French comedian, who perſonated drunkenneſs, that his legs were ſober: the legs of this poſſeſſed boy are racked by the moſt deadly cramp. The father holds him with effort, but with hope: the weeping mother kneels; and fear and expectation are combating, in the countenances of the ſpectators. Theſe different paſſions are excellently expreſſed, in the faces of two boys; one of whom is all animation and hope, the other all anxiety and dread.

Behind the Saint a kneeling monk prays, with ardent devotion. The Saint himſelf alone is perfectly calm, perfectly certain of what is to follow, and this calm is equally expreſſed in his whole attitude and in his beautiful and placid form. He opens the mouth of the boy with his left hand, and dips the right in the oil contained in a ſuſpended lamp: the power of which was rendered ſanative by his touch; or which rather was the viſible ſymbol of the gift of working miracles.

The animation of the paſſions is expreſſed in all the other countenances, and every where prevails; modified by the ſagacity of the great painter, the ſtrength of whoſe pencil knew the pure extent of the line of truth. Dominichino was as calm as the Saint he pourtrayed. He

was guilty of no exceſs, of no wild attitude, miſrepreſenting life, but every where communicated the heartfelt glow of nature, in all her characteriſtic forms. A body poſſeſſed, drawn by ſuch a painter, will have geſtures which many of the modern, and particularly of the French, artiſts ſuppoſe are common to the paſſions of common life. Exceſs is the mark of weakneſs, as well in the artiſt as in the man.

The whole road, between Albano and Fraſcati, which is two Italian miles beyond the *Grotta ferrata*, abounds in pleaſing variety; and leads through woods, where different kinds of trees afford different kinds of foliage.

Fraſcati is built on the ſide of a woody mountain, which is about twelve Italian miles from Rome. On this mountain the ancient *Tuſculum* was built; the founding of which is aſcribed to *Telegonus*, who according to ſome was the ſon of Ulyſſes and Circe, and according to others the ſon of *Telemachus*. Fable in general adds to the antiquity of towns; but, if the opinion of Cluverius be true, and it appears to be well-founded, this fable robs *Tuſculum* of three hundred years of its real age: for it was built by the *Pelaſgi*, who drove the *Siculi* out of *Latium* three hundred years before the deſtruction of Troy.

Tuſculum is famous in the Roman hiſtory for its friendſhip with Rome; to which at laſt it fell a ſacrifice, as happened to every friend of this imperious city. It boaſts of having produced Cincinnatus, and Cato, the Cenſor; and is well known, to every reader of the ancients, for having been the country reſidence of Cicero: the place where his much loved *Tuſculanum* ſtood, after which he has named one of his immortal works.

After the expulſion of the Goths, it became a part of the States of the Church; and was preferred, by the Popes, to all other places in the vicinity of Rome. Suſpecting the Romans, Alexander the Third retired to this place, in the year 1165; and, four years afterward, aided by the people of Tuſculum, attacked the Ghibelines in Rome: which party

party favoured the Emperor. Tuſculum was become an imperial town when, in the year 1191, Clement the Third, by an agreement, again united it to the States of the Church.

The hatred of the Romans, who feared that the Popes might again retire to this place, induced them to deſtroy Tuſculum, as a conquered town. The inhabitants retired to the ruins of one of their ſuburbs; among the groves of which they long continued to live. Hence Fraſcati derived its name: for *Fraſca*, in Italian, ſignifies a leafy bough. Lofty pines, that grow above the town on the mountain, point out the place where ancient Tuſculum ſtood.

Moſt of the moderns ſuppoſe the place where a Capuchin monaſtery ſtands, between the ruins of Tuſculum and Fraſcati, to have been the ſeat of the Tuſculanum of Cicero: but Cluverius is of opinion that it ſtood where the preſent *Grotta ferrata* ſtands.

We were prevented by rainy weather from viſiting ſeveral of the famous villas in Fraſcati; and ſaw none but the *Villa Aldobrandini*. I ſhall tell you nothing of the cieling, painted by the *Cavaliere D'Arpino;* nor yet of the expenſive toys of the hydraulic art, which by ſome have been ſo much celebrated. My ſilence is inoffenſive. I looked round me, and ſcarcely retain a tranſient idea of what I ſaw.

We yeſterday paſſed through ſeveral galleries at Rome, which we had not viſited when we were there in the winter. The following pictures pleaſed me the moſt.

IN THE PALAZZO CHIGI.

A battle-piece, by Salvator Roſa. All the terror and din of battle, yet no confuſion; wildneſs of fancy, yet purity of ordonnance; great ardor, and no vacuity. The genius of Salvator in full diſplay. A painter of no genius affects wildneſs, exaggerates animation, and is more inſupportable and more falſe than inſipidity itſelf. But the painter of mind does not miſlead: he ſeizes incidents, and objects, as they actually occur; and preſents us with nature ſuch as ſhe is. He

is

is not inflated: his heat does not ſcorch; it is now mildly warm, now glows, now beams, and, like the ſun, enlightens all around. This battle-piece is full of harmony. The atmoſphere has the yellow tone of a tempeſt; and blue clouds ride at a diſtance, and fly round, while hovering eagles, waiting for their prey, eye the bodies of the ſlain.

Several landſcapes, by this painter, are all ſtamped by the character of the maſter. His horizon is inflamed; and frequently the trees bend, and ſway, before the freſh breeze.

I have ſomewhere read an anecdote of Salvator Roſa, for the truth of which I will not vouch; though I think it not improbable. The tale ſays, he was fond of wine; and that, being half intoxicated, he every now and then ran to his work, and painted with great fury; leaving it after a few touches. When he was ſober, he recollected what he had done, ſuppoſed he had ſpoiled his picture, and was exceedingly grieved: but, going to examine it, he found, to his aſtoniſhment, that, during his intoxication, he had put in ſtrokes that were inimitably expreſſive.

Intoxication like this denotes much power. But happy is the man of genius, who does not derive the animating nectar from the glaſs.

Of the nectar prepared by Nature herſelf Claude Lorrain drank deeply; by whom there are five excellent landſcapes in this gallery.

A Roman Charity; and a Sleeping Cupid; both by Guido.

Julio Romano's own drawings of the Battle of Conſtantine, in the Vatican; which he painted under the inſpection of Raphael.

THE PALAZZO DORIA.

The collection of this gallery is very ample. The Romans call it *il boſco de i quadri;* or, the grove of pictures: The works of the moſt famous painters being to be found there. Here are many of the landſcapes of Gaſpard Pouſſin; and ſome of them excellent. This painter poſſeſſed much truth of drawing, but leſs of colouring. In many of his landſcapes, the tone is unnaturally clear; and in others unna-

unnaturally gloomy. He evidently affected to have a manner of his own. This is an afflicting quality; and proper only to inferiority of genius. The French are not only manneriſts but they conſider that to be ſo is a mark of greatneſs: yet they frequently fail in the thing at which they aim. Claude Lorrain, who was entirely free from this defect, muſt not be conſidered as an exception: becauſe, in his time, the country that gave him birth was not a province of France: he was a German.

Here likewiſe there are ſeveral beautiful landſcapes by Nicholas Pouſſin; the great hiſtorical painter.

Two landſcapes, by Dominichino: which are beautiful, and remarkable for having been painted at a time when landſcape was yet in its infancy: though hiſtory-painting had attained its prime of manhood.

The laborious finiſhing of Brüghel will excite the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe who take no pleaſure in ſuch minute yet inceſſant induſtry. There is a Paradiſe, with the creation of birds and beaſts, by him in this gallery; and his works of this kind are maſterpieces.

Pharaoh and his army, overwhelmed in the Red Sea; by Antonio Tempeſta. The veins in the marble, ſelected for the painting of this picture, repreſent the rolling of the billows.

A beautiful Holy Family; by Fra Bartolomeo.

The Sacrifice of Iſaac; by Titian.

St. Agnes, aſcending the pile to martyrdom, the faggots of which begin to burn; by Guercino.

The Virgin, kneeling at prayer before the ſleeping child, Jeſus; by Guido. The colours of this beautiful picture have ſuffered from time; and, being placed among pictures of higher colouring, it did not appear to advantage.

Some portraits, by Abraham Vandyke *.

Two by Rembrandt. Great as this painter was, he yet ſuffers by

* I imagine there is a miſtake; and that the great Vandyke, Anthony, is meant. Abraham Vandyke painted chiefly in England. T.

the ſide of Vandyke. Rembrandt was a manneriſt. Vandyke, more than any painter, poſſeſſed the grand art of preſenting nature with the full expreſſion of life. His pictures breathed. He was likewiſe a great painter of hiſtory; and communicated to his portraits, which were always painted in perfect repoſe, the dignity of the hiſtorical character.

The father confeſſor of Reubens; by Reubens himſelf. Vandyke learned, from this his great maſter, to paint nature, with all her animation, and truth, in ſuch a manner as only the future great maſter can learn.

Holbein, and his wife: two portraits, by Holbein.

A beautiful ſmall head of a woman; likewiſe by Holbein: a very excellent picture.

Four miſers; by Albert Durer: a maſter-piece of this great man. He communicated to his ſarcaſtic caricature ſo much pure truth, and combined it with ſo deep a knowledge of character, that, bold as the traits are, you ſcarcely can call them caricature. Raphael highly venerated Albert Durer; whoſe writings, like thoſe of Leonardo da Vinci, are the code of the art.

A Flight into Egypt; by Nicholas Pouſſin: a beautiful picture; but, unfortunately for it, you ſoon afterward come to one much more beautiful, by Claude Lorrain.

Landſcapes, by Paul Brill; who was properly the father of landſcape-painting. He was remarkable for truth of expreſſion; and for his choice of the beautiful. His pictures abound in all the ſoft harmony of nature: the offences againſt which ſo frequently afflict the ſpectator, in many a famous landſcape.

The Virgin and Child, with a little John the Baptiſt, in a landſcape; by Raphael. Comparing this piece by Raphael with the pictures around it, we might exclaim, as an ancient writer once did of a young virgin,

Aliæ formoſæ, illa ipſa forma eſt.

"The reſt are beautiful, ſhe is beauty itſelf."

Perhaps this fine gallery, of the Palazzo Doria, has been called *il boſco de i quadri* from the many landſcapes that it contains.

In the church belonging to the Camaldoli monaſtery, of San Romoaldo, there is a famous altar-piece, an excellent picture, painted by Andrea Sacchi. Saint Romoaldo is ſeated under a tree, inſtructing three monks in their ſpiritual duties. The back-ground is allegorical. Monks of the order are ſeen climbing a ſteep mountain, on their aſcent to heaven; the light from which deſcends toward the foot of the mountain.

LETTER C.

Rome, 5th October 1792.

WE have paſſed the two preceding days among the enchanting ſcenes of Tivoli; of the far-famed caſcades of which I would rather ſend innumerable drawings than one barren deſcription.

Tivoli is ſeated on a hill; and is watered by the river *Teverone*, which the ancients called *Anio*, *Anien*, and *Anienus*. It divided Latium from the country of the Sabines; but, though the ſtream ran through the middle of the town, it was allowed wholly to belong to Latium. The name of the town was *Tibur;* and, according to the general opinion, it was built by Tibur and Catillus: two Arcadians, who followed Evander from Greece at the time of the Trojan war. Cluverius, who is perhaps the beſt of the antiquarians of Italy, places the founding of this town three hundred years more early; and aſcribes it to the *Pelaſgi*, who were driven out of Latium by the tribe of the Siculi, that afterward gave their name to Sicily.

Tibur long continued to reſiſt Rome, in its infancy: the diſtance between them was only eighteen Italian miles.

The Teverone courſes between hills through the town; and there forms the *caſcata:* or the great water-fall. It has loſt much of its natural beauty; becauſe its bed has been deepened, partly to guard againſt its wild torrents, and partly to form mill-ſtreams. It is ſtill however very delightful.

One branch of it in particular is much more charming than the reſt; and ruſhes, thundering down, through the hollows of the rock: the fantaſtic forms of which afford proſpects that are equally grand and beautiful. The over-arched cliffs are hung with maiden-hair, and covered with the vigorous vegetation of ſhrubs, and trees; which the miſts, ariſing from the daſhing waters, inceſſantly bedew.

About the middle of the caſcade is what is called the cave of Neptune; where, from rocks that are overgrown with plants, the ſtream, above and below, is heard and ſeen to ruſh, foam, and roar. High over this ſtands the circular temple of Veſta; the fallen part of which is not here viſible, while its Corinthian colonnade gives it a moſt beautiful appearance. Near this are ruins of the temple of the Sibyl, Albunea. Whether theſe remains belonged to the temple dedicated to the Sibyl is perhaps very difficult to determine: but it is known that ſhe was worſhipped here; and as Horace applies the epithet of reſounding to her name, there can be no doubt but that her temple ſtood near the waterfall.

——— *domus Albuneæ reſonantis.*

HOR. lib. i. od. vii.

——— Pure *Albunea's* far-reſounding ſource.

FRANCIS.

A conſiderable diſtance below the cavern of Neptune, which name was given it by the French painter, Vernet, there is a narrow difficult path, that leads through a vineyard; where, at every ſtep, new beauties appear; and this path goes from the waterfall to a place called the grotto of the Sirens. Compreſſed and narrowed by the hollow rocks,

that are embelliſhed by every enchanting object which form and foliage can afford, the waters foam, and thunder with a din that ſeems every moment to increaſe; and, falling through the hollow cavities, they eſcape the eye the more ſecurely becauſe the edges of the rock are rendered ſlippery, by the ſpray, and will not ſuffer a near approach. If you turn to the left, you ſee the caſcade from above, daſhing downward into the grotto of Neptune, and ruſhing thence in divided ſtreams. If you ſhut your eyes for a moment, in order to open them with the greater determination, you are but the more ſtunned by the roaring of the falling waters: the ear being then only employed.

Grand however as the roar of theſe waters is, and ſublime as is this ſcenery, they muſt not be compared to the more grand, the more ſublime, fall of the Rhine, at *Lauffen*; where terror and ecſtacy omnipotently ſeize on the ſtunned, dazzled, and amazed, ſpectator. Not but the fantaſtic forms of the round and hollowed rocks communicate to this waterfall at Tivoli a milder terror, a more ſacred gloom, and charms that are all its own.

There is a pleaſant walk, which leads from the heights of the town through a ſmiling valley; that ſeparates them from oppoſite heights, where the hills are ornamented with very large old olive trees. Here, at a place in the neighbourhood of a monaſtery, there are ruins which are ſaid to have belonged to the country-houſe of Horace. Though our friend Horace appears to have preferred his more ſolitary Sabine country-ſeat, ſtill it is certain he had a houſe at this place. We are expreſsly told this in the ſhort account which Suetonius has given us of the poet. Beſide, with what affection does he frequently ſpeak of Tibur! In his beautiful Ode to Melpomene, he tells us that theſe waters, and the thick foliage of theſe groves, ſhould form the lyric poet.

Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt,
Et ſpiſſæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

HOR. lib. iv. od. iii.

But him, the ſtreams which warbling flow
Rich Tibur's fertile vales along,
And ſhady groves, his haunts, ſhall know,
The maſter of the Æolian ſong.

And in another Ode, where the poet proves himſelf ſo ſincere a friend, and ſo capable of enjoying the charms of nature, he wiſhes to end his life in Tibur.

Tibur Argæo poſitum colono
Sit mihi ſedes utinam ſenectæ;
Sit modus laſſo maris, et viarum,
Militiæque.

Hor. lib. ii. od. vi.

May Tibur, to my lateſt hours,
Afford a kind and calm retreat;
Tibur; beneath whoſe lofty towers
The Grecians fix'd their bliſsful ſeat;
There may my labours end, my wand'rings ceaſe,
There all my toils of warfare reſt in peace!

Francis.

From the olive groves of theſe hills, you ſee the caſcade right before you; which, in compariſon with the great waterfall, or the *caſcata*, is called *caſcatelle maggiori:* or, the chief of the little waterfalls.

The ſtream here divides into two branches, that form a tongue of land; and by this land they are ſtill kept ſeparate when they fall down into the valley; by this variety they produce a caſcade of enchanting beauty. Theſe ſmall arms, now purling, now pouring, join at laſt in one grand current; that winds along the valley.

Not far from this are the leſſer caſcades: or the *caſcatelle piccole.* They are only called little comparatively; for they actually conſiſt of great waterfalls.

Above theſe are the large remains of the prodigious villa of Mæcenas. This villa, through which the arms of the waterfall ruſh, we viſited in the evening; and felt a pleaſure in recollecting that here, in this very houſe, Horace frequently, and Virgil not ſeldom, firſt read

their immortal works to the friends of poetry. A boy, in an apple tree, plucking the ripe fruit from trees that were planted below in the fertile valley, reminded me of the orchards which Horace ſung: that were bathed by the fleeting rivulets:

——— *mobilibus pomaria riuis.*

And fruitful orchards, bathed by ductile ſtreams.

FRANCIS.

The wine of Tivoli is very pleaſant. Horace was right in adviſing his friend to plant the vine here, in preference to all other trees.

Nullam, Vare, ſacra vite prius ſeveris arborem
Circa mite ſolum Tiburis et mœnia Catili.

Round Catillus' walls, or in Tibur's rich ſoil,
To plant the glad vine be my Varus' firſt toil.

FRANCIS.

Large foundations are ſtill remaining, oppoſite to the *caſcatelle piccole* and the villa of Mæcenas, which are ſuppoſed to have belonged to the villa of Quinctilius Varus; facing which alſo the *præceps Anio*, or headlong Anio, as Horace calls it, flows.

From one point of view, you may overlook the *caſcatelle maggiori* and the *caſcatelle piccole*.

There is a ſmall round temple not far from the villa of Mæcenas, which is called *il tempio della Toſſe*: the temple of the goddeſs *Tuſſis* *. The credulous Romans, who erected a temple to the goddeſs *Mephitis*, whom they likewiſe called *Graveolentia*, may equally have perſonified and worſhipped this diſeaſe as a goddeſs: hoping thus to eſcape her anger. The little temple is circular, and has a hemiſpherical cupola, which has an opening at the top. This form is in itſelf pleaſant; and the numerous ſhrubs that grow round the old cupola give it a very charming appearance.

In the ſmall inconſiderable town, there are the high remains of the

* *Tuſſis* ſignifies a cough.

wall

wall of a temple; probably of that which was dedicated to Hercules, and which was famous in Latium.

There is likewiſe a ſection of one of the town gates of the ancient Tibur ſtill ſtanding; and moſaic plaiſter is ſtill preſerved, in a little ſtreet.

Near the town is the *Villa d'Eſte*; which was built about the middle of the ſixteenth century, by Cardinal *Ippolito d'Eſte*; and now belongs to the Duke of Modena, the laſt male branch of this famous family. The building is large, but it is beginning to decay. The garden was laid out by the celebrated *Le Notre*; who introduced the French taſte in the art of gardening through all Europe, during the laſt century. Tall pines, plane-trees, and the largeſt cypreſs trees I ever ſaw, ſtill embelliſh this garden; and muſt have been planted by *Le Notre*.

You know that the French, having ſome years ago become weary of their inſipid gardens, began to change them into Engliſh parks. But they did not ſtop there. Having no feeling of ſimplicity, or of the ſerious Engliſh character, gloomy as it appeared to them, they ſtill were willing to exceed it: for which reaſon, as I have been told by an eye witneſs, they have planted dead trees in the beautiful gardens of *Ermenonville: pour inſpirer la philoſophie* *! A true picture of their preſent philoſophy; and of the morals of their atheiſts, who already compare Rouſſeau to a tree without root, or fruit.

Brutus and Caſſius had villas at Tivoli; the great remains of which we viſited. Their grandeur affords an idea of the luxury of the Romans in thoſe times; when men, who deſervedly are called the laſt of the Romans, inhabited ſuch prodigious palaces.

Theſe two brothers-in-law, friends, and chiefs of the conſpiracy againſt the tyrant, lived a quarter of a league diſtant from each other. Beneath theſe ſhady walks they probably converſed of the great events of the Roman world. In this country-ſeat, the noble Brutus fre-

* To inſpire philoſophy.

quently

quently perhaps retired from his cares, to enjoy the ſociety of his Portia, and his friends; and to hold ſweet intercourſe with the mighty dead. Here he could delight himſelf with the beautiful proſpect; and well might turn his eye from the duſty plains of Rome, that he might view the woody mountains of *Tuſculum*, on the left; or the hills that lie on the right: beyond which the high *Soracte* riſes.

I was much leſs intereſted by the vaſt remains of the villa of Adrian. Much may ſtill be ſeen of a theatre: but I cannot conjecture the uſe of a ſpacious circular place, ſurrounded by a lofty wall.

In Italy, the dubious ruins of antiquity are daringly pronounced upon. They call this place the *Naumachia*. It is true there are traces of ſeats, for ſpectators; and niches over them, on which it is probable that ſtatues were placed. Others ſuppoſe this to have been an amphitheatre; and I ſhould be ſurpriſed if a grand imperial villa had been built and left unprovided with a place for the ſanguinary ſpectacle of combats between wild beaſts, and the conflicts of more murderous men. But the ruins of walls within the place are a proof that it was neither intended for a *naumachia* nor for an amphitheatre.

A much greater place was probably appropriated to racing, or to a riding-houſe: or, if not, it might ſerve for the exerciſing of the Prætorian guard.

Our all-wiſe antiquarians have not ſuffered the ruins of temples that ſtand here to continue undeſcribed. They can tell us in which tribune, or half rotunda, which likewiſe had the name of *Schola*, the Stoics, or the Platoniſts, held diſcourſe.

For my own part, I think it impoſſible to know the uſe of each of theſe diviſions: eſpecially in a building in which Adrian was deſirous of collecting all that had chiefly delighted him in Greece, Aſia, and Egypt. Adrian; a man of underſtanding, but full of fantaſtic whims.

I thought the large ruins of a building more remarkable, which, according to the inequality of the ground on which it ſtood, conſiſted ſometimes of two and ſometimes of three ſtories. The general opi-

nion,

nion, that it was inhabited by the Prætorian Cohort, which ſerved as the body guard, I conſider as indubitable. It is divided into high chambers; each of which is nine paces long, and ſeven broad. Openings between them have been made, in modern times: though formerly theſe chambers had no interior communication with each other. The windows muſt have ſerved them for doors; and, as there was a moat dug on that ſide of the building which had windows, the ſoldiers could only leave the lower ſtory by paſſing over a bridge; and the upper by deſcending a ladder. It is probable that they were drawbridges; and that the ladders were placed at ſtated times. Unfortunate ages! In which an Emperor like Adrian, who was not a tyrant, the ſucceſſor of the meritorious Trajan, who had been preceded by the good Nerva, was obliged to take precautions ſo gloomy!

The walls of theſe houſes for the ſoldiers are doubled: ſo that there is a ſmall ſpace between them, affording a paſſage to the air. This was a very rational precaution; and deſerves to be imitated in our country, where the humidity of the air is ſo frequently noxious.

The hills round Tivoli are chiefly covered with olive trees: though other trees are found among them, the various and verdant foliage of which refreſhes the eye. Among them, we chiefly meet with the *cercis ſiliquaſtrum:* or Judas tree: on which I found, at the ſame time, the ripe ſeed and the beautiful red flower in bloom. I met with different plants which I had ſeen no where elſe: the ſeeds of which I have collected. It will give me great ſatisfaction if ſome of the many ſeeds that I ſhall bring home with me ſhould hereafter proſper in Germany. My ſon found ſome ripe ſeeds of the caper; with the beautiful bloom of which I hope to make you acquainted. This ſeed is but ſeldom met with, becauſe the buds are ſo carefully plucked,

LET-

LETTER CI.

Rome, 8th October 1792.

IN the church called *Trinita de i Monti*, there is an excellent painting in freſco, by Danielle di Volterra; the ſubject of which is the deſcent of Chriſt from the croſs. It is thought to be one of the moſt famous paintings in the world, and is truly of extraordinary beauty: particularly the Virgin in a ſwoon, though perhaps ſhe looks rather too much as if ſhe were dead, and the beautiful group of the weeping women. Still I confeſs that the deſcent from the croſs in oil colours, by the ſame great maſter, which is in the poſſeſſion of Angelica Kauffman, appears to me of even higher excellence. It is aſtoniſhingly well preſerved; and, by the mere aid of a good varniſh, looks as freſh and as youthful as if it had juſt been taken from the eaſel of the painter.

Of all the Italian artiſts of the preſent age, Canova, a Venetian, now living at Rome, is the man who beſt maintains the fame of Roman art. I know no ſculptor whoſe works ſo nearly approach the great maſter-pieces of antiquity; and willingly acknowledge that I prefer ſome of his performances to the admired ſtatues of Michael Angelo. To uncommon aſſiduity he unites uncommon genius; and boldneſs of conception with the rare gift of ſeizing nature, pure as ſhe is, in her moſt ſignificant attitudes, and moſt perfect forms. He is thirty-three years of age; and his character, by all who know him, is allowed to be dignified, and amiable. The monuments of the two laſt Popes, *Rezzonico* and *Ganganelli*, are both by his hand.

I ſaw many plaiſter models by him, in his workſhop, and marble ſtatues; ſome begun, and ſome finiſhed. I thought a group of Dædalus and Icarus uncommonly beautiful. Dædalus has begun to faſten the wings on the ſhoulders of his ſon: while the boy turns his head

and looks at them, with the joyful pleaſure of youthful impatience. The father conſiders his work, with an air that is equally expreſſive of the penetrating eye of the artiſt and the anxiety of the father. Feelings like theſe appear to me much more difficult to convey than thoſe of violent paſſion: eſpecially becauſe, in the latter, it will be more eaſy for the artiſt to deceive in proportion as it is difficult to know what is the exact truth. This excellent group was a performance of Canova before he was eighteen.

The monument of Pope Rezzonico, by him, in St. Peter's church, is lately completed; and eclipſes every other monument of the Popes, in this church.

In the church of St. Jerome, there is a picture by Dominichino; which is ſuppoſed to be one of the beſt in Rome. The ſubject is St. Jerome, adminiſtering the ſacrament to a dying perſon. A young man ſtands behind the ſaint, with a chalice; and a youth, at the back of the dying perſon, in deep and ſincere affliction. Several other countenances, and attitudes, denote varieties of grief or of devotion. The dying man appears to collect his remaining powers for this ſolemn moment; and the countenance of St. Jerome teſtifies pure love, and dignified ſanctity. Of the ſurrounding perſons he has no knowledge. His thoughts are fixed on God, and on the penitent; whom, in the pangs of death, he wiſhes to prepare for his entrance into eternity.

Nicholas Pouſſin uſed to ſay that the Transfiguration of Chriſt, by Raphael, this St. Jerome, by Dominichino, and the Deſcent from the croſs, by Volterra, were the moſt beautiful of all pictures *. Pouſſin was accuſtomed to call Dominichino ſimply THE PAINTER.

This epithet properly belongs to none ſo truly as to Raphael. He may be called THE PAINTER: as the Greeks frequently called Homer THE POET.

* Not that Deſcent from the croſs which is now in the church of *Trinita de i Monti*; but the other, in oil colours, which uſed to hang in the refectory of the monaſtery near the Place *del Popolo*, and which now is in the poſſeſſion of Angelica Kauffmann.

The

The ceiling of a hall of the *Palazzo Farneſe* is painted by Annibal Caracci; and the ſubjects are entirely mythological. It is excellently painted; and with that power which characterized this artiſt: from whom however we muſt not expect the breathing ſoul of Dominichino, and ſtill leſs of Raphael. Caracci was eight years in completing this famous work; for which the proprietor paid him by the ell. It is ſaid that the chagrin which this gave him occaſioned the death of the painter.

In the *Villa Doria* there is a ſmall houſe, which Raphael uſed frequently to inhabit in ſummer, on the ceiling of the great chamber of which there are ſome paintings, and light arabeſc ornaments on the walls: all by the playful ſportive not to be miſtaken hand of the maſter.

The preſent poſſeſſor of the garden of this villa has intended to lay it out in the manner of the Engliſh; and we are indebted to him for a variety of plants and ſhrubs, and for many ſpacious walks ſheltered by the branching unlopped trees: but falſe taſte frequently offends the eye of thoſe who neither love a flaming Veſuvius in miniature, nor any other fantaſtic and no leſs childiſh imitations.

Even in the beautiful garden of the *Villa Borgheſe* there are novelties which I diſlike. Among others, there is a ſmall farm which has the form and air of a fortreſs, on the door of which is the inſcription *Otia tuta:* Leiſure, or rather Idleneſs, ſecure. Security in a fortreſs is dubious. Idleneſs is not the characteriſtic of the place: nor is a garden its proper ſituation.

A ſmall newly erected ruin is equally diſpleaſing. Are there not enough of actual ruins in Rome? Or ſhould a deception of walls tumbling down ſuggeſt painful aſſociations to a man who is taking a contemplative walk?

In the *Villa Panfili*, there is a ſpacious pleaſing verdant plot of ground, ſurrounded by tall pines and containing a whole grove of

theſe trees. I never ſaw more beautiful weeping-willows than there are near a pool, in this villa.

We have viſited our good countryman, Trippel, in his workſhop. I ſay our countryman: for where is the worthy German who does not think it an honour to him that the Swiſs are likewiſe Germans?

Trippel is highly eſteemed in Rome. Among other grand works of this great ſtatuary, I was particularly pleaſed with a Milo; repreſented at the moment when his left arm is impriſoned in the cleft of the tree, while with his right he is defending himſelf againſt an aſſaulting lion. It were to be wiſhed that the artiſt would execute this ſubject in large. Few ideas, in my mind, are capable of ſuch bold and dignified expreſſion as that of a man, who, as we are told by hiſtory, was not only an athletic wreſtler but a great general, exhibited at the moment when he combats a lion with one arm, while aſſaulted by the pain which the quick cloſing of a tree, cruſhing his other, muſt inflict.

Gmelin, a German, to an ardent love of nature, and a fine taſte for ſelecting the beautiful, adds the gift of excellently expreſſing his thoughts. He has viſited many of the moſt charming countries of Italy; eſpecially of the kingdom of Naples; which he has drawn, and in part engraved. He annually publiſhes a certain number of theſe engravings; and thus brings many of the friends of nature acquainted with the grand features of Italy. His talents do him much honour; and his worth and conduct in life ſtill more.

LET-

LETTER CII.

Loretto, 12th October 1792.

WE left Rome early on the 9th of October; and came in the forenoon to the former territories of the *Veientes*, whoſe chief city was *Veii:* which, after a ten years ſiege, was taken by the great Camillus; who became ſtill more celebrated afterward, by his victory over the Gauls that beſieged the Capitol.

We then paſſed through *Civita Caſtellana:* the ancient *Faliſcum:* which was beſieged by the ſame general. A ſchool-maſter, who hoped to make his fortune by treachery, frequently led the principal youths of the *Faliſci* out of the town; under the pretext of taking them to walk: and in this manner, at laſt, delivered them up to the Romans. But Camillus diſdained ſuch a conqueſt. He tied the hands of the traitor behind him, gave each of the boys a rod, and thus drove him back into the town. Moved by the heroic action of the Roman, the *Faliſci* ſurrendered to Camillus *.

Nepete, through which we ſhortly afterward paſſed, belonged to *Faliſcum*. It is now called *Nepi*. The *Veientes* and the *Faliſci* were Etrurian tribes: for ancient Etruria extended much farther, toward the ſouth, than modern Tuſcany does.

About forty Italian miles from Rome, we left the mountain called *San Silveſtro*, the ancient *Soracte*, which we had ſeen from Rome, behind us on the right. Though it is not very lofty, it is ſeen to a great diſtance; becauſe from there to Rome there is a continual declivity: nor is it connected with the other mountains, which here terminate the horizon, but ſtands detached. It riſes on each ſide like the lower

* Liv. v. 27.

ſection of a pyramid, is craggy on the top, and has a reſemblance in its form to Epomeo, and Mount Veſuvius. On the ſide that we paſſed there is a deep rocky valley, which reſembles the bed of a crater. Theſe marks lead me to ſuſpect that *San Silveſtro*, in remote ages, was a volcano. The country is pleaſant, and is covered with flocks of an excellent kind of large ſheep: but, as far as I could judge at this ſeaſon of the year, the lands appear to be ill-cultivated.

Otricoli, and *Narni*, are two ancient towns; that were called *Otriculum*, and *Narnia*; and both belonged to the *Umbri*. Narnia took its name from the river *Nar*; called by the modern Italians *Nera*, and *Negro*. It runs below the town, the ſituation of which is high. Immediately facing the town, there are the large remains of a great ſtone bridge; one entire arch of which, on the ſide next Narni, is ſtill ſtanding. Oppoſite to this is a half arch; and large remains of pillars in the river.

The ſtream meanders through the ſmiling plain; which is encircled and over-topped by the woody Apennines. Looking through the ſtanding arch of the ancient bridge, which was the work of Auguſtus, you have a view of a half-dark valley, that is ſituated between the neighbouring mountains. On the right, there is a modern humble bridge; which, by its contraſt with the ruins of its predeceſſor, is pictureſque. Poplars and other trees, round which the vine throws its tendrils, flouriſh in the plain.

We paſſed through this valley on our road to Terni; where, in the market, we met with two muſicians: one of whom played on a mandoline, and the other on the ſyrinx of the ancients: ſuch as we find it deſcribed by the Poets. We likewiſe ſee it on antique ſtatues, and *baſſi relievi*. It was the inſtrument of ſhepherds, of Satyrs, Fauns, Pan, and the Cyclops Polyphemus. The difference that I remarked between the ancient and the modern ſyrinx is that the former conſiſted of nine pipes, of unequal length; which generally were cemented together by wax; and the latter of twenty-ſix, which were tied to each other with

with threads. The largeſt of theſe tubes might be about ſix inches long; and the ſmalleſt ſcarcely an inch. At a certain diſtance, the accompaniment of the ſyrinx to the mandoline was not amiſs: but more near it was harſh, and offenſive.

Terni is the ancient *Interamna;* and was the birth-place of the great hiſtorian Tacitus.

We hired little carriages, to viſit the famous waterfall near Terni; which is called by the inhabitants of the country *La caduta delle Marmori.* It is the water of the river *Velino:* which forms a lake, and again purſuing its courſe falls into the Nera. The road to the waterfall is cut in the rocky mountain. The whole country much reſembles Switzerland: except that the tall vine, and the olive tree round which it twines, are tokens of the milder climate of Italy. The mountains are wild and fantaſtic, yet friendly in their wildneſs; and the deep valley, through which the Nera ſtreams, noiſy after its fall, has ſo many charms that the attention is frequently turned from the grand ſpectacle of the caſcade itſelf.

The water falls thundering among the rocks that are overſpread with foliage; and its fall is deeper than either the caſcade of Tivoli or the fall of the Rhine at Laufen: but the latter is more grand in its breadth, more impetuous in its plenitude, more ſurging, miſty, and thundering, than either of theſe of Italy. The peculiar beauty of this waterfall, at Terni, is derived from the uncommon charms of the country. A few hundred paces from the fall, there is a ſmall bye way; that leads among high walls of rock, immediately to where the impetuous ſtream is tumbling. This broad deep fall is the largeſt in Italy; and, if I am not miſtaken, the ſecond in Europe.

Cicero informs us that M. Curius Dentatus, after he had conquered the Sabines, widened the bed of the river, in order to dry up the marſhes in the neighbourhood of the river Velinus. Theſe marſhes were called, after the little town of *Reate,* the *Reatinæ paludes:* or marſhes of *Reate.* The river Velinus derives its name from the Greek word

word *hele*: τα ἑλη: which ſignifies marſhes. The goddeſs *Velia*, the ancient Goddeſs of theſe marſhes, had a temple and a grove dedicated to her, in the triangle which is formed by the junction of the two rivers.

The lake of Velinus, from the Latin word *lucus*, a conſecrated grove, is now called *Lago pié di luco*: the lake at the foot of the grove.

Theſe mountains are clothed with varieties of trees, ſhrubs, and plants; and here, as at the foot of the mountain Bochetta, near Genoa, we ſaw the beech tree growing wild.

The whole way from Terni to Spoleto is among the woody Apennines; which decline immediately as you approach Spoleto; and the country is univerſally of the higheſt beauty. The kind of oak which the ancients called *æſculus*, and which Linnæus names the *quercus æſculus*, here attains a ſuperior growth. The bark is dark-coloured, a little ſcaly like our oak, and the leaf is leſs. Its ancient name, *æſculus*, is no doubt a corruption of the word *eſculentus*: or eatable. It was natural for the ancients to call the tree *quercus eſculentus*, the fruit of which was far leſs acrid than our acorn; and which is ſtill eaten, in many parts of Italy, by the common people: who roaſt it in oil. It is alſo highly probable that this is the Chaonian acorn, which the Greeks tell us was the food of the firſt men. In remote ages, before agriculture was underſtood, the inhabitants of Greece and Italy may have preferred this to other wild fruits.

Terni contains about nine thouſand, and Spoleto twelve thouſand, inhabitants. Spoleto early became a Roman colony; and in ancient times was called *Spoletium*. After the victory of the lake of Thraſymene, Hannibal attacked the town; but was driven back with conſiderable loſs by the inhabitants: from which, according to the remark of Livy*, he concluded how difficult an undertaking it would be to ſeize on Rome; ſince one of its colonies was capable of ſo much reſiſtance.

* Liv. xxii. 9.

In

In commemoration of this fortunate defence, one of the gates of the town has preſerved the name of *La Fuga :* or the Flight.

The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, although the laſt is ſituated much more to the ſouth, between Avellino and Capua, were governed in the middle ages by the ſame Princes, whoſe names are not unknown to hiſtory.

There is a large and celebrated bridge at Spoleto; of which it is doubted whether it were the work of the Romans or of the Goths: but we did not ſee it, for night approached as we entered the town.

This doubt makes it probable to me that it was built by ſome King of the Goths. A Roman work would not be overclouded by the doubts of ſilence. Italy is indebted to the Goths for many great works, many noble inſtitutions, and the revival of agriculture; which, from the vices of the Romans and the luxury of their chiefs, had begun to decay in the times even of the Republic; when the country-ſeats and gardens of their debauched and inſatiable grandees left but little land for the plough. The devaſtations committed by the Triumviri, and the political generoſity of the tyrants, who ſupplied the Roman people with corn from Sicily, Egypt, and the provinces of Africa, gave agriculture its laſt blow. The thanks of Italy are ſtill more deeply due to the Goths for returning calm and chaſtity of manners. We have often been led to conſider them as barbarians; but I am of the opinion of a modern writer, who tells us that the time in which the Goths governed Italy was one of the moſt happy epochas of this country.

The temple of the Clitumnian Jupiter ſtood between Spoleto and Foligno, near the river *Clitumnus*, the modern *Clitonno*, in a very charming country.

It was the opinion of the ancients that the water of this river poſſeſſed the quality of making the cattle that fed on its banks white. Virgil, in his beautiful eulogium on Italy, ſays,

Hinc bellator equus campo ſeſe arduus infert;
Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, ſæpe tuo perfuſi flumine ſacro,
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxêre triumphos *.

VIRG. Georg. ii. 145.

The warrior horſe here bred, is taught to train:
There flows Clitumnus through the flow'ry plain;
Whoſe waves, for triumphs after proſp'rous war,
The victim ox, and ſnowy ſheep prepare.

DRYDEN, v. 200.

At *Foligni*, formerly *Fulginium*, an ancient town of the *Umbri*, we ſaw a ſuperb picture, by Raphael, at the cloiſter of St. Ann; belonging to the Franciſcan Nuns. The Holy Virgin and the Divine Infant are ſuſpended in the clouds. The Mother and the Child are both full of thoſe heavenly graces which Raphael, and Raphael only, knew how to beſtow. John the Baptiſt ſtands below on the right; and Saint Francis of *Aſſiſium* kneels by his ſide. Saint Jerome is on the left, and lays his left hand on the man for whom Raphael painted the picture; who kneels. This man, and the two Saints, are praying to the Child; each with a diverſified expreſſion of ardent piety. John the Baptiſt raiſes his right arm, and appears to preach with animation; an angel ſtands in the middle, in the form of a young winged boy, holding a ſcroll in his hand. This was probably the portrait of one of the children of the owner of the picture; and may be repreſented as having inſcribed the names of his father and the ſaints in the book of life. I can conceive no other uſe for the ſcroll.

The road from Foligni to Loretto is delightful, by the numerous beauties of the landſcapes it affords; and we paſſed four poſt-houſes,

* I cannot forbear to remind my young readers of that pomp of harmony, which is ſo conſpicuous in this line:

Rōmānōs ād tēmplă dĕūm dūxērĕ trĭūmphōs.

at

at which we changed horſes, among the Apennines: the heights of which are here covered with trees of various kinds, and eſpecially with large oaks. In the deep valleys, we ſee the freſh verdure of paſtures and meadows, gardens, arable lands, tall vine plants, and olive trees. Rivers and brooks waſh the mountains, hurry down the rocks, and form caſcades: particularly in a delightful valley, that lies between Foligni and Caſe Nore. A part of the province of *Marca d'Ancona*, the ancient *Picenum*, is very like the province of Ombria: but, after you have aſcended the eaſt ſide of the Apennines, the country then opens; though it is not flat, but hilly.

The *Marca d'Ancona* is well inhabited; and the lands are induſtriouſly cultivated. Thoſe travellers, who complain ſo heavily of the bad agriculture of the States of the Church, appear only to have ſeen the *Campagna di Roma*, and the ſtretch of country between Rome and the Tuſcan territories, on the road to Florence.

A ſhort German mile from Loretto, we paſſed through Recanati: a handſome little town that is built on a hill, and in which the Biſhop of Loretto reſides ſix months in the year. The Council-houſe of Recanati is embelliſhed with a large and beautiful baſſo relievo, of bronze; repreſenting the Virgin and Child.

Loretto, a town containing eight thouſand inhabitants, owes its origin to the *ſanta caſa*, or holy houſe: which, as pious tradition relates, was the ſame in which the angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin, and in which, after the return of Mary and Joſeph from Egypt, Chriſt continued to live till he entered on his heavenly miſſion. We are told by the legend that, in the year 1291, the angels carried this houſe from Nazareth to Sclavonia; and, in the year 1294, they took it from Sclavonia, brought it over the Adriatic, and ſet it down at Loretto. It now ſtands in the principal church, encaſed in marble: on which hiſtories from Holy Writ, by the greateſt artiſts, are maſterly cut in *alto relievo*.

In this Santa Caſa, the ſuppoſed miraculous image of the Virgin, a porringer, out of which Chriſt uſed to eat when he was a child, and a gown of his mother's, are exhibited.

This Holy Houſe and the miraculous image bring pilgrims from the whole Catholic world, to pay their homage at Loretto; many of whom go round the Holy Houſe on their knees: ſo that the knees of the pilgrims have made deep hollows in the ſtone pavement of the church.

There are ſome beautiful pictures, in a ſacriſty belonging to the church; one of which, the *Scuola delle Virgini*, or School of the Virgins, by Guido, is very excellent. Mary is ſeated, ſurrounded by young virgins; whom ſhe is inſtructing in female duties.

A Saint Francis, by Barocci, is a very good picture: by whom there are ſeveral other paintings here.

The famous treaſure of Loretto is preſerved in a great hall; and contains numberleſs coſtly works, and preſents, from private perſons, Kings, and States. Among the jewels, the preſent made by a young Lord of Raguſa is conſpicuous: which is no other than his own ſweetly-ſmiling handſomely-framed face, painted in miniature.

A picture, by the immortal Raphael, appears to me to be the greateſt ornament of the treaſury. The Virgin is about to cover the Child Jeſus with a veil; on whom ſhe looks, with inexpreſſible reverence and affection. The Child lies on his back, ſmiling with devout benevolence, and affectionately ſtretches out both his arms to his Mother. Joſeph ſtands behind Mary; full of mild but ſerious reflection.

In the *Palazzo de gli Apoſtoli*, in which Popes, Cardinals, and Princes, who come to viſit Loretto, are entertained at the expence of the Santa Caſa, there is a little picture, by Raphael, the ſubject of which is John the Baptiſt. In this picture, John has the ſame attitude that was given him by Raphael in another of a larger ſize; of which ſeveral copies have been made. One of theſe copies is in Florence, another

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in Rome, a third in Bologna, and a fourth made a part of the late collection of the Duke of Orleans: who has aſſumed the name of Egalité *: and which of theſe four is the original is now diſputed.

A Night-piece, by Gerardo della Notte, poſſeſſes much pictureſque merit.

In the diſpenſary of Loretto, which appertains to the Santa Caſa, there are three hundred and thirty vaſes of Faenza ſhewn; the paintings on which are by Julio Romano, and Rafaellino della villa, after deſigns by the great Raphael: whoſe genius we recognize, on theſe earthen veſſels. Let thoſe, who can admire nothing but the antique, vent their raptures concerning the vaſes of Greece: I would give a whole collection of ſuch antiquities, did I poſſeſs them, for one of theſe vaſes, embelliſhed by Raphael.

All the poor of Loretto are provided with medicines gratis, from this diſpenſary.

The annual revenue of the Santa Caſa is eſtimated at ſeventy thouſand *ſcudi*; and its annual expenditure at not leſs than forty thouſand: from which the Biſhop, the *Canonici*, or Canons, and the Governor of the town are paid.

Loretto is only half a German mile from the Adriatic; which may be ſeen from the *Palazzo Apoſtolico*, as may likewiſe a beautiful proſpect on the land ſide. Fortreſſes protect the town againſt pirates; and the ſhallowneſs of the ſea-ſhore will not ſuffer the approach of large ſhips.

* This letter was written in 1792. T.

LETTER CIII.

Venice, 19th October, 1792.

THE fruitful plain, between Loretto and the ſea, is excellently tilled by the peaſants, who are ſubject to the Santa Caſa, and who live in ſcattered houſes. The hilly country, between Loretto and Ancona, is likewiſe both fertile and pleaſant. This town is built on the hills *San Ciriaco* and *Monte Guaſco*, and in the valley that lies between them. The *Monte Guaſco*, which projects into the ſea, was called by the ancients the Promontory of *Cumerum*. Ancona was a ſettlement of the fugitive Syracuſians; who, in the time of the elder Dionyſius, deteſting the tyrant, made a deſcent at this place. They called the town *Ancon*, Ἀγκων, from its angular ſituation: this word ſignifying an elbow.

The haven, which Nature has formed, is rendered ſecure by a long *molo:* or ſtone-pier. The town is handſomely built; and, as it is a free port, the inhabitants enjoy a reſpectable and viſible proſperity. Büſching ſtates its population at twenty-two thouſand ſouls: of whom he eſtimates the Jews at five thouſand. According to an ancient degrading law, the Jews are to wear a red rag, or lappet, hanging from the hat: but it is not enforced; and, as, like the Portugueze Jews, they wear no beard, they are only diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtians by their national phyſiognomy: which ſtill continues to characterize them, though they have now been ſcattered above ſeventeen hundred years over the nations of the earth. They only ſuffer their beards to grow for eighty days, when they are under any deep affliction.

A part of the lower town was deſtroyed by the Goths, but rebuilt again by Narſes. Ancona was ravaged in the tenth century, by the Saracens. Pope Pius the Second, who ſat in the Papal chair from the year 1458 to 1464, repaired the haven. All religions are tolerated in the town. Its trade continues to increaſe, and is of ſome injury to Venice. It is likewiſe enriched by the bleaching of wax.

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The Exchange of Ancona has a reſpectable appearance. In the great place, or ſquare, there is a ſtone ſtatue of the preſent Pope, Pius the Sixth, of bad workmanſhip. The viſible proſperity of the town and the whole province, which appears from the many new and well-built houſes, and the excellent high roads that are the work of the Pope, are proofs that he deſerves this public teſtimony of affection.

There is a beautiful triumphal arch of marble, on the *molo;* which was erected to Trajan, in the year 112.

The road from Ancona leads through a pleaſant country, on the ſhores of the Adriatic; and paſſes through ſeveral towns. Senigaglia was built by the Gauls. The buildings are good, and the fair it holds, to which traders reſort from moſt parts of Italy, contributes reſpectably to its ſupport.

About four Italian miles before we came to Fano, we paſſed the river *Metaro:* the *Metaurus* of the ancients: or, as Horace calls it, the *Metaurum.* On the banks of this river, the Carthaginians ſuffered the famous defeat in which their General, Aſdrubal, who, like his brother, Hannibal, had marched over the Alps, to the aid of the latter, loſt his life. By this battle, the fate of Carthage, and of Rome, appears to have been determined.

In Roman times, *Fano* was called *Fanum Fortunæ:* becauſe here there was a temple to *Fortuna.*

Peſaro, the ancient *Piſaurum*, is ſituated like both the above towns, in the duchy of Urbino. This was the native province of Raphael; who was called Rafaelle d'Urbino, from the town in which he was born. In the year of Rome 568, 184 years before Chriſt, the Romans ſent a colony to *Piſaurum.* The river on which it was built was formerly called the *Piſaurus:* now *La Foglia.* The town is ſituated on the ſea ſhore: but its port will only admit ſmall craft; and conſequently it has but little trade. As the Cardinal Legate however of the duchy of Urbino, and about fifty noble families, make it their place of reſidence, Peſaro preſerves a reſpectable appearance, is well built,

built, and, according to a late eſtimate, contains ten thouſand five hundred inhabitants.

The province of Romagna begins at Catolica: which is the firſt poſt after Peſaro. In ancient times, it conſtituted a part of Umbria. Catolica was ſo called from the Catholic Biſhops, who met at this place, at the time that the Council was held in Rimini, in the year 359, becauſe they were diſſatisfied with that aſſembly; in which it had at firſt appeared as if the Arians would have maintained the ſuperiority. As this Council was called by the Emperor Conſtans, who favoured the Arians, four hundred biſhops came to it from the weſt: who, contrary to the hopes of the Emperor, declared in favour of the creed of the Council of Nice.

Rimini was formerly called *Ariminum;* and its founding is aſcribed to the Umbri, a people of uncertain origin. The Senones, a tribe of the Gauls, were once in poſſeſſion of it: but in the year of Rome 463, or 289 years before Chriſt, they were expelled by the northern Umbri. In the year of Rome 485, or 267 before Chriſt, the Romans ſent a colony to *Ariminum.* When the three laſt Triumvirs, Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus, ſhared eighteen Italian towns with their territories like conquered lands among their ſoldiers, Octavianus ſent a new colony here. Whether the great marble bridge, over the river *Ariminus*, which is now called *Marecchia*, and which flows before the town, was built by him, or by his ſucceſſor Tiberius, is uncertain: but it ſtill is paſſable, and is a great work. Beyond the town there is a triumphal arch; that was erected to Auguſtus, as the founder of the colony.

On the road between Catolica and Rimini, we ſaw the little town of San Marino; ſituated high upon a mountain, on our left. This ſmall free ſtate would be more celebrated than great nations, were virtue and innocence, rather than the ſplendour of vice, the admiration of men. Like the little Swiſs Republic of Gerſau, its whole poſſeſſions conſiſt of a ſingle mountain. The diameter of its territory is a German mile. A builder, who came from Dalmatia in the beginning of

the ſixth century, continued to labour thirty years at the rebuilding of Rimini: after which he retired, and lived as a hermit on this mountain. But, greatly as he deſired repoſe, the fame of his ſanctity attracted young people to him, and a Princeſs gave him the mountain as a preſent, on which he here founded a little free State.

As the reſidence of its citizens was founded on a rock, ſo did he lay the baſis of his artleſs dignified code on the Evangeliſts. The Conſtitution of the Republic is very ſimple. Each houſe ſends a deputy to the great aſſembly of the citizens. The Executive Power reſides in the Council of Sixty; one half of which is choſen from the Nobles. A majority of two-thirds is required, before a concluſive vote can paſs. Every two months this Council chooſes two *Capitani*: who are in miniature what the Conſuls were at Rome. The Judge and the Phyſician muſt both be ſtrangers; and are elected once in three years.

The people of San Marino are ſo attentive to the education of their children that they hold the office of ſchoolmaſter in great reſpect.

They have only once made war. In the 15th century, they took part with Pope Pius the Second againſt Sigiſmund Malateſta, Lord of Rimini. The Pope made them a preſent of four fortreſſes, but they refuſed to enlarge their territories. In the year 1740, ſome malcontents invited Pope Clement the Twelfth to take poſſeſſion of the town; and he ſent the Cardinal Alberoni, to make enquiries whether the majority of the people were inclined to renounce their freedom. Alberoni truly informed him that only a part of them had any ſuch inclination, and the Pope was juſt enough to leave them in the undiſturbed enjoyment of their liberties, which they ſtill continue to enjoy. Celebrated for their equity and the ſimplicity of their manners, they deſpiſe trade: for they do not honour wealth, but chiefly ſubſiſt on the produce of their lands; which, although the mountain is frequently covered with ſnow for three months, ſtill produce generous wine and excellent fruits.

In want of ſprings, they are obliged to uſe the water that is kept in

the ciſterns. The young men induſtriouſly exerciſe themſelves in arms. Amid all the commotions by which Italy was diſtracted in the middle ages, Princes and Free States continued to reſpect their virtue, and their love of peace; nor were they once attacked. When this little nation writes to the Republic of Venice, the addreſs on their letters is *Alla noſtra cariſſima ſorella, la ſereniſſima Republica di Venezia:* To our dearly beloved ſiſter, the moſt ſerene Republic of Venice.

Rivini, Savignana, Ceſena, Forli, and Faenza, are all well-built towns. The bridges are excellent; and the inns, not only better than are to be found any where elſe in Italy, but, are really good. The fertile country is well cultivated, and the province is viſibly proſperous. Ceſena is a very ancient town: the Romans called it *Cæſena.* The nobles have erected a ſtatue of bronze in front of the Caſino, or the houſe in which they aſſemble, to the preſent Pope; who is a native of Ceſena.

Between Savignano and Ceſena, we croſſed the Rubicon; which, in early times, ſeparated Italy from Gaul. By an ancient law, any Roman commander, who, with a legion, a cohort, or any ſmall band of armed men, ſhould paſs this ſtream, was declared an enemy to his country. Cæſar paſſed it with his army, when he marched to Rome; intending to enſlave the Romans. At the beginning of the preſent century, a Pope built a bridge over the Rubicon; where he placed a ſtone table, with the ancient law: and, oppoſite to that, a modern inſcription.

The people of Rimini affirm the wide river Marecchia to be the ancient Rubicon; and the Italians warmly contend for ſuch kind of viſionary preferences: ſo that the very common people take part in theſe literary diſputes, and cheriſh their patriotic vanity.

We travelled for a conſiderable time upon the ancient Æmilian way: ſo called after Æmilius Scaurus, who was conſul with Cæcilius Metellus; in the year of Rome 630.

The art of making earthen ware, in imitation of porcelain, was

firſt

firſt diſcovered at Faenza. A native of this place found clay near Nevers, in France, which greatly reſembled the clay of Faenza; and introduced the art to that kingdom: calling the pottery, which the Italians had before called *Majolica*, *Fayence*; in honour of his native place.

The ancient name of *Faenza* was *Faventia*. Carbo, one of the partiſans of Sylla, ſuffered a defeat here; and was driven out of Italy.

Imola is built in a ſmiling plain; and was founded, by a King of the Lombards, on the place where formerly the *Forum Cornelii* ſtood: which was ſo called after Sylla, who was of the family of the *Cornelii*.

After the expulſion of the Lombards, the people of Bologna ſubjected this town; and it had different rulers, the laſt of whom was the tyrant Cæſar Borgia: who was depoſed by Pope Julius the Second. There was once a ſociety of the Literati in Imola, who flouriſhed under the title of *Li Induſtrioſi*: or The Aſſiduous.

The fertility and active cultivation of the country did not ceaſe with the government of the Bologneſe. We muſt aſcribe the partial and falſe accounts, given by many travellers, to the erroneous ideas that they had conceived of the States of the Church; and which have even been propagated by Büſching.

Speaking of the States of the Church, this author ſays:

"When we recollect that the papal territory includes much fertile "and excellent land, poſſeſſes great requiſites for trade, is provided "with good ports on the Adriatic and Mediterranean ſeas, that the "Pope moreover draws conſiderable ſums from other countries, that "Rome is viſited by ſtrangers, who there expend their money, that "the ſanctity of the Pontiff's perſon and character exceeds that of any "other perſon and is conſidered by his ſubjects as favoured by Heaven, "we might well have ſuppoſed that no States would have been ſo "flouriſhing and happy as thoſe he governs. But the direct contrary "is the fact. The land is ill cultivated, the country is very poor, and "it is inſufficiently provided with inhabitants. Trade and manufac-

" tures are confined to the towns of Bologna and Ancona: Senigaglia " and Peſaro excepted. If God did not give the people dates, figs, " olives, and various fruits, gratuitouſly, without their care or trouble, " and did he not provide them, requiring little of their labour, with " bread and wine, they muſt through their own neglect die of hunger."

If the inhabitants lived on dates and figs, or on thoſe fruits which require but little care and labour, they muſt indeed, as Mr. Büſching ſays, ſoon die of hunger. Throughout the States of the Church, I have met only with a few of the date-bearing palm in Terracina, and a ſingle tree in Rome. In the kingdom of Naples, I ſaw from twelve to fifteen; and about forty in Sicily. The date ſeldom ripens even in this iſland, and in Reggio; and the tree is planted rather for pleaſure than profit. Almonds conſtitute a conſiderable part of the food of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In the country round Rome, they are not produced in ſufficient quantities for the ſupply of this large city; and farther toward the north they are only to be found in gardens. I grant that the grape requires leſs care here than in Germany: yet the vine-dreſſers of theſe countries have much trouble in cultivating their vineyards, and preparing their wine.

I have ſcarcely met with lands better cultivated in the *Terra di Lavoro*, or in the *Bergſtraſſe* of the Palatinate, than in the province of Romagna; and no where ſo many well-built and flouriſhing towns as in the Marquiſate of Ancona, and in Romagna.

That the States of the Church are capable of improvement, and that they are favoured by climate and ſituation, lying as they do between the two ſeas, I readily grant. Many of the Popes have been weak and ſome tyrannical governors. Moſt of them were old, when they were elected; and were in haſte to enrich their nephews, at the expence of the country. Ambition and vanity have frequently induced them either to deſtroy, or to neglect, the works begun by their predeceſſors. The great quantity of monaſteries is injurious to the country in more reſpects than one, as Mr. Büſching very juſtly remarks; and

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it is equally true that the numerous pilgrimages, by which it was formerly enriched, are now become injurious: becauſe moſt of the pilgrims are beggars. But, as the Catholic religion conſiders theſe pilgrimages as meritorious, and as the States of the Church draw ſuch conſiderable ſums from ſo many Catholic countries, it is but juſt that they ſhould maintain the pilgrims. Beſide that, though they beg, they conſume all they get in the country; and do not return home enriched. The lazy pilgrims of the country itſelf are its chief burthen.

The numerous feſtival days have been decried by perſons who did not know that, Sunday excepted, ſuch feſtivals, or holidays, are days of labour in Italy. One day of reſt in the week is to be honoured, as of divine inſtitution. If the labours and cares of providing for their ſubſiſtence were never interrupted, the oppreſſed poor would forget their God; and, alike unſanctified and incapable of giving or of receiving pleaſure, they would rather reſemble beaſts of burthen than beings created for eternity.

The hills near Bologna are covered with country-houſes, gardens, and ſmall groves; which give them a charming appearance. We arrived early enough at Bologna to reviſit ſome of the pictures, which, in the autumn of the year before, had afforded us ſo much enjoyment.

It is remarkable to obſerve how the Appennines, from Spoleto and Foligno, divide Italy into two diſtinct countries: Upper, and Lower. Before you come to Loretto, the country is flat. The plains begin at Rimini; and extend through all Lombardy, to the foot of the towering Alps. As the country changes, ſo do the phyſiognomies and entire forms of the people change: though the differences are not very diſtinct:

diſtinct till you come to the German ſide of Bologna; and indeed, till you arrive at that city, you always ſee a link of pleaſing woody hills on the left.

In like manner, we found the cattle beginning to differ, both in kind and colour, from the cattle of the ſouthern provinces. They are no longer of ſo light a grey; but ſome of them are red, and moſt of them of a mixed colour. The ſwine, which through all lower and middle Italy were black, are in theſe provinces red. The men have leſs animation; and, as the rich ſtreams of life are here leſs glowing, they more frequently indulge themſelves in the uſe of wine.

Between Bologna and Ferrara, you meet with no hills; much leſs mountains. Strengthened and fed by the fat ſoil, both man and beaſt here begin to have leſs of the fire of the South; and ſomewhat more, ſhall I ſay of northern phlegm; or of northern thought?

Between Bologna and Ferrara, you would imagine yourſelf in the marſhy countries near the Elbe; in Hanover, and Holſtein; or in the Weſtphalian diſtricts, that lie between Bremen and the mouth of the Weſer. You meet with the ſame kind of fertile meadow lands, ſimilar cattle, trees loaded with apples, walnut trees of a like appearance, and plump-looking people living in ſcattered houſes. As you travel along the Reno and beyond it, you find thoſe kind of high cauſeways of ſtiff clay, which the people of the Netherlands call *dykes*. The numerous poplars, and vines that ſpread from tree to tree, appear deſirous of reminding you that you ſtill really are in Italy; though it is what you can ſcarcely believe.

The little town of Cento, twenty Italian miles from Bologna, and the ſame diſtance from Ferrara, belongs to the Bologneſe territory; and was the native place of the painter Giovanni Franceſco Barbieri, who is ſo well known by the name of Guercino da Cento. He was called Guercino becauſe he ſquinted: for *Guercino* and *Guercio* both mean to ſquint. He was born in the year 1590, and died in 1666.

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In the churches of Cento pictures are met with by him, and his maſter Giuſeppe Gennaro. Guercino was an ornament to the Bologneſe ſchool.

The circumference of Ferrara is more than a German mile; and it is conſequently reckoned among the largeſt cities of Italy. It was founded by an Exarch in the ſixth century. Theſe Exarchs reſided at Ravenna; and were appointed to govern the northern province, which remained under the dominion of the Emperors of the Eaſt.

The univerſity was founded by the Emperor Frederic the Second; and was intended to rival the univerſity of Bologna. Theobaldo, Duke of Eſte, held Ferrara with its territory, which was a Marquiſate, of Pope John the Twelfth, toward the end of the tenth century. Paul the Second increaſed the dignity to a Dukedom. Ferrara became one of the moſt flouriſhing towns of Italy under the Houſe of Eſte. After the death of Alphonſus the Second, Pope Clement the Eighth, in the year 1598, ſeized on this country; which ought to have deſcended to the Houſe of Modena, as a branch of the Houſe of Eſte.

Since Ferrara has no longer been governed by its own Princes, it has greatly declined. The preſent circumference of this depopulated city, which now ſcarcely contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, is a proof of its former grandeur. The ſtreets are broad, but the houſes are ill-built. An arm of the Po flowed near Ferrara, which has been dried up; becauſe of the frequent inundations, which laid the lands waſte and rendered the air unhealthy. It is probable that the Dukes formerly were careful to keep the bed clear, and its courſe into the ſea uninterrupted. To dry up a river, the mouth of which is ſo near, appears it is true to be a ſafe but a deſperate remedy.

The outſide of the cathedral is in the extreme of the Gothic ſtyle; poor, but fantaſtical! Within, it is beautiful; from the alterations which ſucceeding ages have made.

The great Arioſto is buried in the church of *San Benedetto*; and a beautiful

beautiful marble monument is erected to his memory. Taſſo likewiſe lived ſeveral years in Ferrara.

Five Italian miles from Ferrara, we paſſed the Po by a ferry. Here, near its mouth this river is a powerful ſtream; and appears to be about the ſame width as the Rhine, at Düſſeldorf. Some leagues afterward, we alſo paſſed the *Etſch*; or the *Adige*; the breadth of which is here conſiderable. The ozier grows on the banks of both theſe rivers; by the ſide of which there were houſes thatched with reeds, which was the firſt time that I had ſeen thatch of any kind in Italy. The road leads over high cauſeways; below which the fat cattle paſture, in luxuriant meadows. The clothing of the people, their countenances, and the domeſtic management of the houſes, rather reſemble thoſe of the Netherlands than of Italy: except that there are arcades before the houſes, though frequently only on one ſide of the way. Theſe arcades, which were introduced by the Tyrrheni, the former inhabitants of Tuſcany, are at preſent much more frequently found in Lombardy.

Rovigo is the chief town of the province of Poleſino; which, nearly three hundred years ago, was taken from the Dukes of Ferrara by the Venetians. The peaſantry of this country, which is famed for its proſperity, live in worſe huts than the peaſants of the territories of Bologna and Ferrara; which belong to the States of the Church.

Monte Celeſe, that lies at the foot of a mountain on which a fortreſs is built, appertains to Padua. From this place to Padua, the road proceeds along a dam, by the ſide of a canal; and, at this ſeaſon of the year, is very bad. We met with waggons that were loaded with grapes, and that were drawn by from ſix to eight pair of ſtrong oxen. The cattle and horſes here are very large, for they are well paſtured. From the condition of the cattle, concluſions may in general be ſafely drawn concerning the proſperity of the people. On each ſide of the canal, we ſaw many country ſeats, great fertility of paſturage, vineyards,

trees,

trees, white poplars of an extraordinary ſize, and weeping-willows that for beauty even excel thoſe of the villa Pamfili, at Rome.

Padua, which the Italians pronounce Padova, was formerly called *Patavium;* and is one of the moſt ancient towns of Italy. Virgil aſcribes its origin to the Trojan hero, Antenor; who, according to tradition, came to Italy after the deſtruction of Troy *.

Padua was the native place of the great hiſtorian Livy. This author tells us that Cleonymus, King of the Spartans †, who made a deſcent for plunder on theſe coaſts, was repulſed by the people of Patavium; and that, in his time, there was an annual commemoration of the victory, with the repreſentation of a combat on the water, which was exhibited on the river that bathes the city.

Padua was early the ally of Rome. It was deſtroyed by Alarick; and burned by Attila, and the inhabitants driven into the marſh.

Charlemagne was its reſtorer, after whom it was governed by Podeſtas.

Ezzellino, the ſcourge of this whole country and the chief of the Ghibelines, ſubjected Padua. A cruſade was undertaken againſt this tyrant; he being an enemy to the Pope; and the Princes and cities of Lombardy took the field againſt him, made him a priſoner, and he died in chains, in the year 1259.

After his death, the people of Padua for a time maintained their freedom; but again fell into ſlavery, and were governed by the houſe of Carrara. In the year 1406, the city and its territory were conquered by the Venetians.

In ancient times, games were celebrated in Patavium every thirty years; of which, according to Tacitus‡, Antenor was the founder, and at which tragedies were repreſented.

Padua, like Ferrara, was formerly more populous than it is at preſent. We cannot wonder at the increaſe of theſe and other towns in the fourteenth century; for they were peopled in part at the expence

* Virg. Æn. i. 242. † Liv. lib. x. c. 2. ‡ Annal. xvi. 21.

of Rome: the inhabitants of which, while the Popes reſided at Avignon, were reduced to the number of twenty thouſand. Padua is now ſuppoſed to contain forty thouſand ſouls.

Padua boaſts of being the nurſing-mother and tutoreſs of the proud Venice; to which young city it ſent Magiſtrates, and Judges, at the time when, laying its foundations on the little iſlands where it ſtands, it offered a ſecure retreat to the numerous Italians, who fled from the deſolating Attila. In the mean while, Padua, if, after a lapſe of centuries, it can conſole itſelf for the loſs of its often-interrupted independence, may eſteem itſelf happy under the government of a powerful Republic; that knows how to protect its territories, and that is honoured for the mildneſs and the wiſdom with which it rules.

The Church of St. Juſtina is large, handſome, and ornamented with an excellent picture by Paul Veroncſe; the ſubject of which is the martyrdom of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated.

In the Church of Saint Auguſtin, we ſaw John the Baptiſt, by Guido; which is one of the moſt perfect pictures of this great maſter. Proteſtants are buried in the cloiſter of the church; and monuments erected to their memory even in the portico.

The Church of St. Anthony of Padua, the patron of the city, by whom the Italians ſo frequenty ſwear, and whoſe name they ſo often invoke when they undertake any arduous taſk, is viſited by the moſt devout of the pilgrims.

Near the Palazzo Foſcari is a church belonging to that family; the walls of which, from top to bottom, are embelliſhed with the freſco paintings of Giotto; one of the earlieſt of the Italian painters. He was born in the year 1276, and died in 1336; and Veſpignano, in Tuſcany, was the place of his birth. Cimabue, a native Greek, who with other Greeks had been ſent for by the Senate of Florence, that they might introduce the art of painting to Italy, found the young Giotto, who was a goatherd, drawing the figure of that animal on a ſtone. Cimabue took the boy with him to Florence, at which city he

ſoon

ſoon ſignalized himſelf. In the pictures of this church, we ſee the mind of the man combating with the rudeneſs of early art. After the manner of the painters of thoſe times, his genius deſcends to the low comic, even when the ſubject is ſerious; as is viſible in his repreſentation of hell. Still however his pictures prove he poſſeſſed genius. He likewiſe was a ſculptor, and an architect.

In the open place before this church the bronze equeſtrian ſtatue of the Venetian General, Gattamelata, is erected by the Republic. The great ancient hall, in the Council-houſe, is remarkable: its figure is a rhomboidof a hundred and ſixteen paces in length, and thirty-eight in breadth; and it is wainſcoted with an internal roof terminating in a point. The walls above and below are painted without choice of ſubject. The buſt of Livy, which is antique, is intereſting. Near it is the buſt of Dondi; who was ſurnamed Orologio. He was a native of Padua, lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and invented a clock which deſcribed the courſe of the ſun and the moon, and the changes of the latter. In this hall there is a ſtone, on which debtors uſed formerly to ſit; as an avowal that they could not ſatisfy their creditors.

The Univerſity was founded by Frederic the Second in the year 1222; and became ſo famous that ſtudents were ſent thither from all parts of Europe. The great Galileo here taught geometry; and the number of ſtudents in former times conſiſted of eighteen thouſand.

This foundation was favoured by the Republic of Venice; which thus excited the favourable zeal of the ſcholars, who kept the citizens that had unwillingly renounced their independance in awe. The number of ſtudents at preſent is only ſix hundred. The Republic expends very much on this Univerſity; the profeſſors of which are well paid.

The botanic garden is the fineſt in Italy. The *Firmiana* of China, which is ſtill generally unknown in Europe, here attains the ſize of a large tree. Its clear verdure and ſpreading foliage, with its tall and ſlender trunk, give it a ſtately appearance.

Various plants, which we had met with wild in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, here grow ſome againſt a wall and ſome in pots.

I have no where ſeen the *memoſa*, the *binonia catalpa*, the tulip tree, and the *ſtaphylæa pinnata*, ſo large as in this garden.

Another garden is under the ſuperintendance of a public profeſſor, who gives lectures on agriculture.

Petrarch was a Canon of Padua; and Arioſto and Taſſo both ſtudied in this city.

There is a ſpacious circular place in Padua, which is the largeſt that I have met with in any city. It is embelliſhed with eighty ſtatues of famous men, who have deſerved well of Padua, or of Venice, or who have honoured Padua by their reſidence, or preſence. Among the perſons not natives, the moſt remarkable are Galileo, Petrarch, Arioſto, Taſſo, Stephen Batori, John Sobieſki, and Guſtavus Adolphus. To theſe three Kings, who ſtudied in Padua, their modern ſucceſſors, the preſent King of Poland and the late King of Sweden, have cauſed ſtatues to be erected.

We travelled from Naples to Padua with poſt-horſes: although ſtrangers are continually warned againſt Italian poſts, and inns, and therefore uſually hire a *vetturino;* who employs his own cattle, and takes upon himſelf the expence at the inns. If the vetturino be an honeſt man, like him who brought us laſt year from Geneva to Rome, and from Rome to Naples, the traveller then has no trouble: except that he journeys very ſlowly, is frequently obliged to riſe at two in the morning, and does not arrive at the place where he takes a ſhort night's reſt before the cloſe of day. But you have neither ſuch good beds nor entertainment as when you travel with poſt-horſes. In the latter caſe, the traveller will do well, as ſoon as he enters the houſe, to make an agreement with the landlord.

With reſpect to the poſtillions, their demand is three *paoli*, for the uſual ſtage of eight Italian miles, as their own perquiſite: but, if you give them no more, you muſt wrangle with them at every ſtage. If

you give each poſtillion four *paoli*, he will be tolerably well ſatisfied: though he will ſeldom fail to aſk for a trifle more, in addition. To travel poſt is expenſive; but it is the moſt expeditious mode of travelling. Poſtillions drive ſafer and quicker than the *vetturini:* beſide which, for every day's delay at any place that you come to, you muſt pay the ſame to the *vetturino* as if you were travelling.

From Padua, we took boat and went upon the Brenta: the two arms of which, that join again at ſome miles diſtance, make the city nearly an iſland. The paſſage by water to Venice is performed in half a day. On each bank of the ſtream there are many country ſeats, of the principal Venetians; which render the paſſage pleaſant: but I do not find in them thoſe ſuperior charms which ſome travellers have deſcribed. The boat is drawn by a horſe; for the river, by the aid of four ſluices, is rendered as flat as a canal. At the diſtance of five Italian miles from Venice, you come to the open ſea: where you behold that magnificent city ſeeming to ſwim and riſing out of the waters. The proſpect is unique in its kind.

The appearance of the city, when paſſing through the canals, is ſtill more ſingular. The houſes ſtand upon piles, over which the waves flow. Some rows of houſes are ſeparated by a quay, from the canals: or rather from the ſmall arms of the ſea, which form the iſlands. Others ſtand immediately in the water, that waſhes the ſtone ſteps up which you aſcend from the canals to the houſes. Theſe houſes have back-doors, into narrow ſtreets: by which, aided by bridges, all parts of the city are acceſſible to foot paſſengers. The canals are covered with *gondole*, each of which is rowed by a man. Theſe *gondole* muſt all be black; and in the middle they have each a ſmall canopy, which muſt not be covered with any other ſtuff but black cloth. Hence they have a gloomy appearance. Being long and ſmall, they ſkim lightly along in ſo rapid a manner that, though cautiouſly managed, at firſt they terrify ſtrangers. Like as in Naples the coaches throng upon each other, and preſs upon the crowded people in full

full trot, ſo do the light *gondole* ſhoot like an arrow through the throng of other *gondole*, without running foul of each other.

The ſun was gone down, behind the mountains of Padua, when we arrived at Venice. In my next letter, I hope to tell you more of the ſituation and hiſtory of this remarkable city. All good be with you.

LETTER CIV.

Venice, 24th October 1792.

VENICE cannot boaſt of that remote antiquity which is claimed by many of her ſiſter cities: though the gentilitious name is loſt in the ancient annals of hiſtory. Antiquarians derive the Heneti from the Trojans: who, after the deſtruction of their city, retired with Antenor to theſe countries. The word *Heneti* was changed into the word *Veneti:* after the manner in which the ancient Italians uſually pronounced Greek words. *Spina*, and *Hadria*, or *Adria*, were the moſt ancient towns of this country. *Spina* lay on the left ſide of the mouth of the Po. *Hadria* is at preſent a ſmall place, known by the name of *Adria.*

In the year 452, when Attila deſtroyed the mighty Aquileia, which is now a little town on the eaſtern coaſt, and every where ſpread the terror of his name, the people of Aquileia and other inhabitants of theſe countries fled to the marſhes, and founded Venice. They erected a free State; which remained four hundred years in ſafety becauſe of its inſignificance, and afterward becauſe of its increaſing power. During four hundred years they continued to elect conſuls, and tribunes: but, finding them abuſe their power, they aſked permiſſion of the Emperor Leo to appoint a Duke.

Weary

Weary of the proceedings of their Dukes, in the year 1172, they limited this dignity and named a Council of ten nobles; which was intended as a counterpoiſe to the power of the Duke. In the year 1296, the power of this Council was ſtill farther increaſed. The Duke, or Doge, *Gradenigo*, with peculiar dignity, willingly renounced privileges which appeared to him incompatible with freedom.

In the middle ages, Venice attained that ſummit of grandeur which excited the jealouſy of other nations. The trade of this Republic extended over the three quarters of the Old World. It made conqueſts, but always for the increaſe and ſecurity of commerce. The Senate at all times continued firm in the purſuit of their prudent ſyſtem: by which the Conſtitution of Venice acquired a ſtability, which has been maintained amid all the political and moral revolutions of Europe. It has loſt Cyprus, Candia, and the Morea. The diſcovery of the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope has opened the road to India and China to other nations: whereas formerly Venice alone was in poſſeſſion of the trade of the Eaſt; which it carried on by means of the caravans of thoſe countries, and by bringing their merchandize over the Red Sea to Europe.

In thoſe ages, Germany was wealthy. Her cities ſupplied, not only the northern kingdoms, but France and England likewiſe, with the commodities of the Levant. The alliance of the Hanſe towns, by traffic, made half Europe tributary to them: yet the Hanſe towns themſelves chiefly received their wealth from the ſuperabundance of Venice, and contributed to enrich this central mart of the known world.

In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a league was formed at the inſtigation of Pope Julius the Second, between the Emperor, the Kings of France and Naples, and the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, for the ſubjugation of the Republic. Venice it is true loſt ſeveral provinces, but reſiſted her puiſſant enemies with courage and caution: till this terrific league was diſſolved by the mutual miſtruſt of its chiefs.

Since the revolution of the year 1297, the great Council has conſiſted of all the nobility of Venice that were of age: that is, of about fifteen hundred

hundred perſons; who at leaſt have the right to take their ſeat in the Senate, whenever they pleaſe. The age of majority is twenty-five. Each male child of the five hundred and thirty families, who enjoy this privilege, muſt at its birth be regiſtered in what is called the Golden Book. The families have equal rights, and equal rank. The deſcendants of the twelve tribunes, who choſe the firſt Doge, conſtitute the eleven principal families: for the twelfth is extinct. After theſe, the next in rank are the deſcendants of thoſe who were received into the great Council in the year 1297: and the third order conſiſts of thoſe who purchaſed this right, for a hundred thouſand ducats, in times of public diſtreſs.

Excluſive of theſe, Princes and Kings themſelves are preſented with letters of Nobility. The Nobles of the provinces have no ſhare in the public affairs. The Great Council is the ſole Sovereign, and poſſeſſes the power of making laws. They aſſemble on Sundays and Saints' days: that the members of the colleges and courts of juſtice, who on other days are buſied by the affairs entruſted them, may be preſent.

This aſſembly includes in itſelf the three principal chambers. The firſt of theſe is called *La Signoria;* and conſiſts of the Doge and ſix Senators, who are his conſtant aſſiſtants. Each of theſe Senators appertains to one of the ſix parts into which the city is divided. They may be called the tribunes of the people. To the Signoria likewiſe appertain the ſix *Savi grandi,* or chief ſages, who form the Miniſtry; the three chiefs of the great criminal tribunal of the forty, which is called *La Quarantia;* the five *Savi di Terra firma,* who ſuperintend the war department; and the five *Savi degli Ordini,* to whom all naval affairs are committed.

The ſecond chamber conſiſts of upward of two hundred and fifty members. Theſe are the Senate, who are likewiſe called *Il Conſiglio de i Pregadi,* the entire Signoria, all the Magiſtrates, the Council of Ten, ſixty ſelect Senators, and ſixty other Patricians, or Nobles, who are called *Sotto Pregadi.* The laſt named hundred and twenty are elected

elected every year. The power of determining reſides in the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi:* in which aſſembly the moſt momentous affairs are debated, and war peace and alliances are there concluded.

The third chamber conſiſts of ten perſons: *Il Conſiglio de i Dieci.* The power of this chamber is fearful to the Nobility; againſt whom only it is directed. From its ſentence there is no appeal: of its actions it renders no account. Its authority is concentrated in three perſons: two of whom are named from the Ten, and the third is appointed from the Council of the Doge. Theſe three State-inquiſitors inſpire the whole Nobility with terror. Their dreadful maxim is, *correre alla pena prima d'eſſaminar la colpa.* Puniſh before you examine the guilty. By them the Doge himſelf may be ſentenced to death. Many of the Nobles are ſecretly cited to come before their tribunal; and many diſappear without any man knowing what is become of them.

In the laſt century, Antonio Faſcarini, a young Senator, fell a ſacrifice to this inquiſition. His good qualities, his underſtanding, and the love the people bore him, excited the jealouſy of theſe ſecret inſpectors. He was ſummoned and put to death.

However the ſubtlety of modern philoſophy, nay of Monteſquieu himſelf, may palliate the oſtraciſm of the Athenians, ſtill it was a tyrannical and unwiſe law: unwiſe becauſe it fettered every noble enterpriſe, and induced the chief citizens to court the favour of the people; and tyrannical becauſe it was capricious. The juſt Ariſtides was its ſacrifice. Pericles eſcaped it, not ſo much becauſe perſuaſion ſat on his lips, not from the thunder of his eloquence, but becauſe he ſhewed himſelf culpably obſequious to the people.

But how much leſs can the State Inquiſition of Venice be juſtified! It is affirmed to be neceſſary, by the Venetians, for the ſafety of the public. Thirty years ago, its aboliſhment was taken into conſideration by the Great Council; and by the Great Council it was confirmed. Unleſs it be aſſerted that it is neceſſary to overawe the power of the

Nobility, and unleſs this power can only be overawed by tyrannical caprice, and thus prevented from becoming the deſpot of the State, ſuch a tribunal muſt in itſelf be unjuſt. It is a miſconception of the firſt principles of morals and politics, to imagine that injuſtice can ever be neceſſary. The very end of every political inſtitute is ſecurity againſt power. He muſt be a tyro in politics indeed who ſuppoſes that tyranny conſiſts only in the abuſe of monarchical power. Each Conſtitution is deſpotic in which the Sovereign, whether Prince, Senate, or People, is ſuperior to the laws; and can act according to caprice. Deſpotic Princes are eaſily induced to act abſurdly: under their government States are conſtantly ſubject to change; and proſperity is caſual, becauſe each governs according to the verſatilities of his own opinions. Now almoſt every Prince, being deſirous to counteract the faults of his predeceſſor, falls himſelf into oppoſite vices. A ſenate communicates ſtability to a State; becauſe it never dies, but generally remains in the ſame ſentiments: or, generally conducted by the ſtream of public opinion, with this it has the wiſdom to ſwim. For this reaſon however its deſpotiſm is the more rooted, if a wiſe conſtitution be not its boundary.

The deſpotiſm of the people is, of all others, the moſt dreadful: but it has no durability. The people are always in their minority. Demagogues, the worſt of men, are their tutors, and continually lead them into anarchy; and from anarchy monarchical deſpotiſm invariably reſults. The people then diſcover too late, when they have become too corrupt for a wiſe conſtitution, that democratical deſpotiſm is the moſt dreadful of all political evils.

The conſtitution of Venice appears to me only to have ſecured itſelf againſt the deſpotiſm of democracy, and monarchy, by the ariſtocracy having taken upon itſelf to correct its own abuſe of power. In itſelf, this conſtitution ſeems exceedingly imperfect: but in its adminiſtration it is mild, and wiſe. Both city and country are well affected to the government: the provincial nobility no doubt the leaſt.

In

In like manner as the Tribunal of the Ten keep the nobility of Venice in awe, ſo does the Tribunal of the Forty, called *La quarantia criminale*, curb the remainder of the Republic. This tribunal maintains its ſecret ſpies; and is quickly informed of whatever may appear to endanger the repoſe of the State. Eager to miſtruſt and quick to execute, the *quarantia* is dreadful to the citizens: yet it does not infringe the freedom of the people in their common affairs. If they obey the laws, and enter into no diſcourſe againſt the government, they are perfectly ſecure. Whoever ſpeaks too freely is once, or oftener, cited and cautioned. If this be diſregarded, the diſobedient is then for a time impriſoned.

The ſpiritual court of inquiſition has little power. It conſiſts of the Pope's Nuncio, the Archbiſhop of Venice, who is Patriarch of Dalmatia, the Inquiſitor, and three Lay-counſellors. It takes no cognizance either of blaſphemy or of the licenſing of books: neither are the Jews or Greeks dependant upon it. Theſe objects are all within the juriſdiction of the Lay-magiſtracy.

I had almoſt forgotten to mention the Doge, who in his palace and in the council only enjoys princely honours. In the council, he has the title of *Serenita;* or Serene; and is diſtinguiſhed from other Senators in the aſſembly by a purple mantle, and a red velvet hat. He holds precedency in the four different chambers of the Council. To him all petitions and memorials are addreſſed: but he muſt communicate them to the Council. All writings of the Great Council are iſſued in his name: as likewiſe are the credentials of ambaſſadors to foreign courts; though they are not ſigned by him, and are ſealed with the arms of the Republic. He does not, as ſeveral books affirm, poſſeſs two votes, but only one, in the Council.

The coins of Venice on one ſide have the name and the figure of a Doge, kneeling to St. Mark; and the arms of the Republic on the reverſe. When he addreſſes the great council, it is in theſe words: "Great Council, Sovereign of the Republic and of me."

His whole revenue conſiſts only of 15,000 ducats of Venice. A Venetian ducat is nearly of the ſame value as a Convention dollar *. He is annually obliged to give five magnificent feaſts; and to invite all foreign ambaſſadors, and the patricians in office, according to their rank. This revenue therefore, or rather this ſalary, is certainly too little; when we recollect that the perſon who is elected may not renounce the dignity, although the council may object to the perſon elected, or depoſe him when in office. He has indeed ſome caſual perquiſites, and ſells all the employments of his palace.

The church of St. Mark only is under his juriſdiction; and the benefices belonging to it are in his gift. He beſtows the order of Knight of St. Mark. While he lives, neither his children nor brothers muſt aſpire to the firſt dignities of the Republic, or to the office of ambaſſador.

It is ſaid of the Doge: He is a king in purple, a counſellor in the council, a priſoner in the city, and out of it a private perſon. In the city, he is always attended by the ſix ſenators; who with him conſtitute the *Signoria*: nor is he permitted to leave Venice without their ſanction.

On the day of Aſcenſion, he goes upon the water on board of a ſuperb veſſel, called the *Bucentoro*, attended by the Lords of the *Signoria*, foreign ambaſſadors, and innumerable *gondole*. On this occaſion he throws a gold ring into the ſea; on which he pronounces the following Latin ſentence: *Deſponſamus te, mare, in ſignum veri perpetuique dominii.* We eſpouſe thee, oh ſea! in token of true and eternal ſovereignty.

When dead, his body with all the inſignia of his dignity lies three days in ſtate, in the palace; during which time his government is ſcrutinized, by inquiſitors who are appointed for that purpoſe. His creditors are likewiſe ſummoned. If his government be pronounced unjuſt, his relations are fined: they likewiſe are obliged to pay his

* *Ein Thaler Conventions Geld.* I do not know what Convention money means. T.

debts: neither is he buried at the expence of the Republic. It cannot eſcape your memory that a ſimilar court ſat in judgment over the dead Kings of ancient Egypt.

The Doge is elected by a plurality of votes, in the Great Council. Theſe votes are never given verbally, in Venice; but, on all occaſions, the negative, or affirmative, is ſignified by little balls. In the choice of the Doge, there is a mixture of intention and of chance; by the latter of which it is determined who ſhall finally be the electors. The manner of election makes it difficult to chooſe an improper perſon for the office: nor is it eaſy for any man to influence the choice, for no one knows who will at laſt be the electors. Thoſe in whoſe favour the nine firſt balls are given elect forty; and thoſe of the forty who have twelve balls elect five-and-twenty in addition. Of this number nine perſons, who have drawn golden balls, chooſe forty more: eleven of theſe, who are appointed in the ſame way, elect one-and-forty counſellors. Theſe perſons finally proceed to the election; which remains undetermined till ſome one perſon has five-and-twenty voices in his favour. In all other important deciſions a majority of two balls is required: in affairs of leſs moment, a majority of one is deciſive.

The balls are thrown into a paſte-board box, which has three apertures underneath: one white, one green, and one red. The white is the affirmative, the green the negative, and the red is called *Non ſincera:* for in this thoſe perſons throw their balls who are undetermined. By theſe means, it remains wholly unknown what is the opinion of each elector, and whether he have voted, or for whom.

As Preſident of the different chambers, the Doge has the right to remind the judges and other magiſtrates of their duty: but, as his power is ſo limited, it is a privilege which he ſeldom exerciſes.

When he addreſſes the aſſembly, the members all ſtand; and the honour thus ſhewn him frequently prevents him from opening his lips,

or

or from holding any long diſcourſe; he being very careful to give offence to none.

Judging by appearances, we might be inclined to think the Doge a ſuperfluous perſon in the Republic; and to tell the Venetians they would have done better if, inſtead of this eternal ſhadow of power, they had indulged themſelves in the poſſibility, on extraordinary occaſions, of nominating a citizen for a ſhort period, who, liable afterward to be brought to account, ſhould poſſeſs unlimited rule after the example of the Romans, when they either conferred abſolute power on one of their conſuls, with the formula *Ne quid detrimenti capiat res publica:* Look, conſul, that the Republic receive no injury: or when they appointed one of their conſuls dictator.

On a nearer inveſtigation however of this important queſtion, we may incline to think the office of Doge not ſo inſignificant as it appears. The privilege of precedency in the four chambers inconteſtibly gives him much influence, though he only has a ſingle vote. Neither will thoſe have any deep knowledge of man who are ignorant that the pomp of office gives a value to his opinion, of which in itſelf it is not poſſeſſed. The practice of the Romans was effective, and more than once ſaved the Republic: but it was dangerous.

The palace of the Doge is called *Il palazzo di San Marco:* after the great place of St. Mark. This palace contains the halls of aſſembly for the Great Council, for the Senate or *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*, for the Council of Ten, for the Signoria, and the hall in which the Doge gives audience to ambaſſadors, with the hall of four doors, and others. Each of theſe is embelliſhed with paintings, of the Venetian ſchool, by Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintorett, Vicentino, Old Palma, the three brothers, Gian-Ponte, Franceſco and Leandro Baſſano, Cavaliere Liberi, Zuccharini, and Lazarini, repreſenting the principal events in the hiſtory of Venice.

In the paſſages of this palace there are Lion-heads of marble, above and

and below, down the mouths of which ſecret complaints are thrown; which fall into boxes, the keys of which are kept by the State-inquiſitors, who are to determine whether the complaints are well-founded. There is an inſcription under each Lion-head, ſignifying to what kind of miſdemeanor it is appropriated.

The church of St. Mark is likewiſe built in the place of that name; the fantaſtic architecture of which has imparted to it ſomething of a character of greatneſs. Facing the church in this place there are five large arcades, over the centre one of which four gilded horſes, modelled of Corinthian braſs, are placed; which the Venetians, in the beginning of the thirteenth century under the command of their great Doge Dandolo, with the aid of the French, brought from Conſtantinople, after taking that city, and placed them in Venice. They had been ſent from Rome to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine the Great; and had ornamented the triumphal arches firſt of Nero, and then of Trajan. Their great beauty appears to denote that they were of the flouriſhing times of Greek art: though I will not pretend to affirm, with the Venetians, that they are the work of Lyſippus, the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

The place of St. Mark, which properly conſiſts of two places, *La piazza e la piazetta*, or the Place and the Little Place, though the ſmalleſt is very ſpacious, adds greatly to the beauty of the city; and is juſtly eſteemed as one of the firſt, if not the very firſt, and moſt beautiful of the kind in Europe.

The Magiſtrates called *Procuratori di San Marco* are next in rank to the Doge: their influence however in the government is not conſiderable. They are divided into three orders.. The *Procuratori di ſopra* are the proper *Procuratori di San Marco*. The *Procuratori di citra* have the juriſdiction of that part of the city which lies on this ſide of the great canal; and the *Procuratori oltra* on the other ſide. The firſt have precedence of all the other nobility; and from their body

body the Doge is generally choſen. Under their ſuperintendance are the library of *San Marco*, the church revenues, and the archives.

The ſecond and third claſſes are Executors of legacies *ad pias cauſas*, have the protection of orphans and widows, annually divide certain ſums for the portioning of poor girls, and ſuperintend the ranſom of the Chriſtians impriſoned by the Barbary corſairs. If I do not miſtake, they are nominated by the Doge. He generally appoints ſuch perſons as have been ambaſſadors to foreign courts, provided they are rich: for the office is highly expenſive. Their uſual number is eleven; and theſe offices had their origin in the eleventh century, when one of the principal citizens was firſt intruſted with the adminiſtration of the revenue, and the ſuperintendance of the church of *San Marco*.

Venice has nothing to fear from an enemy. The ſea which ſurrounds it, and which is called the *Laguna*, is ſo ſhallow that great ſhips cannot approach the city, without going through the canals; the courſe of which are denoted by piles, that in ſuch a caſe would all be taken away. It requires large ſums annually to cleanſe theſe canals, which are cut through the whole city in great numbers. Some of them waſh the houſes; and many rows of houſes have a quay between them and the water. The great canal winds through the city, which it divides; and over this the ſuperb bridge called the *Rialto* is built, of marble, and has one lofty arch, and three ſtreets; the central one of which has ſhops, both in back and in front.

Founded on ſeventy-two iſlands, the different quarters of Venice are connected with each other by nearly five hundred bridges; under which the *gondole* can paſs. The hum and tumult of the amphibious gondoliers are aſtoniſhingly animated! What muſt they have been during the times when the proſperity of Venice was at its height; and when it was the centre of commerce between the eaſtern and the weſtern world? The *gondole* are all black; the meaneſt of coloured wood, the others

others covered with black cloth. It is difficult to accuſtom the eye to their gloomy appearance. Were they unable to limit the luxury of which they were afraid in any other manner? Why muſt theſe little boats have each the appearance of a hearſe? For the covered place in which the paſſengers ſit looks like a coffin. However they are conveniently contrived, ſo that you may either ſit or lie down at pleaſure; and they have glaſs windows on each ſide which will open. One gondolier rows at the ſtem; another at the ſtern; and there is ſufficient room for four paſſengers. The veſſels glide rapidly along; and formerly the gondoliers uſed to ſing paſſages from Arioſto, and Taſſo: but now only ſome old man among them is occaſionally heard to chaunt ſtanzas from theſe poets. The dialect of the gondoliers is a little different from that of the Venetians. Taſſo's Jeruſalem Delivered has been tranſlated into thirteen different dialects of Italy. So great is the love of theſe people for their poets. It is very pleaſant on an evening to ſee the lanterns of the *gondole* gliding along the canal, while the boats that bear them are inviſible. It might be imagined that the darkneſs in which the Government veils itſelf, its tribunal of the *quarantia*, its inquiſition, and its ſecret ſpies, with the opportunity which every man has of accuſation through the open jaws of the lions in the palace of the Doge, would render the nation deceitful and gloomy. On the contrary, the people have as much jocularity and vivacity as any in Italy, and ſeldom are guilty of crimes. Excluſive of the opera, there are five different play-houſes here. The Venetian *Truffaldino* is at leaſt as comic as the *Pulicinello* of the Neapolitans, if not more ſo; and his blunders put the thronging ſpectators in a roar and ſhake the houſe with laughter.

It is cuſtomary for foreigners to reproach the Italian comedy with exaggeration, or buffoonery: a reproach which I grant the ſober German and French comedy but ſeldom deſerves. But is exaggeration a defect in comedy? Is not the attention turned by caricature to the remarking of little abſurdities? If all exceſs be baniſhed, with it we muſt

baniſh laughter. We neither reproach Ariſtophanes, Plautus, Cervantes, Hogarth, nor Sterne, when they afford us inſtruction by the traits of caricature which genius affords *. They do but pour our own follies down our laughing throats. I regret as much as any man the want of the fine characteriſtic traits of manners, in the Italian comedy, and that deep knowledge of man which the philoſophic Terence poſſeſſes: but do I feel none of this regret for our own comedy? If the opinion of Leſſing be true, that we are not yet ſufficiently advanced to endure the abſence of Harlequin, and I cannot but think the remark well grounded, if we wiſh to have a piece entirely comic, we have then no right to ſpurn at the genial abſurdities of the *Buffo*, the *Pulicinello*, or the *Truffaldino*.

Should any one reprobate their immorality, an accuſation which their equivocal obſcenities not only juſtify but loudly demand, while I join in the reproof, I muſt aſk whether our comedies are entirely pure? though I grant they do not produce the ſame fullneſs of effect: becauſe their authors, when they preſent brandy to the ſpectator, are careful to give it a plentiful daſh of water. There is an original trait in Plautus, which has been the admiration of centuries. It is the paſſage where old Euclio, ſuſpecting himſelf to be robbed by his ſlave,

* This is a doubtful and a difficult queſtion; and it ought firſt to be decided that theſe authors, at leaſt the modern, are caricaturiſts before they are ſo called. Hogarth in particular, who has been ſo ſtigmatiſed the moſt frequently, ſpurned at the accuſation; and I think juſtly. And which was the beſt judge: the phlegmatic drone, who walks the world with his eyes ſhut; or the keen, the waking, the watchful Hogarth? I never met with a face, in Hogarth, that I could not honeſtly ſwear to having ſeen its prototype times out of number. Cervantes, Sterne, caricaturiſts? To me, I confeſs, this is poetical blaſphemy! That which we have not taken the trouble to note down in our memory, we affirm, with the effrontery of ſelf-ſatisfaction, does not exiſt. The Prince of Siam, or of ſome hot country, called the man a liar who told him of ice; and, what is more ſtrange, the ambulators of large cities call the man a caricaturiſt, who exhibits a picture of objects which they daily meet, yet cannot be ſaid to ſee. Theſe remarks have no relation to the obſcene, or the diſguſting, buffooneries either of Italy or of any other nation. T.

Strobilus, aſks him to ſhew his hands; and, in the rage of ſuſpicion, requires to ſee his third hand.

Eucl. *Oſtende huc manus.*
Str. *Hem tibi oſtendi! eccas!*
Eucl. *Video, age oſtende etiam tertiam.*
PLAUT. Aul. act. iv. ſc. 5.

Eucl. Shew me your hands.
Str. Here they are: look!
Eucl. Ay! But ſhew me your third hand!

This exaggeration places the comic of the underſtanding in its true point of view; and ſimilar traits are frequently found in the Italian comedy: uttered chiefly by the Buffo, Pulicinello, or Truffaldino. I am far from preſenting this ſpecies as a model, and much leſs as the beſt of models, for comedy: but no one who has once ſeen the Italian comedy will deny that it poſſeſſes humour.

In the place of St. Mark, and on the new great quay by the ſea ſide, quack doctors, tumblers, jugglers, and people who ſing tragical ditties, with animated geſticulation, aſſemble; and it is affirmed that theſe diverting gentry are ſecretly paid by the Government, to keep the citizens in good humour. But I ſuſpect that a Government ſo cautious would not adopt a meaſure that, were it known, might have bad conſequences. The people every where reſemble children; whoſe ſports are permitted, and promoted, but openly. If any ſecret intention be diſcovered, their pleaſure changes to miſtruſt: they begin to imagine themſelves unhappy as ſoon as they are aware that clandeſtine artifices are employed for their amuſement. In fact, the Government is in no need of ſuch an artifice; for the people are harmleſs, and happy.

The *Nobili di Venezia*, or Nobility of Venice, who are likewiſe called *Patrici*, or Patricians, muſt not appear in the public theatres except in domino3; and with maſks either covering the face or pendant from the hat. They govern the Republic, but are themſelves under rigorous reſtraint. The Lords of the ſecret State Inquiſition, to whoſe

animadverſions alone the Patricians are ſubject, are by no means ſo indulgent as the Council of Forty, who watch the conduct of the citizens, and have their ſpies. Neither Patricians nor their wives dare travel, without permiſſion. If guilty of any miſdemeanor, they are puniſhed with arreſt; without knowing for what length of time, and without their friends daring to intercede in their behalf. This proud but prudent oligarchy well foreſaw that the reſpect of the reigning families muſt depend on their manners; and that thoſe rulers, who wiſhed for authority without rendering themſelves hateful, muſt themſelves be ſubject to the ſevereſt reſtrictions.

The ſuſpicion with which they treat foreign envoys, and ambaſſadors, is equally unjuſt and unworthy. No Patricians, either in town or country, dare viſit them or receive their viſits: neither muſt their wives viſit or receive viſits from them; and whoever belongs to the family of an ambaſſador is as much avoided, by the Patricians, as the ambaſſador himſelf. It is not thirty years ſince all travellers were excluded from the ſociety of the Patricians, as ſoon as they had any intercourſe with an ambaſſador: but in the ſeverity of this rule they have now relaxed. Ambaſſadors may have free intercourſe with the merchants, and provincial nobility. Till within theſe forty years, no ambaſſador, except the Nuncio, had any public entrance: nor were any admitted to an audience with the Doge, or invited to the public feaſts which are given by that magiſtrate. They do not tranſact buſineſs with the *Savi grandi* by word of mouth, but by writing; and anſwers are tranſmitted to them by a ſecretary. Theſe anſwers are read to the envoy, or the ambaſſador; and are taken down in writing by his ſecretary, the originals being carried back by the Venetian ſecretary.

It is ignoble and unwiſe to conſider foreign ambaſſadors, whoſe dignified office it is to be the mediators of peace, and to employ their whole power to preſerve concord between nation and nation, I ſay it is impolitic to treat ſuch men as ſpies. In Venice, this practice is the more

more abſurd becauſe, in defiance of all their precautions, no determination of the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*, which conſiſts of about two hundred and fifty members, can remain ſecret; and in this aſſembly the ſubjects of war, peace, and alliance, are treated and concluded on. Here all the affairs that relate to foreign nations are diſcuſſed: objects which, in my opinion, ought to have been confided to the *Signoria*; as it is exceedingly natural that the final determination on ſubjects ſo important ſhould be confirmed by the vote of the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*.

The Republic has adhered about ſixty years to its ſyſtem of neutrality: but it is an armed neutrality. It appears to me to have wiſely renounced all thought of conqueſt; and to have firmly determined to maintain its poſſeſſions on both ſides of the Adriatic, and in the Greek iſlands.

The Arſenal no doubt is as worthy of obſervation as any arſenal in Europe: for it conſiſts of ſtores both for ſea and land. Arms for ſixty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe are arranged in an ornamental manner; and decorated with ancient armour, and Turkiſh ſpoils. At the entrance of the arſenal, there are two antique coloſſal lions, of Parian marble; which were brought from the celebrated Piræan haven, by the Doge Franceſco Moroſini; who took Athens, and ſo heroically defended Candia.

I am aſſured that two thouſand eight hundred workmen are daily employed in the arſenal: where you ſee rope-makers, anchor-ſmiths, and cannon-founders. The proviſion of artillery, mortars, howitzers, and other inſtruments of deſtruction, is dreadful. The arſenal contains eighteen ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates, each in its covered dry dock; and ſix new ſhips of the line are now building. Contrary to the cuſtom of every other maritime power, all veſſels that carry leſs than ſixty-four guns are eſteemed frigates: while the French ſhips above forty, and the Engliſh above fifty, are ranked as ſhips of the line.

The practice of preſerving ſhips under cover, in dry docks, has its advantages. Ships may in this manner be preſerved during a long

courſe of years: whereas thoſe that lie in water require repair in ſixteen or twenty years: after which, in ten years' time, they are improper either for long voyages or the ſervice of war. But this practice has likewiſe its diſadvantages. A ſhip that has once been to ſea muſt not afterward be laid up in a dry dock. If it were, the wood would ſhrink and it would leak when launched into the water again. Neither is it poſſible to judge properly of a veſſel that has never been in uſe; and, as a rider ſhould know his horſe and a colonel his regiment, ſo ſhould the ſailors, officers, and admirals, know the qualities of a ſhip.

The mechaniſm of a ſhip is ſo multifarious, an inconſiderable defect in its proportions operates ſo ſtrongly, the materials of which it is built are ſo numerous, and their qualities are ſo different, that it is exceedingly difficult for the moſt ſcientific ſhip-builder accurately to determine concerning the imperfections of the machine, till experience has taught what they are and how they may be rectified. The late King of Sweden at a great expence cauſed docks * for new ſhips to be cut in the rock at Carlſcrone. A grand work: but I doubt whether the maritime powers will follow the example. The rule in Venice is to lay a new ſhip on the ſtocks, as ſoon as one of thoſe laid up puts to ſea; and I am aſſured that there are now ten ſhips of the line at ſea. The Republic therefore poſſeſſes twenty-eight ſhips of the line, that carry from ſixty-four to eighty guns. A formidable fleet; if it be well manned, and well commanded.

Here likewiſe they have galleys, cutters, ſchooners, bomb-ketches, and ſmaller veſſels; and with the reſt the ſuperb *Bucentoro*, on board of which the Doge annually goes to ſea, and marries the Adriatic: in commemoration of the victory obtained by the Venetians, under the command of their Doge Sebaſtiano Ziani, in the year 1177, over the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa; when Pope Alexander the Third fled from him, and took refuge in Venice. The conqueror, Ziani,

* *Schauer.* From the context, I think this muſt be the meaning of the word: though I do not poſſeſs, nor do I know where to procure, a German Marine Dictionary. T.

made

made his public entry on Aſcenſion Day; leading Otho, the Emperor's ſon, priſoner; and having captured forty-eight ſhips: among which, according to a Venetian hiſtorian, was the Imperial galley. The Pope went to meet the Doge on the ſhore, gave him his ring, and commanded him to caſt it into the ſea: by which it ſhould be ſubjected to all ſucceeding Doges, as the wife is to her huſband.

The *Bucentoro* is magnificently embelliſhed with carving and gilding: but, as it is annually launched into the water, and then laid up again in the dock, ſhort as the voyage it makes is, it generally needs repairing every year.

About twenty miles ſouth of Venice, the Republic has nearly completed an undertaking which is ſcarcely inferior to the greateſt works of ancient Rome. A high wall, or pier, of large ſtones is built, on a ſmall cape; the purpoſe of which is to protect the ſhallow waters that ſurround the ſeventy-two iſlands, on which the city is built, and many others that are ſeen ſcattered around, againſt the wild waves of the Adriatic. To reſiſt theſe, the wall is conſtructed upon two diſtinct terraces of marble; each of which is nine paces broad. The ſmalleſt of theſe terraces, which conſiſts of four ſteps, is oppoſed to the inner waters, which are called *La Laguna*. The joints of the ſtone, after the manner of the ancient Roman buildings, are all filled with a mixture of lime and puzzolana. This latter material is brought from Mount Veſuvius.

On the wall is the following inſcription:

Ut ſacra æſtuaria, Urbis et Libertatis ſedes, perpetuum conſerventur, coloſſeas moles ex ſolido marmore contra mare poſuere Curatores Aquarum.

Anno ſalutis MDCCLI.

Ab urbe condita MCCCXXX.

"The Conſervators of the Waters have erected this coloſſal rampart of ſolid marble, to "oppoſe the ſea and for ever preſerve the ſacred ſhallows, the ſeat of the City, and "of Freedom.

"In the year of redemption MDCCLI;

"From the founding of the city, MCCCXXX."

I mea-

I meaſured the length of this ſtone pier, as far as it is completed; and counted three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty paces, or ſteps.

I ſhall be accuſed as a heretic, by many, if I ſpeak my opinion of the painters of the Venetian ſchool. Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintorett, Baſſano, and others, are great names in the annals of the art. No painter has ſo well expreſſed the deceptive colouring of life, or the ſoft carnations of the human body ſo inimitably, as Titian. Art is certainly much indebted to the Venetian ſchool: and the longer young painters remain here the more they may learn. The art of painting itſelf is indeed of ſo fugitive a nature, and ſo difficult to ſeize, that it includes in itſelf many arts, and many kinds of talent. Still I inſiſt that the pictures by the Venetian maſters, which I had previouſly ſeen ſcattered through many parts of Italy, while they excited my admiration, left my feelings cold. In Venice, I have ſeen their maſterpieces, in the palace of the Doge and the church of *Madonna della Salute:* yet theſe maſterpieces left me with the ſame ſenſations; and, engaged as I have been by other objects, I have forborne to viſit many more of their pictures in different churches and palaces. All that colouring has hitherto attained I willingly grant they poſſeſs: but not the lovelineſs of Guido, not the comic humour of the Flemiſh painters, not the daring ſtrokes of the Caracci, not the ſtrength of Guercino. And yet how far even are theſe painters of the Bologneſe ſchool, at leaſt in my opinion, below Correggio, Dominichino, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, (of whoſe powers no man ought to judge, who has not ſeen the *Capella Siſtina* at Rome) and he who ſtands alone, the immortal Raphael!

Dare I avow it? Yet why not? I am no connoiſſeur; and he to whom art is an affair of conſequence will conſider my opinion as of ſmall moment. I therefore do avow that the Venetian painters appear to me to have attained all that mere art, all that talent can beſtow: but that they have never yet ſet foot on the boundaries of genius.

Theſe boundaries have been entered with a firm ſtep by the lovely Poeteſs, who lived here many years, and who lately died, the Counteſs of

of Roſenberg. England gave her birth, a German his name, and Italy her finiſhing education. Was it native humour that inſpired thoſe flowing ideas, thoſe delightful ſenſations, which were neither Engliſh, German, nor Italian? The French language was the inſtrument ſhe choſe; the limited powers of which may ſuffice for the witling, but ſink under the man of genius, and utter diſcord if tuned to ſenſibility *. But her art was enchanting; for, even in this language, ſhe fluently expreſſed her beautiful and poetical thoughts. In deſcribing the manners of a people but little known to us, *Les Morlaques*, ſhe painted the fine feelings of her own ſoul. A national feſtival of the Venetians afforded her materials for a charming narrative; in which, with the moſt lively touches, ſhe repreſented the manners of the Gondoliers: a peculiar claſs of people, which are and can be only known to Venice. Bürde, the tranſlator of Paradiſe Loſt, an excellent lyric poet, has elegantly tranſlated her firſt work into German: but this work is not ſo much known as it deſerves to be. We pant after the literary novelties of France. The Barber of Seville, and the Marriage of Figaro, have been performed inceſſantly on the German ſtage; and the petty ſenſations of the heartleſs Genlis*, are in the hands of every mother of a family: while the witty and feeling writings of Roſenberg are almoſt unknown.

The population of this city is eſtimated at a hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls; and the number of people in the whole territories of the Republic at two millions and a half. In proportion to a population ſo great as this, the government maintains but few ſoldiers: I met with none in the city. Neither the citizens nor the peaſants are forbidden the uſe of arms: a certain token that the government is mild, and the ſubject contented.

It grieves me that I have not ſeen the mountainous diſtricts of this country; and that I have nothing to tell you of the cities of Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, and Breſcia. It was againſt my will that I did not

* I am ſorry to ſay theſe remarks are as illiberal as they are unjuſt. T.

viſit Mantua, the birth place of Virgil; and that I renounced a journey through the mountains of Tyrol: but the ſeaſon of the year demands expedition, which the deſire of once more viſiting our friends and our fire-ſide increaſes.

LETTER CV.

Vienna, 2d November 1792.

WE left Venice on the 26th, and were rowed through a canal over to Meſtre. From this we ſoon came to the country of Treviſo; the capital of the Venetian province of *Marca di Treviſo*, and the native place of Totila, the King of the Goths. The town contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants; and the province, like that of Friuli, is flat, fruitful, and well cultivated. We met with buck-wheat in fields which no doubt had previouſly afforded one harveſt. This plant, ſo common to the north of Germany, I found in the botanic gardens of the ſouth of Italy, and in Sicily. From Meſtre, the mountains of the north-weſt provinces of Venice, which extend to the ridge of the mountains of Carniola, may be ſeen.

On the evening of the 27th, we reached the German boundaries between Udine, the chief town of the Venetian Friuli; and the fortreſs of Gradiſca, which lies in Auſtrian Friuli; though the Italian language is there ſpoken. This language ceaſes before the German begins. The chief part of Carniola, through which we travelled, is inhabited by Vandals; whoſe Sclavonic dialect is entirely unintelligible to Germans, ſo that we could not converſe with the men whom we firſt met with in Germany. The landlords however ſpoke our language. The

people are the deſcendants of Vandals, who reſemble the inhabitants that live in ſcattered hamlets throughout Luſatia and Mecklenburg.

Theſe common traces of their origin would have diſappeared, to the advantage of the Vandals, had not a ſtate of vaſſalage oppreſſed them in Germany and Italy; from which they were firſt relieved in this province, as well as in Bohemia, by Joſeph the Second. The Sclavonian tribes have for ages been ſo bowed down, by the yoke of ſlavery, that time is required to make them reſemble free men.

The country is charming, diverſified with mountainous parts, fertile, and well cultivated. In the ſmall towns, proſperity is viſible: eſpecially in Laubach, the chief place of the province.

The horned cattle are very ſmall: but the horſes are large, and ſtrong. The duchy of Stiria I think is ſtill better cultivated: the inhabitants of which, though they rather reſemble the people of Germany than of Carniola, are yet very diſtinctly divided into Vandals and Germans; the numbers of the latter being far the moſt conſiderable. The country is pleaſant: the mountains are clothed with oaks, beech trees, and pines. Every kind of grain is well cultivated; and the white wine is very pleaſant.

The people are not unfriendly: but we had been ſo accuſtomed to the animation of the Italians that they appeared tedious, and dull. We found a want too of the expeditious mode of travelling in Italy. The poſt-houſes, of Carniola and Stiria, are not well provided with horſes. Theſe countries however are beautiful; and, from the ſhady mountains, you look down on fruitful valleys, watered by brooks and rivers. Induſtry and proſperity appear to enliven the land: the inns are good, and the heart is rejoiced again to meet with German cleanlineſs. The towns and villages of Stiria are well built; and the peaſants have better habitations than the Vandals of Carniola. The people ſeem to take a lively part in the war againſt the French. I met with a cheerful woman, at the houſe of the toll-taker, in Auſtrian Friuli, who had a little boy in her arms; and who, with maternal pride, gave me the

hiſtory of her ſon, twenty years of age, who though ſo young had made two campaigns againſt the Turks; and now a lieutenant, in a regiment of horſe, had marched to fight the French.

The farther we went in Stiria the more pleaſant the country became. A conſiderable mountain, called Semmering, ſeparates this province from Auſtria Proper: the firſt aſpect of which, from the mountain, is delightful in the charms of wild nature. Soon afterward, the country becomes flat, is well tilled, and the towns have a good appearance. The inns are well ſupplied, the people attentive, and the travelling by poſt is here excellent. We arrived at Vienna this forenoon.

LETTER CVI.

Vienna, 15th December 1792.

ALTHOUGH I have been ſix weeks in this great city, I have not yet ſufficiently examined the many remarkable things it contains to afford you any ſatisfactory account of them. My afternoons and evenings are conſumed in the charms of ſociety; and I dedicate the forepart of the day either to renewing my acquaintance, with perſons whom I have formerly known elſewhere, in and out of Germany, or to the forming new connections: ſome of which I find very intereſting.

You know my averſion to being hurried away in the whirlpool of faſhionable life: however I have no where met with ſo little conſtraint, among the great, as in this metropolis. The old and the young, who in other great cities of Germany, while they ſo frequently aſſemble in the ſame chamber, appear to hold themſelves diſtant and diſtinct from each other, here confidentially converſe together; and thus communicate

nicate a tone of variety and animation, and a charm to ſocial intercourſe which render it delightful. Not all modelled by the ſame rules, not equally ſtiff and ſtrait laced, by which the human character is ſo frequently degraded, and which repetition renders ſo diſguſting, you here meet with people of different propenſities, who therefore have greater powers of entertaining. The women are lively and pleaſant; and grave ſtateſmen and rough warriors liſten to them with delight. Neither is gaming, which in other cities is the gulph of all the affections and paſſions, here the only employment of ſociety.

Strangers are welcomed with amenity; and with an air that ſhews the heart and the lips are not at variance. If a ſtranger be introduced to certain families, he is neither obliged to yawn with the tedious glutton, nor adminiſter to the avarice of a rapacious card party. His hoſt, on the contrary, endeavours to ſound his affections, heighten his pleaſures, and receive him with that unaffected hoſpitality which renders his ſtay agreeable; and his endeavours are uſually ſucceſsful.

I became acquainted at the Imperial library with the Abbé Denis; who, ardently in love with the Muſe, poſſeſſes her favours. We deſire to find both the man and the poet ardent, yet kind; gentle, yet dignified; and we are rejoiced to ſee our hopes confirmed. As librarian, he is at preſent employed in writing a commentary on the rich collection of manuſcripts the library poſſeſſes; and his labours give him delight. He will publiſh many literary diſcoveries, and detect many errors; but without dipping his pen in gall: though a critic, he will preſerve the character of a worthy man.

In the hall of the Imperial library, which is very grand, we are glad to meet the entire collection of books made by the great Eugene: the hero who, beſide poſſeſſing the talents of the warrior and the ſtateſman, had acquired great and various knowledge.

The cabinet of natural hiſtory, in minerals and petrifactions, connoiſſeurs affirm is inferior to none in Europe. My entire ignorance of natural hiſtory, a ſcience as intereſting as it is extenſive, will not permit

permit me to entertain you with an account of the riches of this collection.

This ignorance equally forbids me to ſay all I could wiſh of the green-houſe at *Schönbrunn*, which I have viſited with ſo much ſatisfaction. Perſons who have been in England aſſure me that green-houſes are no where ſo lofty as this is; and that therefore the great ſouthern plants do not flouriſh any where in Europe in ſo much beauty as at *Schönbrunn:* where you walk under large Eaſt and Weſt India palms of different ſpecies, the great helicon *, the mahogany cedar, the mimoſa, ſugar-canes, and bamboos. Schönbrunn is richer than Kew in plants from the Cape, the *Iſle de France*, and the *Iſle de Bourbon;* but not ſo well ſtocked with North American plants, moſt of which in England grow in the open air: which is ſo changeable in the country round Vienna as to be prejudicial to them. Mr. Von Boſe, to whoſe immediate inſpection the botanic garden is committed, has travelled ſix years in both the Indies, and through different parts of Africa. He has left an experienced gardener at the Cape, who annually ſends him either new plants or ſeeds. Other gardeners are now ſtationed at other places. Various unknown plants have been produced, by the ſeeds thus procured; and a week ſeldom paſſes in which diſcoveries of plants and flowers are not made. We ſaw ſome rare water plants in bloom.

The celebrated Meſſieurs Jacquin, father and ſon, have the chief ſuperintendance of the botanic garden at Schönbrunn; and have a little garden, where they live, in one of the ſuburbs of Vienna. As ſoon as a new plant blows at Schönbrunn, it is brought to them; and artiſts are employed, by whom it is painted. Theſe artiſts likewiſe paint ſuch flowers at Schönbrunn which are too tender to be removed, without danger in winter, to Vienna.

The green-houſes at Schönbrunn are enlivened by the flight and the ſong of ſouthern birds; and, under the trees of their own country, we

* *Heliconien:* probably the *helicteres.* T.

there

there ſee the beautiful ſhining red cardinal, which is likewiſe from its note called the Virginian nightingale, the rice bird *, the ruby-beak †, and others of variegated plumage, with the names of which I am unacquainted. A pair of the ſmall parrot ſpecies ſat lovingly on a bough, and, for the tenderneſs of their affection, they have been called the Inſeparables.

For the perfection of this botanic garden and its hot-houſes, we are indebted to Joſeph the Second. Leopold promoted what his predeceſſor had begun; and Francis the Second continued the ſame expence.

Some inſtitutions in Vienna have likewiſe partly been founded and partly improved by Joſeph the Second. The ſick are better attended in the hoſpitals; and regularity, induſtry, health, and cheerfulneſs, animate the children of the orphan-houſe. The *Narrenthurm* ‡, or Mad-houſe, is a remarkable inſtitution; large, circular, and five ſtories high. There is a paſſage, at the ſide of which the cells are built, with lattice doors; through which you may look. Thoſe lunatics who have no raving fits are allowed to walk here, and in the court below. This court however is ſmall; and a more open place, planted with trees, would no doubt be more beneficial to thoſe patients whoſe lunacy is of a melancholy kind. There are keepers to each ſtory. The patients are not allowed to be treated with cruelty: they have good beds, and thoſe whoſe rage might be excited by viſitors are not permitted to be ſeen, but are excluded from the eye of curioſity by a door. At the top of the building, there is a ſmall round balcony; from which you have an open proſpect over the country and city. Joſeph the Second, who frequently viſited his own inſtitutions, has ſeveral times mounted to this balcony.

The Orphan-houſe, which is a large and well-regulated building, contains three hundred and forty-ſix children. The boys are inſtructed ſix hours each day; and the girls, whoſe number now only extends,

* *Reiſſvögel.* † *Rubinenſchnäbel.* ‡ Literally, Idiots' Tower. T.

to

to ſeventy, are obliged to take care of their linen and waſhing. The children are healthy, well-behaved, and cheerful. The boys and girls have two diſtinct gardens; and are not allowed to be together except at church.

The Imperial Picture Gallery is near the city, in the Belvedere palace; which was inhabited by the great Eugene. This gallery is particularly rich in paintings of the Flemiſh and Dutch ſchools; and there are alſo many pictures ſhewn that bear the names of the moſt famous Italian maſters, though I confeſs that few of them appear to be originals. I was delighted to find here the beautiful Holy Family of Raphael; a copy of which we had before ſeen at Milan. The original poſſeſſes beauties which the excellent copy, freſh and lively as its colours have been preſerved, cannot equal.

In the gallery of the Prince of Lichtenſtein, which is affirmed to be one of the richeſt collections poſſeſſed by any private man in Europe, we ſaw ſome excellent paintings. There are portraits in both galleries by Chriſtian Seibolt, a painter who lived in Vienna under the reign of Maria Thereſa, the deception of which is inimitable. His own portrait, painted by himſelf, is in my opinion more excellent than the reſt; and is in the Lichtenſtein Gallery. A magnifying glaſs lies beſide it: through which thoſe who look are aſtoniſhed at the new perfections they diſcover. His unwearied aſſiduity was accompanied by a noble freedom of hand. The picture appears to live; and the animated glance, even in the moiſture of the eye, poſſeſſes undeſcribable truth.

Seibolt had much of the caprice of the artiſt; which he even exerciſed on the great and good Maria Thereſa. This caprice, if I am not miſtaken, more frequently accompanied the men of talents among the Flemiſh and Dutch artiſts than among the Italian; and, when thus combined with talent, it gives delight to many: but not to me. I conſider it as the mark of a diſcordant character. It did not, it could not obtrude itſelf upon Raphael: it was beneath him. Had he not poſſeſſed pure and dignified harmony of character he could not have been

Raphael. Agitated by the caprice of ſelf-ſufficiency, the artiſt often communicates this feeling to his works: while the more noble-minded man, more enflamed by the love of excellence than by ambition, is always leſs attentive to the much he has done than to the much more that he has to do. He deeply feels how far he is below that ideal perfection to which he aſpires.

The circumference of that which is properly the fortified city of Vienna is not large, and only contains about ſixty thouſand ſouls: but the ſuburbs are therefore the more ample; and, according to an eſtimate of the preſent year, the city and the ſuburbs together contain two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants. In the city itſelf there are numerous and beautiful palaces: but the ſtreets are not ſpacious, and are in part crooked. Thoſe people of faſhion who have no country ſeats, or who are prevented by their public employments from leaving Vienna, generally reſide in the ſuburbs during ſummer.

The country round Vienna is very pleaſant; but this city in the winter ſeaſon is frequently viſited by dreadful ſtorms, which ruſh through the openings of the neighbouring mountains.

LETTER CVII.

Dreſden, 31ſt December 1792.

WE left Vienna on the 19th of December, and were overtaken by ſo violent a ſtorm on the great bridge, over the Danube, which is about three quarters of a league from Vienna, that we were obliged to take ſhelter under the baluſtrade, or the carriage would have been overturned by the wind. This ſtorm was felt over all Germany, and even in Denmark; and many houſes were unroofed, and trees blown down, by its impetuous guſts.

The Danube here is very broad; and the country round is well wooded, and highly beautiful. The ſmall ſtretch of country that includes parts of Auſtria and Moravia, through which we travelled on our journey from Vienna to Bohemia, and the country of Bohemia itſelf, are fertile and well cultivated. The appearance of the villages, and little towns, denotes the proſperity of the inhabitants.

In the north of Germany, the people cheriſh many groundleſs prejudices againſt the ſouthern provinces. In the latter the inhabitants are induſtrious, and friendly. The roads through the Imperial States are, generally ſpeaking, excellent: the poſt-houſes are well provided with horſes, and the inns are much better than in the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony and of Weſtphalia. The habitations of the country people likewiſe are cheerful, and ſurrounded with gardens; which are ornamented with numerous fruit trees. The beſt apples of Germany, which are called *Borſtorfer*, after a village of Saxony, are the produce of Bohemia as well as of the province from which they take their name.

I met with vineyards in the ſouth of Bohemia, in which the plants are not ſunk under the earth *: but they were all very weak, and were the ſprouts of the year. They are treated here, in defiance of the climate of Germany, as in Apulia and Sicily: except that, in the ſouthern countries, they trim the young ſprouts during the winter ſeaſon; but in Bohemia they remain frozen on the ground, and are not cut till the ſpring.

I have no where ſeen partridges and hares in ſuch great numbers as in Bohemia: yet they are not rigorouſly preſerved. Bohemia ſwarms with poachers. Almoſt every peaſant carries a gun: for veniſon and game are exceedingly plentiful, and the penalties annexed to this illegal practice are not heavy. This country ſupplies the Imperial army with its moſt expert markſmen. I am told that no one will be received in the corps of rifle-men who has not, at the diſtance of two hun-

* The text is—*in welchen die reben nicht unter die erde geſenkt waren.* This I ſuppoſe relates to ſome mode of cultivation; or of ſheltering the grape in cold climates. T.

dred paces, hit the black mark in the centre once, at leaſt, in the three firſt ſhots.

We arrived on the 24th at Prague; which in part is a handſomely built city. Modern embelliſhments and antique magnificence, both in the Bohemian taſte, are combined in this metropolis of the kingdom. It is divided into two parts by the river Muldau; and the great bridge over this river would be beautiful, if the numerous ſtatues which are placed there were, as they are intended to be, a worthy ornament. Some iſlands and the high banks would add charms to the proſpect, were they ſhaded with trees. On this ſide of Prague the country is mountainous and well-wooded.

At Lowoſitz, we arrived at the Elbe; the windings of which we had ſeen from Kolin, on the other ſide of Prague.

We ſaw a man who was born blind at Kolin, and who played on the harpſichord. He poſſeſſed information on various ſubjects; and ſaid that he could by feeling form an idea, after his manner, of the human figure: but that he had no conception of the figure of a houſe.

Kolin, Prague, Lowoſitz, and the ſight of theſe places, gave me a lively recollection of the ſeven years war; and of the occurrences in which, animated by the war-ſongs of our immortal Gleims, I and my brothers and ſiſters took ſo zealous a part, during the ſports of our childhood. While my eldeſt ſiſter repreſented the dignified Empreſs, Maria Thereſa, I and my brother fought a ſerious and deciſive battle, to know whether he or I ſhould perſonate Frederic of Pruſſia. The conquered was to be the repreſentative of Field Marſhal Daun. So much did the right of the ſtrongeſt prevail that my younger ſiſters had no choice, whether they ſhould act as the Empreſs, Elizabeth of Ruſſia, or ſhould head the army of the Empire, that of the Swedes, or that of France.

From Lowoſitz to Auſig we journeyed beſide the Elbe, among rocks; between which the road was ſo narrow that, in many places, two carriages could not paſs each other. The beauties of the river

were heightened by woody hills, on the oppoſite bank; among which large villages are ſituated. The light of the full moon, and the dazzling ſnow, gave a charm to this proſpect; by which no man could remain unaffected, who had not loſt all ſenſe of the delights of nature in winter.

On the 27th, we travelled along bad roads, but through pleaſant countries, over the mountains which ſeparate Bohemia from Saxony; and arrived in the evening at Dreſden.

I ſhall leave this city to-day, the 31ſt, in the afternoon; without again examining any of its curioſities, which I had twice ſome years ago ſeen, and had ſo much admired. On the preſent occaſion, I had buſineſs, and wanted leiſure. I did not even viſit the picture gallery, which is beyond compariſon the firſt in Germany; and, if I do not miſtake, may claim precedence over every individual gallery in Italy. The cities indeed of Florence, Bologna, and Genoa, are richer than Dreſden in the beautiful productions of the pencil. But in this reſpect, where is the place that can compare to Rome? Yet neither in the three firſt cities, nor in Rome itſelf, are there ſo much variety and excellence to be found in any ſingle collection.

Dreſden has always appeared to me to be the fineſt city in Germany; and its ſituation and ſurrounding country are uncommonly charming. The great bridge over the Elbe, and the terrace of the garden of Count Bruhl, afford pleaſant walks and proſpects even within the city; and ſuch as do not yield to any that our country affords, except to the grand views on the banks of the Rhine.

THE END.

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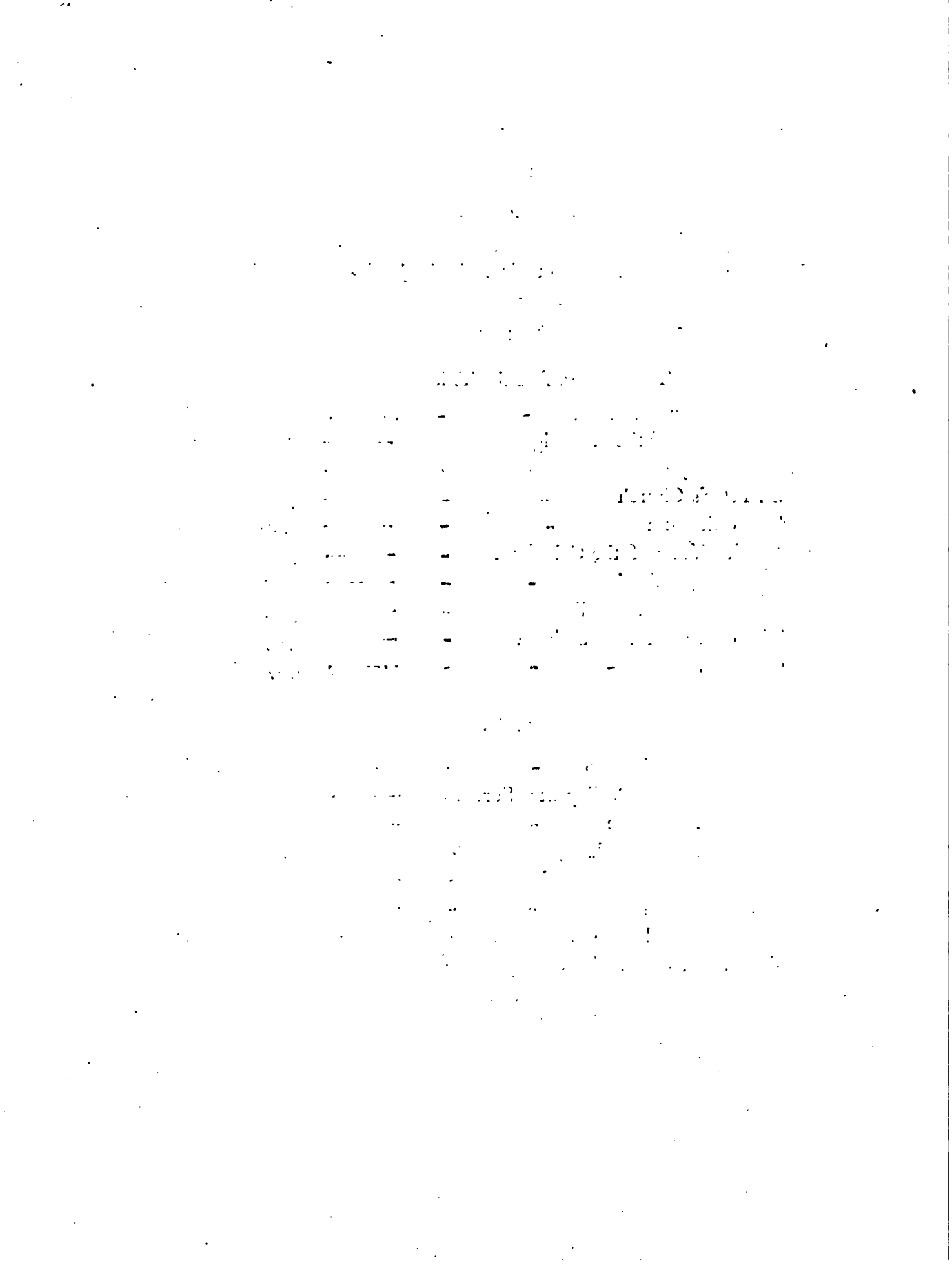

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